

INTERNATIONAL NUMISMATIC COUNCIL

**SURVEY OF
NUMISMATIC RESEARCH
2014–2020**

VOLUME I & II

General Editors

Michael Alram – Jarosław Bodzek – Aleksander Bursche

Sub-editors

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



**2022
WARSAW
POLAND**

Warsaw–Krakow–Winterthur 2022

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ABBREVIATIONS

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

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

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

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

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Michael Alram, Jarosław Bodzek and Aleksander Bursche

We herewith present to readers a *Survey of Numismatic Research* prepared for the XVI International Numismatic Congress Warsaw 2022.

The Survey was created under very different conditions to earlier volumes owing to two key factors: the SARS pandemic and rapid developments in the use of digital tools.

Taking us all by surprise in the spring of 2020, the pandemic resulted in a prolonged and inconvenient lockdown, restrictions on movement, and – the most important factor from our perspective – the need to postpone by a year the XVI International Numismatic Congress, from September 2021 to September 2022. Most libraries were closed for lengthy periods, and only a few made part of their resources available online. In practice, this made it impossible for the authors of the Survey to include any studies of numismatic literature published since 2014. In this situation the Committee of the International Numismatic Council (INC), with the support of the sub-editors, took the only practicable decision, namely to extend work by a year. As a consequence, the time period covered by individual studies was increased to seven years (2014–2020). This alone not only considerably increased the workload of the authors and sub-editors but also substantially expanded the volume of the Survey.

The second factor that significantly influenced the shape of the present Survey was the progressing digital revolution, with the introduction of diverse new IT tools to assist the humanities, including extensive and specialized digital and bibliographic database repositories. An additional element to be taken into consideration was the growing cost of printing and distribution, and not least customs dues when sending books abroad.

Interestingly, a survey conducted among MA and PhD numismatics students in several EU countries revealed that almost none of them had ever held a physical copy of the Survey in their hands. They had, however on many occasions used texts they needed from the Survey available online, on Academia.edu, or other digital repositories. The INC has also taken this trend into

account and, with the help of The Newman Numismatic Portal, made all the volumes of the Survey accessible online on its website (INC cin (inc-cin.org)).

With this in mind, at a joint meeting of the INC Committee and sub-editors it was decided to prioritize the prompt publication in digital form of all the texts included in the new Survey, at the very latest by the first day of the Congress, 11 September 2022. Participants who will take a part in the congress in person will also find them on pen-drives distributed along with the congress materials. For libraries and scholars interested in the traditional paper format we have provided and will continue to provide the “print on demand” option. This will avoid the necessity of carrying heavy volumes while traveling, thereby incurring excess baggage charges, and also avoid shipping costs and possible customs duties. The publication will have a uniform appearance in every country and will be far cheaper than if ordered in its traditional form.

In this way we hope, as we say in Polish, that “the wolf is full and the sheep is whole” or as the English saying has it, “to have our cake and eat it”. As in the case of previous editions, the INC Committee established the group of sub-editors of the Survey, and together with the latter carefully selected the group of authors of individual texts from among the foremost specialists in a given subject. Very few of the scholars approached declined, indicating that the Survey continues to enjoy great prestige and popularity within our numismatic community.

For the first time ever, the Congress is being held in a country which lies outside the region traditionally regarded as Western Europe. For many of those attending the Congress this will also be their first visit to this part of Europe. Because of this, the present Survey accords more space than usual to the numismatics of East-Central Europe and Asia.

The task of covering seven years of numismatic research represents a huge challenge, and we were unable to achieve all that we had originally intended. In total the new Survey comprises 15,713 references. This

represents an increase of over 3,300 citations since the last Survey. While the general outline of the new Survey mostly follows the proven model, a number of new chapters have been introduced into **Section 1, General Numismatics**. “Archaeology and Anthropology” by Fleur Kemmers addresses those studies that aim at combining archaeological and anthropological methods in particular within the context of coin finds. The overview focuses on major research issues including the social embeddedness of coinage, coins as material culture and coinage in cult and ritual. Likewise new is Nathan Elkins’s chapter on “Provenance and Legal Issues”. Increasing numbers of coins are becoming the focus of the illicit art trade, treasure hunting and looting, and this chapter attempts to bring together a representative variety of perspectives and voices dealing with this sensitive topic. It is an important addition to the series about *Law and practice regarding coin finds* in the *Compte Rendu* which was started by the INC in the 1990s. The study of ancient weight systems is inextricably linked to coinage, and it is therefore quite remarkable that as yet a chapter on weights and metrological studies has been missing in the Survey. The chapter on “Ancient and Byzantine Weights” by Charles Doyen closes this gap, and demonstrates the impressive developments in this field in terms of new reference works, new analytical methods and new material from the archaeological context.

The digital world has now fully arrived in numismatics. Digital databases of collections, finds, hoards and archival records have not only become an indispensable tool for numismatic research but have also helped to define and answer new research questions. Moreover, it is an important tool for bringing numismatic research to a wider audience. Existing digital projects have been continued and expanded, and numerous new ones added. One of the most important achievements was the inception of Nomisma.org, strongly supported by the INC, which aims at enabling the interoperability of numismatic databases. One very positive trend over the past few years has been the increasing amount of national and international collaboration in the digital field. The chapter on “Numismatics, Computers, and the Internet” summarizes the latest developments.

In order to put the latest developments in numismatic research into perspective it is also necessary to be aware of the history of research in the field. The international FINA project (*Fontes Inediti Numismaticae Antiquae*) studying the history of numismatic research before 1800 has made good progress, and the history of

research in the 20th century is also the focus of increasing interest.

Within the framework of **Section 2, The Greek World**, it is generally observed that coins from excavations are increasingly becoming the focus of scholarly research. Contextualized numismatic information is essential for answering questions about circulation patterns, trade flows, volumes of production and the monetization of ancient economies, and recent research has increasingly addressed these issues. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the vast majority of coin finds lack an archaeological context, a painful demonstration of how much knowledge is lost as a result. Another trend that has become more prominent in recent years are die studies, which provide insight into production processes and are complemented by technological and metallurgical analyses. There is also increased discussion about the role of bronze coins in the local economies, an area that has sometimes received too little attention in the past. A further remarkable development is the increased electronic availability of museum collections and thematic online databases which have meanwhile become indispensable research tools. In addition, the traditional printed museum catalog is still alive and remains an important documentation tool, especially for smaller collections or local museums.

Among the fifteen chapters of the Greek section “Balkanraum und nördliches Schwarzmeergebiet” stands out simply because of the large body of literature collected (850); compared to the last Survey the citations here have almost tripled. In this context reference should be made to the research project *Corpus Nummorum Online* (<https://www.corpus-nummorum.eu/>) which has had a noticeably stimulating effect. This is an open access numismatic web portal that aims to collect and present Greek and Roman provincial coinage from Moesia inferior, Thrace, Mysia and Troas.

The chapter on Asia Minor is second in place with 398 entries. The manifold research on electrum coinage deserves special mention here. It has changed our knowledge significantly, and has shown, among other things, that electrum coinage continued to flourish even in the early Classical period. Research on Seleucid coinage has also been particularly active. The references have more than doubled and cover a wide range of issues such as excavation coins, hoards, die studies, economic and monetary policies, the role and purpose of coinage and numerous other aspects. The focus of the investigations lies in the west of the Seleucid empire, while the east is less well documented. This is also reflected in the state of

research on the coinage of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings, which, with only 32 entries, still has great research potential that has hitherto been insufficiently exploited.

Section 3 is devoted to *Celtic and Roman Coinages*. The major research trends are summarized by Roger Bland in his introduction. Celtic numismatics has produced numerous new findings over the past seven years. These result primarily from new coin finds that have brought new types and variants to light and show how limited our knowledge remains. Questions relating to money production, metrology, chronology, the identification of mints and the ethnic attribution of imitation series were also the focus of research interest. In addition, the monetization and Romanization of northern Gaul, the role of money in rural settings and the function of market places within the Celtic economies were examined. The emergence of money among the Gauls and its development over the centuries is a fascinating topic that has been made accessible for a broader audience. Here the new digital research tool *Iron Age Coins in Britain* (<https://iacb.arch.ox.ac.uk/>) deserves special mention.

A particular focus of research in recent years has been the coinage of the Roman Republic, resulting in new handbooks and articles in handbooks, as well as in specialized studies dealing with the technical aspects of monetary activities. Recent coin finds and hoards shed new light on chronological questions and give an insight into the supply of Roman coins to provincial territories. The new findings make it clear that the RRC, the previous standard citation work, is in need of fundamental revision.

There has been an enormous increase in research into the coinage of the early Principate, with citations nearly tripling to a total of 480. In general, the breadth of research topics published from the time of Augustus to Late Antiquity is impressive, and digital resources have assumed great importance. Period studies, studies of specific coin types and their target audiences, mints and their organization, the role of metal resources and monetary policy, the role of imitations produced outside the Empire, as well as die studies and metallurgical analyses have refined our image of Roman Imperial coin production in many respects. Likewise, intensified research into individual coin finds, hoards, coin supply, hoarding patterns, and coins in rural and funerary contexts has provided new insights into coin circulation and coin use inside and outside the Roman Empire. A further positive aspect is that in addition to the numerous catalogs and

detailed studies, the numismatic results are also placed in a broader historical, economic and social context. This is all the more important since there are frequent instances of single coins being detached from their numismatic context and thereby misappropriated by other disciplines.

The international RPC project (*Roman Provincial Coinage*) also made great progress during the reporting period: new volumes and supplementary volumes were published, and the material has also been made available online (RPC — Home (ox.ac.uk)).

Section 4, *Medieval and Modern Coinages*, also shows a notable increase in citations compared to the last Survey volume (up from 4,385 to 6,121). In line with research traditions, activities are usually concentrated in the individual countries and regions. This results not least in some articles being published in less well-known and less easily accessible journals. Their inclusion in the Survey is therefore of particular importance.

The general research tendencies already identified in relation to the numismatics of antiquity can also be observed in medieval and modern numismatics. In this section, too, numerous authors have pointed out the sharp rise in the number of coin finds and hoards, which they attribute to the increased prevalence of people using metal detectors. On the one hand, these new finds show us how incomplete our knowledge of the material still is. They give us the opportunity to close typological gaps, to recognize new connections and thus to rewrite individual chapters of our monetary history. On the other hand, they sometimes present us with legal problems, since searching with metal detectors is prohibited in many countries. However, the re-publication of old hoards based on current methods has also led to considerable new insights. One direction of focus has been on the documentation and evaluation of coin finds in European churches, which has shed light on religious practices and the devotional use of coins. In addition to the publications on coin corpora of individual mints, research is increasingly concentrating on contiguous currency areas that extend far beyond territorial borders. In regard to the coinages of medieval Europe (c. 400–1500), the MEC project (*Medieval European Coinage*) deserves special mention. Two volumes were published in the reporting period (*12. Italy. I: Northern Italy; 8: Britain and Ireland*) with the result that five of the 20 volumes planned have been published so far. The project brings together highly renowned scholars from various countries to create up-to-date handbooks which are indispensable for any further research. In putting together the most recent results and findings and

placing them in a broad historical and economic context MEC is creating a new picture of the monetary development in the different regions of Europe.

The growth in written sources in the Middle Ages and modern times has also made this type of source the subject of increasing research. Contemporary written sources on coin production, mint organization, legal issues, prices and wages, payment methods, tax issues and other topics related to economic and administrative history give a vivid picture of the world of money. In combination with the systematic analysis of the numismatic sources, this results in exciting new insights and interpretations of economic developments and decision-making processes.

It should also be noted that paranumismatica such as tokens, tickets, stamps, counters, seals and devotional objects are no longer disregarded by research.

Numerous numismatic exhibitions were also held during the reporting period which shed light on a wide variety of aspects of monetary history and thus brought numismatics to the attention of a wider audience.

The number of publications collected for *Asian and Islamic Coinages* has remained almost the same as in the last Survey (1,657 as compared to 1,612). This section also summarizes the contributions to research on the Sasanians, Kushans, Guptas and “Iranian” Huns, the study of which has made considerable progress.

With 713 citations, the clear focus in this section is, unsurprisingly, on the field of Islamic numismatics, although a decrease in citations compared to the last Survey volume can be noticed (down from 1,149 to 713). Despite the undisputed importance of this field of research today, it should be noted that curatorial posts for Islamic numismatics in many museums and coin cabinets are either completely absent or not filled again when they fall vacant. In general, the focus here is also on the recording and mapping of coin finds, as well as on mint and area studies. The research on the Caucasus region, the circulation of Islamic coins in Eastern Europe during the Viking period, and the study of Golden Horde coinage deserves special mention. Two volumes of the main reference work *SNAT (Sylloge Nummorum Arabicorum Tübingen)* were published during the reporting period.

Overviews of China, Japan, Cambodia, as well as Malaysia with the Indonesian islands and the Philippines complete the picture (*East and South East Asia*).

Section 5 is dedicated to *Medals* and summarizes research from 15 European countries as well as the USA and Canada (the citations declined from 2,153 to 1,625).

As Tuukka Talvio pointed out in his Introduction it can be observed that curatorial positions at museums are no longer being filled. This is all the more regrettable since the medal, as an important cultural-historical phenomenon, opens up a wide field of research, as underscored by the numerous studies on medal production in certain regions, landscapes and cities, its historical context and use as propaganda, and its clients and recipients published in this reporting period. Another focus is on monographic studies on the life and work of individual artists, mint masters and engravers. In addition, medals always constitute an important element in cultural and art-historical exhibitions. In 2018 medals played a major role in numerous exhibitions commemorating the centenary of the First World War.

The art of the medal is still very much alive. The catalogs accompanying the biennials of the international medal society FIDEM in Sofia in 2014, Ghent and Namur in 2016, and Ottawa in 2018 provide an insight into contemporary medal art.

Finally, we would like to thank everyone who made the publication of the new Survey possible. First and foremost, thanks are due to the authors, who summarized and commented on seven years of numismatic research under the most difficult of conditions. We also owe a great deal of thanks to the sub-editors, who were in constant contact with their authors, wrote the appropriate introductions and edited the individual sections. We also thank our colleagues on the INC Board, who made language corrections where necessary. Last but not least we warmly thank our Polish colleagues who carried out the final editing and prepared the manuscript for publication, first of all Barbara Zając and Dariusz F. Jasek.

VOLUME I

1. GENERAL NUMISMATICS

INTRODUCTION

Jarosław Bodzek

The period covering the current *Survey* (2014–2020) saw a huge increase in literature on various issues related to numismatics, including topics covered in the *General Numismatics* section. Compared to the recent *Surveys*, the content of this section has been enlarged thematically, quantitatively and qualitatively. There were only three articles in this section in the 2002–2007 *Survey*: “Allgemeine Numismatik” by Benedikt ZÄCH (pp. 710–713), “Scientific and technical applications” by Marys BLET-LEMARQUAND and Matthew J. PONTING (pp. 714–719), and “Numismatics, Computers and the Internet” by David WIGG-WOLF (pp. 720–726). In total, 107 bibliographic items were compiled in them. In the 2008–2013 *Survey*, five articles were published in the “History of Numismatics and Collections” those by Christian Edmund DEKESEL (pp. 734–742), “Analyses élémentaires, métallographiques et isotopiques” by Marys BLET-LEMARQUAND and Sylvia NIETO-PELLETIER (pp. 743–750), “Museen und Sammlungen” by Hortensia VON ROTEN (pp. 751–756), “Numismatic Literature and the Internet” by Thijs VERSPAGEN (pp. 757–760) and “Numismatics, Computers, and the Internet” by Daniel E. J. PETT (pp. 761–773), containing a total of 301 references.

The current edition of the 2014–2020 *Survey* includes seven texts in the section, i.e. two more. In addition, several completely new chapters, absent in previous editions of the *Survey*, have been introduced. These include articles on weights, the origin of coins in the context of legal issues, coins in archaeological and anthropological contexts, and research in the field of art history and iconography. These join the articles on topics known from previous editions of the *Survey* presenting dynamically developing research on the history of numismatics and collections, scientific research in numismatics, computer-digitization issues and the Internet environment. In total, the above-mentioned articles include 968 bibliographic items and 30 internet portals.

In more detail, for the 2014–2020 *Survey* Stefan KRMNICEK prepared the chapter “The History of Numismatics and Collections” (pp. 7–12), discussing 89 publications on this subject. Ethan GRUBER presents the chapter “Numismatics, Computers, and the Internet” (pp. 13–19), in which, on the basis of 37 traditional publications and 30 portals and websites, he discusses the most important achievements and trends in this field. Fleur KEMMERS wrote the chapter entitled “Archeology and Anthropology” discussing monetary issues in this context and compiling 44 publications (pp. 21–25). Karsten DAHMEN dealt with the problems of research on the visual side of ancient coins in the chapter entitled “Kunst und Ikonographie (Antike)” citing a selection of 265 bibliographic items (pp. 27–40). Maryse BLET-LEMARQUAND and Gillan DAVIS in the article “Scientific and Technical Applications” collected 158 bibliographic items in the field of scientific research and their usefulness in numismatic searches (pp. 41–54). The important issue of legal determinants of coin provenience, especially now in these days of armed conflicts, is discussed by Nathan T. ELKINS in the chapter “Provenance and Legal Issues” (pp. 55–64), in which he cites 72 publications and legal acts. Finally, in his extensive and detailed text “Ancient and Byzantine Weights”, Charles DOYEN discusses issues related to metrology, going beyond ancient times and beyond weights (pp. 65–96). The bibliography compiled by this author contains 303 items. It is worth pointing out here that although it is assumed that the individual citations collected in the *INC Survey* should contain a selection of the most significant publications for a given topic, in some cases we decided to present a given topic in a broader manner. This is the case with the weights chapter.

The introduction of the above-mentioned new topics, as well as the continuation of the discussion in the General Numismatics section of the topics discussed in the previous *Surveys* reflect the tendencies in the development of numismatics and the current interests of researchers. It should be emphasized, however, that there are still issues that have been dynamically developing in recent years that are not covered in the current *Survey*. For example, it was not possible to find an author ready to cover the subject of tokens, which has been the focus of intense research in recent years. Depending on the directions in which numismatics will develop in the coming years, the possible continuation and introduction of new topics to the *General Numismatics* section will be the task of the editors of the next *Survey*.

THE HISTORY OF NUMISMATICS AND COLLECTIONS

Stefan Krmnicek

If we look at the sheer number of publications included in this chapter, we notice that an unexpectedly large amount of academic literature on the history of research has been published in the last six years. In addition to a wide range of journal articles, important monographs and edited volumes have been published that cover the topic comprehensively in terms of content or significantly advance the subject of research. The focus of research is clearly on the genesis and development of ancient numismatics. European medieval and modern numismatics as well as non-European numismatics, on the other hand, are represented to a quantitatively much lesser extent – albeit with important contributions, e.g. NAISMITH (52), STEINBACH (70), WANG and ERRINGTON (73).

A general overview of the history of numismatic research is offered in the monograph by THÜRY (71), in which the history of (primarily ancient) numismatics from antiquity to the middle of the 19th century is unfolded with considerable detail. In addition to this comprehensive overview, research on the history of ancient numismatics in the period under review can be divided into two large blocks: one focus is the study of numismatics and the development of numismatic method from ca. 1500 to the Age of the Enlightenment, another key area is the study of numismatics in the 19th century against the backdrop of collecting coins, international coin trade, and institutional developments.

Let us begin with the first major focus, the study of the history of research up to the Age of Enlightenment. The project *Fontes Inediti Numismaticae Antiquae* (FINA), which aims at collecting, studying, and publishing manuscript evidence (before ca. 1800) related to ancient coins and ancient numismatics, is at the forefront of this research direction (77-84, 86-89). Publications in the context of this project include the contributions to the edited volume by WINTER AND WOYTEK (84) as well as the articles and book chapters by DE CALLATAÿ (5-19) and MULSOW (50), which cover a broad range of topics. Other articles, the content of which, however, is concentrated on researching the history of collections or discussing individual biographies, include the contributions by DRÄGER AND MEISSNER (26), FRIED (30), LESCHHORN (47), OHM (53-55), RAMBACH (61, 64-67), and THÜRY (72). Special attention should also be paid to the publication by MATZKE (48) on the so-called Paduan coins. With the studies of D’OTTONE RAMBACH AND TRAVAINI (60) and CALLEGHER (21), the research of numismatic networks based on manuscript studies is also successfully applied to Islamic numismatics.

The second major focus of research published in the last six years deals with the development of ancient numismatics in the 19th century. The publications reviewed in this survey emphasize the relationship between collectors and scholars and pay special attention to the social, structural, and institutional conditions in which the discipline evolved. The monograph by BARTH AND PEGAN (3) and the contributions in the edited volumes by KRMNICEK AND HARDT (45) and MOENS (49) present numismatic networks of the 19th century drawing from a broad interdisciplinary perspective. Various articles and book chapters – such as studies on collections in ASOLATI AND CRISAFULLI (2), BODZEK (4), DĀBOLIŅŠ (24), analyses of 19th century publishing and teaching by DE CALLATAÿ (20) and CLAES (23) as well as studies on the coin trade and its network by FANNING (28), FRIED (31), GORINI (32, 33), VAN HEESCH (38), and RAMBACH (62-64) – illustrate the scholarly interest in the developments of ancient numismatics during the 19th century. The publications by VON KAENEL (40), KRMNICEK (42), KRMNICEK AND GAIDYS (44), and WEISSER AND KLUGE (74) should also be mentioned, which deal with the history of research on medals in the wider context of 19th century classical studies and medallic art during WW1.

Finally, reference should be made to the works dealing with the most recent developments in the history of research. While the contributions in the edited volumes by ARNOLD-BIUCCHI AND BECKMANN (1), and GUIHARD AND VAN HEESCH (37) as well as the articles by GUIHARD (35, 36) and RAMBACH (64) deal with scholarly important biographies of the 20th century, the contributions by DAHMEN ET AL. (25), ELKINS AND EVANS (27), SHEEDY (69), WIENAND (75, 76), and WOLTERS AND ZIEGERT (85) reflect upon the developments of numismatic research in most recent years.

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NUMISMATICS, COMPUTERS, AND THE INTERNET

Ethan Gruber

There have been numerous advances with respect to computational applications in numismatics over the last six years since the previous INC meeting. PETT provided a detailed accounting of the state of the discipline in the previous *Survey of Numismatic Research 2008–13* (27). Many of these resources are still relevant, particularly online discussion forums, digital numismatic mailing lists, and personal or privately-run thematic collections of coins (e.g., wildwinds.com). The focus of this bibliography is primarily centered around collaborative, institutionally-backed research projects that provide the public with open data, as well as analytical projects that use open data to facilitate novel research or teaching tools in the discipline.

Although digital databases have been used by museums for cataloging and online publication for much longer (1980s-90s), the inception of Nomisma.org represents a watershed moment for the *interoperability* of databases. Collection databases, both large and small, can be connected and queried together, regardless of the language of the cataloging, and these coin databases interact with other databases of finds, hoards, and archival records to create comprehensive research platforms for numismatics. GRANADOS ET AL. (11) provide a concise non-technical overview of recent advancements in this arena. GRUBER AND MEADOWS (14) delve more deeply into the technical underpinnings of this infrastructure in English, while WIGG-WOLF AND DUVRAT (36) explain this model in French.

Scholarly publications about interoperability are not the only genre of research in digital numismatics over the last decade. Significant progress has been made in Computer Vision, a discipline within the artificial intelligence field of computer science pertaining to automated recognition of visual features on a coin, for example, to suggest the coin type or to analyze images of coins in order to establish die links. These methodologies do not eliminate the trained eye of the numismatist from the workflow, but enable scholars to sort through substantially more data more efficiently. The underlying software algorithms evaluate visual features and respond with a probability ranking between 0 and 100%. The numismatist then evaluates these matches to confirm their accuracy, and the algorithm's next pass-through becomes more efficient through specialist feedback: a discipline known as Machine Learning. Most Computer Vision/Machine Learning publications in numismatics date to the last several years, but I anticipate major breakthroughs in the next decade to come.

Publications have been organized into the broad categories below:

Interoperability

Numismatic data publication has advanced apace to that of the scientific community, conforming to FAIR (findable, accessible, interoperable, reusable) principles. At the heart of this is Nomisma.org, an international, community-driven project to define the intellectual concepts of numismatics according to Linked Open Data methodologies. In addition to a formalized identifier system based on Uniform Resource Identifiers (URIs), the Nomisma.org community has established an ontology for expressing numismatic data in a schema that can be understood and analyzed by software platforms that implement a series of open data and query standards established by the World Wide Web Consortium (W3C).

Thus, Nomisma.org is the core technical infrastructure that drives the interoperability of numerous digital projects, and these concepts facilitate the reuse of open data to answer new forms of research questions. The first project developed on Nomisma.org's Linked Open Data methodologies was *Online Coins of the Roman Empire* (OCRE), a digital type corpus based on the *Roman Imperial Coinage* (RIC) numbering system. This project has grown since 2012 to aggregate more than 160,000 specimens from 50 collections. Similar type-oriented research portals have also emerged in other areas of Greek and Roman coinage. This network of Nomisma-affiliated projects has most recently expanded into ancient Iberian, British Iron Age coinage, and medieval to modern Swiss numismatics. Although still in their infancy, we expect to see Continental Celtic, Byzantine, Roman tokens, Bactrian and Indo-Greek, and Axumite

catalogs in the coming years.

Beyond digital type corpora are several other categories of interoperability, standard approaches to integrating coin find databases have been spearheaded by the European Coin Find Network (a Nomisma.org partner project). Many of these national finds databases are still private, but Antike Fundmünzen in Europa has been publicly accessible for years, contributing Roman Imperial coin finds from beyond the *limes* in Germany and Poland to the OCRE project. Denmark and the Netherlands have enacted laws similar to the UK's Treasure Act 1996. The Portable Antiquities Scheme database, developed and maintained by the British Museum, has influenced finds recording databases in the Danish Digitale Metaldetektorfund (DIME) and Portable Antiquities of the Netherlands (PAN). Turning our attention to coin hoards, significant progress has been made at Oxford in the development of the comprehensive database, Coin Hoards of the Roman Empire. In 2019, the American Numismatic Society published Coin Hoards, a database derived from the 1973 monograph, *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards* (IGCH). This database was modeled on a previous collaboration between the ANS and Kris Lockyear to turn his research database into an online platform, Coin Hoards of the Roman Republic.

Computer Vision/Machine Learning/Natural Language Processing

The earliest implementations of Computer Vision to identify coins trace to the late 00s and early 10s with an Austrian team of computer science students under the supervision of Dr. Martin Kampel at TU-Wien (1, 19, 37). Beginning with simple measurements and recognition of legends, Computer Vision methodologies have evolved to tackle more complex challenges such as type identification and die linking. Initially experimenting with analyzing features of 3D models of coins captured by laser scanning or related techniques, more contemporary off-the-shelf commercial software applications have yielded superior results in pattern recognition with good quality digital photographs and have been applied with success in prototypes analyzing Roman Republican and Greek coinage. A New York University computer science student, Huapeng Su, developed in 2014 a prototype for the Computer Aided Die Study (CADS) program with investment from Richard Witschonke, which the ANS later took up in collaboration with Zachary Taylor of Trinity University. The results have not yet been formally published, but an update was presented in a virtual ANS Money Talks seminar in 2020 (www.youtube.com/watch?v=wF6aZdhc0wg).

A new project undertaken by the Römisch-Germanische Kommission and the Big Data Lab at Goethe University Frankfurt, Classifications and Representations for Networks (ClareNet: clarenet.hypotheses.org), aims to apply Machine Learning to identifying Continental Celtic coinage. This is one of two projects applied to Celtic coinage, with HORACHE ET AL. experimenting using 3D scans to perform die linking (18).

Other computational methodologies have been implemented to evaluate and classify iconography on coinage. The earliest attempts at programmatizing iconographic description were applied by CALTABIANO ET AL. (6) for the Digital Iconographic Atlas of Numismatics in Antiquity (DIANA) project in 2013 in a relatively manual system of selecting categories in a user interface for a database back-end. Subsequently, other computer science methodologies have been applied to categorize iconography in a more automated fashion, with KLINGER ET AL. (20) building on the DIANA iconographic thesaurus using Natural Language Processing to parse textual type descriptions and extract their semantics into a Linked Open Data structure (that also lends to greater interoperability between numismatic databases and digital resources of other types of cultural heritage artifacts, such as Greek pottery).

Research Portals

This section is not intended to be a full accounting of all possible numismatic websites or online databases. The focus is to provide the reader with a list of technically mature research databases revolving around a theme (type corpora, hoards, etc.), many of which integrate data from disparate information systems or a holistic representation of numismatic materials from different archaeological excavations. The list of resources emphasizes, in particular, downloadable and reusable datasets that enable numismatists to formulate new, original scholarship.

Types

- Antigonid Coins Online, numismatics.org/agco: this will include all coinages of the Antigonid Dynasty, but currently includes only those of Demetrius Poliorcetes as published in Edward T. Newell's 1927 volume.
- Art of Devastation, numismatics.org/aod: A type corpus of World War I medals.
- Coinage of the Roman Republic Online, numismatics.org/crro.
- Corpus Nummorum Online, corpus-nummorum.eu: A comprehensive dataset of coinages from Thrace and

adjacent regions in the Greek and Roman periods.

- Hellenistic Royal Coinages, numismatics.org/hrc: an umbrella site that unites all of the American Numismatic Society's Hellenistic type corpora into a comprehensive research portal.
- Historia Numorum Online, hno.huma-num.fr: a collaborative site that seeks to publish all of the types before the Roman period.
- Iron Age Coins in Britain, iacb.arch.ox.ac.uk.
- Moneda Ibérica, monedaiberica.org/: a catalog of the ancient coins of the Iberian peninsula and Southern France from the 6th to 1st century BCE.
- Online Coins of the Roman Empire, numismatics.org/ocre.
- OSCAR, oscar.nationalmuseum.ch: Online Swiss Coin Archive.
- PELLA, numismatics.org/pella: a corpus of the Macedonian kings of the Argead dynasty, which, so far, contains the coinages of Philip II and coins struck in the name of Alexander the Great.
- Ptolemaic Coins Online, numismatics.org/pco.
- Roman Provincial Coinage Online, rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk.
- Seleucid Coins Online, numismatics.org/sco.

Dies

- Roman Republican Die Project, numismatics.org/rrdp: a collaboration between Liv Yarrow at Brooklyn College and Lucia Carbone at the American Numismatic Society to publish archival research materials of Roman Republican die links established by Richard Schaefer as Linked Open Data, which integrates with Coinage of the Roman Republic Online.

Hoard

- Coin Hoards, coinhoards.org: presently publishing the 1973 *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*.
- Coin Hoards of the Roman Empire, chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk.
- Coin Hoards of the Roman Republic, numismatics.org/chrr.

Small Finds and Archaeology

- Antike Fundmünzen in Europa, afe.dainst.org: Initially developed as a database of Roman Imperial coin finds beyond the Roman *limes* in Germany, it has subsequently been expanded to include finds in Poland.
- Celtic Coins Index Digital (UK), cci.arch.ox.ac.uk.
- Coin Finds Hub – Italy: A network of archaeological coin finds in Italy organized by Federico Carbone at the University of Salerno (not yet public).
- Digitale Metalldetektorfund (Denmark), metaldetektorfund.dk.
- Framing the Late Antique and early Medieval Economy (FLAME), coinage.princeton.edu.
- Numisdata Sardinia, numisdata.org/web_sardinia/web: coin finds in the area of Terralba.
- Portable Antiquities of the Netherlands, portable-antiquities.nl/pan/.
- Portable Antiquities Scheme (UK), finds.org.uk.

Union Collection Catalogs and Database Networks

- KENOM, kenom.de: A union catalog of German civic museums that includes monetary objects of all periods and cultures, available through a single interface.
- NUMiD | Netzwerk universitärer Münzsammlungen in Deutschland, numid.online: A network of German university museum databases using the IKMK framework developed by the Berlin Münzkabinett. Each museum hosts its own database, but the project has more recently been united into a centralized interface that facilitates query across each of its member institutions.

Pedagogy

- Money & Medals Network, moneyandmedals.org.uk: A UK-oriented network of subject specialists that contains a lot of documentation for novices to numismatics.
- Syrios, syrios.uh.edu: An introductory guide to numismatics focused on the ancient coinage of Antioch, including narrative examples. Suitable for high school to university students and the general public alike.

Library, Archives, Provenance, and Connoisseurship

The digital archives of the American Numismatic Society, Archer (numismatics.org/archives) were published

online as finding aids in 2012, primarily as descriptive metadata to direct users to boxes and folders in the physical collection. Several more prominent collections were digitized, such as the archaeological photographs of Agnes Baldwin Brett, the Society's first female curator at the turn of the 20th century (numismatics.org/archives/ark:/53695/nnan0037). Subsequently, materials pertaining to Greek coin hoards were published online and interlinked with the Coin Hoards database, making these items accessible on the hoard record pages to provide further research context. The most notable of these are the hoard notebooks of numismatist Edward T. Newell. With funding from the Mellon Foundation, the ANS digitized its backlist of more than 200 monographs and released them into the Public Domain in its digital library (numismatics.org/digitallibrary). Like the archival collection, these e-books have been linked to coins, hoards, typologies, etc., enabling users of other digital platforms (such as Coin Hoards and the ANS database, MANTIS, numismatics.org/search) to access relevant passages in published works. This interlinked library, archive, and collection infrastructure has been the subject of two publications by GRUBER (12, 13). Similarly, the research notebooks and cards of Roman Republican die links established by Richard Schaefar are the subject of a new major project to publish a complete die study of Republican coinage, featuring ca. 300,000 specimens (numismatics.org/rrdp). The links that connect coins to die URIs to type URIs are expressed quantitatively in *Coinage of the Roman Republic Online* and also in the form of network visualizations.

This specialized platform is specific to the American Numismatic Society's holdings, but there are two other catalogs worth mentioning. Digital Library Numis (sites.google.com/site/digitallibrarynumis) contains numerous references that contain links to digitally-available works (typically on Academia.edu for recent articles). Second is Zenon, the library catalog of the German Archaeological Institute (zenon.dainst.org). Zenon links to resources in other information systems and provides access to digitized copies of monographs or articles, when available or legal to do so.

Elsewhere, DE CALLATAÿ has published a resource called *Fontes Inediti Numismaticae Antiquae* (FINA: fina.oeaw.ac.at/wiki/index.php/FINA_Wiki), exploring the network of Greek and Roman antiquarians and numismatists active before 1800. It contains over 4,000 transcribed documents involving more than 1,000 people. It is a valuable resource for the modern scholar interested in the evolution of numismatic connoisseurship, and may also be useful for provenance research.

Using Digital Resources to Answer New Research Questions

Some digital resources, such as OCRE and PELLA, have been online in a mature form since 2015 or before, and the built-in tools in these platforms and data have been reused by scholars to answer new research questions. This section is not intended to be a full accounting of all published works that rely on digital tools since these resources are now ingrained in the research process in several fields of numismatics. The aim is to illustrate several examples of scholars reusing open numismatic data in other analytical platforms (e.g., statistics applications) to visualize patterns and form new modes of inquiry.

An excellent example of this is the volume edited by GLENN ET AL., *Alexander the Great. A Linked Open World* (10), in which many of the chapters rely on data from PELLA to conduct statistical analyses of production or distribution of the coinage of Alexander the Great. In particular, HEATH's chapter (16) provides a hands-on guide to using Nomisma.org's SPARQL endpoint (a query interface for linked data) to extract data that were formulated into a network graph visualization in R Studio, an open source statistical analysis platform. LOCKYEAR remains one of the pioneers in the application of statistical methods with R, primarily focusing on Roman Republican coin hoards (17, 21, 22, 23, 24). BAGNALL AND BRANSBOURG have conducted economic analyses of Late Antique Rome by relying on statistical data and charts generated by the visualization tools built directly into MANTIS and OCRE (5). HORNE published a National Endowment for the Humanities - Mellon Foundation funded die study and social network analysis of the Alexanders of Aeolis, making all of his data and code available on Github (rmhorne.org/2020/06/02/aeolian-alexanders-launches), a model many scholars—particularly in the sciences—follow in publishing FAIR scholarship.

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ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Fleur Kemmers

It is certainly a sign of the growing relevance and importance of archaeological and anthropological approaches to numismatics that for the first time a chapter in the *Survey of Numismatic Research* is devoted to this subject. In previous editions, publications applying methods, theories or concepts from these disciplines to coin studies were listed under the chronological and regional subheadings of the *Survey*. By bringing them together here, common trends, developments and shared interests can be better observed. In order to do so, this contribution will not list straightforward coin find publications, but will try to address those studies that have moved the application of theoretical and methodological aspects of archaeology and anthropology within numismatics forward.

Coins in contexts

Central to all studies presented here is that they consider coins to be an integral part of the archaeological record. As such, the find context of a coin is a central element. This context can be narrowly defined (as in the exact stratigraphic position), or be considered more broadly (e.g. the spatial distribution of a particular coin type, the kind of sites on which certain coins have been found, or other artefacts commonly associated with coins). This Survey period witnessed the publication of several edited volumes containing case studies on coins from archaeological contexts (DUYRAT AND GRANDJEAN (10); FREY-KUPPER, STANNARD AND WOLFE-JACOT (12); KRMNICEK AND CHAMEROY (25); PARDINI, PARISE AND MARANI (37)). The *Journal of Archaeological Numismatics* (initiated in 2011) provides a further venue for the publication of detailed coin find studies. Developed within Roman and Iron Age numismatics, specialists working on Greek and (post)medieval material were less inclined to use this archaeo-numismatic approach. This has started to change, however. The edited volume by DUYRAT AND GRANDJEAN (10) has a special focus on the Greek world and the contributions by DUYRAT (9) and IOSSIF (18) address the methodological difficulties when confronted with Greek material while showing ways forward, especially regarding quantitative approaches. The monograph by EVANS (11) is a further example of contextual numismatics in a Greek context (coins from Sardis), but see the review by WATSON (43) for a critical discussion of the method used. Perhaps non-Romanists' hesitancy to embrace archaeological numismatics might stem from one of the key interests of many scholars studying coins in context: dating. Greek coins are often difficult to date precisely and therefore are, in commonly held opinion, of little use for archaeologists trying to date features and sites. (Post)medieval excavations can often rely on extensive historical records which are far more accurate than coinage. However, on the one hand this oversimplifies the issue of dating with coins while on the other hand, reducing coins to dating devices does not even come close to unlocking the full potential of studying coins within their context. An insight into the complexities of using coins for dating features, and suggestions on to how to use coin wear to estimate the time elapsed between minting and deposition is offered by DOYEN (6), and PILON (38). PILON (39) compares this with the dating of features obtained through ceramics. What these publications have in common is that they stress that the date a coin was minted should not be equated with the time it became part of the archaeological record. Indeed, the discussion has moved on and especially the work of MARTIN (27, 28) has shown how investigating coins from dated stratigraphical contexts (dated by other means than coinage!) gives new insights into the circulation period of coins, the speed with which new issues spread across larger territories and, above all, what this can tell us about processes of monetization or coin supply mechanisms.

Coins found by detectorists lack stratigraphical details, but can nevertheless be considered as archaeological finds. Several authors have reflected on the methodological implications of using detector finds when advocating a contextual approach, ranging from defining 'mega-contexts' (DOYEN (5)), and paying close attention to taphonomic processes incurred by ploughing the land (HENRIKSEN AND HORSNAES (15)), to stressing the differences between detector finds and excavations finds (HORSNAES (17)).

Coins and theory

Building upon the potential of a contextual analysis of coins, a number of publications geared towards a more general audience of archaeologists and historians have appeared (KELLEHER (20); KEMMERS (23); MYRBERG BURSTRÖM (32). They move beyond demonstrating the benefits of archaeological methods to argue for the importance of archaeological and anthropological theories in the interpretation of coin finds. Archaeological and anthropological theory covers a wide field but three main fields of interest seem to have established themselves over this survey period while one is potentially about to do so: the social embeddedness of monetary practices and constructions of value, coins as material culture and coinage in cult and ritual (established) and coinage and gender (developing).

All these approaches allow for interpretations of money-related objects beyond a utilitarian, rationale and capitalist understanding as a disembedded means of exchange. An edited volume with case studies from all over the world by HASELGROVE AND KRMNICEK (14) gives a good impression of the multifaceted uses of monetary objects beyond the strictly economic sphere. Especially noteworthy is the introduction to the volume by KRMNICEK AND HASELGROVE (26), which highlights the importance of thinking about the way value is constructed and determined in societies, but equally about the ritual powers money seems to hold almost everywhere. Likewise thought-provoking is MAURER (29), who introduces a number of concepts and lines of thought from economic anthropology and demonstrates how these can be useful when thinking about money in the medieval period. JIMÉNEZ (19) offers something similar, but focusses on Antiquity.

Social embeddedness

Within economic anthropology, money is understood as socially constructed and thus contingent on particular socio-cultural settings. This applies not only to the development of monetary instruments, but equally to their production and use. A number of studies in this Survey period have tried to reconstruct how certain coinages or monetary objects were part of social practices or derived from them, thereby not excluding economic aspects of these objects. In most instances, the authors study the archaeological find contexts and the traces of use and wear on the coins and reflect on concepts from economic anthropology. For case studies from the medieval period or classical Antiquity the written sources and on occasion depictions of money use in other media play a part as well. KELLEHER (21), NAISMITH (35, 36) and SKRE (42) looked at medieval coin use, monetization and the social significance of money. AUDY (1) focusses on the contexts of use and deposition of Byzantine coins in the Viking world. MURGAN AND KEMMERS (30) address the socio-cultural setting of monetary practices in early Republican Italy, which for a slightly later period is also the theme of BERNARD'S study (3). The papers collected in the volume edited by HEYMANS AND TERMEER (16) all investigate how monetary value was constructed and negotiated in the ancient world and in how far the State played a role (or not). By using ethnographic parallels from Southeast Asia and Latin America and literary evidence from the early medieval world, PLATENKAMP (40) sees a cross-cultural phenomenon of living money, which can be used in long-term and short-term transactional orders, and dead money, which is money buried in the ground and alienated from its social context.

Coins as material culture

Each study which approaches coinage from a material culture perspective also touches upon the social embeddedness of money. However, working from this perspective less attention is usually paid to the monetary aspect of the object coin and its symbolic character is emphasized. CORCORAN-TADD (4) looks at how coins could express identity, but also resistance or compliance in colonial South America. WYNNE-JONES (44) draws attention to how material qualities and associations imbue coins with meaning and value in pre-colonial East Africa. Similarly, AUDY (2) discusses how symbolic values played a part in the practice of turning coins into pendants in Viking Age Scandinavia. With a special focus on iconography, ROWAN (41) argues for seeing coins minted in Rome's republican empire as active agents in the discourse on power and identity. Within material culture studies, the concept of object biography is an important starting point and MYRBERG BURSTRÖM (33) demonstrates how this can be applied to a specific hoard of precious metal objects, including coins, thereby gaining a better understanding of how and why the hoard was compiled.

Coinage in cult and ritual

Obviously, when discussing coins as being material culture and socially embedded, their role in cult and ritual is particularly prominent. Ritual depositions are often tangible in the archaeological record, be it in graves, temples or liminal contexts and they represent a category of finds where the intentional character of the deposition is without

doubt. In the last couple of years, a number of studies have appeared, that not only discuss the coin finds from such contexts but reflect on the symbolic role of monetary objects using concepts from the field of anthropology. Both DOYEN (7) and DUCHEMIN (8) draw attention to the often naïve interpretation of coins in graves as a ‘Charon’s obol’ and show how the depositional practices were much more diverse. If close attention is paid to where and how coins are deposited in a grave, the conscious selection of certain materials or images becomes apparent, demonstrating once more the highly charged symbolic character of coins. KRMNICEK (24) gives an overview of the cultural significance of money in ritual and religion in the ancient world. He too argues for paying close attention to the depositional details of coins, since what looks like profane coin loss at first sight, often turns out to be structured deposition after all. The most recent insights into the use of coinage and money in religious settings are brought together in an edited volume by MYRBERG BURSTRÖM AND TARNOW INGVARSDON (34), which offers case studies with a wide chronological and geographical scope. In the introduction to the volume, MYRBERG BURSTRÖM (31) poses the question as to why coins play such a prominent part in rituals in many cultures and periods, up to the present day. She points to the dual nature of coinage, simultaneously being money fit for transactions and objects with images, text and materiality that imbue them with symbolical values and associations.

Coinage and gender

A field that is only just emerging concerns aspects of gender in relation to numismatics. In 2018, a workshop on this theme was held at Tübingen, but the proceedings are yet to be published. In 2017, the tenth issue of the *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique* published a number of papers addressing sensuality and sexuality in relation to coinage. A gender approach to coinage entails much more than investigating female iconography on coins, although this is also included. Rather, this approach investigates coinage - its production, iconography and use - to find out more about the construction of gender roles in past societies. GENECHESI, MARTIN AND NIETO-PELLETIER (13) take a promising approach by pointing out that Iron Age coins predominantly appear in graves of women, which might imply a sepulchral association between female and coinage which was thought unsuitable for men. In a paper by KEMMERS (22) further avenues are explored for identifying coin use by females in the Roman world, in which a contextual analysis is again paramount.

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KUNST UND IKONOGRAPHIE (ANTIKE)

Karsten Dahmen

Dieses Thema, welches über die Grenzen der traditionellen gattungschronologischen Ordnung des Literaturüberblicks ausgreift, bedingt im Folgenden eine gezwungenermaßen subjektive Auswahl aus der im Berichtszeitraum erschienenen Literatur. Auf die Nennung von Literatur, die lediglich Münzenbilder ohne weitere Diskussion vorstellt, sowie reine Stempelcopora und Typenkataloge, welche besser den jeweiligen Fachüberblicken zuzuordnen sind, wurde verzichtet. Nicht alle gelisteten Titel sind kommentiert (vgl. Bemerkungen zum Survey 2002-2007, S. 200).

Für den ersten Abschnitt des Überblicks stehen die Arbeiten von MÜSELER (44) und FISCHER-BOSSERT (24) mit Untersuchungen zum Ursprung des antiken Münzbilds bzw. der Hermeneutik des griechischen Herrscherbilds im Sinne einer übergreifenden Darstellung. Satrapenprägungen behandeln BODZEK (11) und HOFF (31), jene Alexanders des Großen BLÖMER (10) und DAHMEN (16).

Hellenistische Königsbildnisse sind Gegenstand von EHLING (18), FAUCHER (22), GLENN (28), IOSSIF (34), LORBER (39), MAREST-CAFFEY (40) und (41).

Nabatäische Königsbildnisse auch im Zusammenspielen mit dem römischen Kaiser behandeln BARKAY (4-5), Klientelherrscher BENDSCHUS (7). Der Beziehung zwischen Münzporträt und steinernen Kaiserbildnissen widmet sich BECKMANN (6), dem Zusammenspiel von literarischen Texten und Münzbildern der Spätantike STEINBOCK (53), siehe auch ELKINS (121) unten, den von Kaiserreliefs und Münzbildern Trajans WOLFRAM THILL (60), zur Ähnlichkeit PERASSI (49). Der Aspekt der Ausrichtung des Porträts wird durch LICHTENBERGER (38) thematisiert und der der Mehrfachbildnisse auf Münzen Hadrians durch ABDY (1), Kopf und Büste durch WOYTEK (63).

Für das Bildnis des Brutus und Pompeius wurden durch HOLLSTEIN (33) und TRUNK (56) eigene Untersuchungen vorgelegt. Weitere Arbeiten zur Republik bei BIEDERMANN (8-9).

Ein Großteil der nachgewiesenen Arbeiten widmet sich Einzelaspekten des römischen Kaiserbildes, darunter CARLA-UHINK (14) und WOODS (62) dem Aspekt der Gallienae Augustae, vergleiche auch HOLMES (32). Das Verhältnis von Müttern und Söhnen thematisieren GIROD (27) und DUMKE (17).

Hervorzuheben sind für den ersten und zweiten Abschnitt zwei Tagungen in Athen und Tübingen, welche übergreifend ikonographische Aspekte behandelt haben, diese sind hier mit den Erstzitaten bei (16) und (6) zu finden. Ein Einführung leistet darin KRMNICEK UND ELKINS (160) sowie DE CALLATAÏ (95).

Im zweiten, größeren Teil des Überblicks sind wieder zahlreiche Einzelbereiche und –aspekte berührt, die hier nicht im Einzelnen ausgeführt werden können. Zahlreiche Beiträge widmen sich Regionen, einzelnen Münzstätten und -typen vor dem Hintergrund mythologischer Figuren, Darstellungen, Tierbildern und Gegenständen. Grundlegende Überlegungen für das griechische Münzbild finden sich bei DE CALLATAÏ (95) und solche zu dem der römischen Zeit einfürend bei KEMMERS (154). Zur keltischen Münzprägung siehe GENECHESI / MARTIN / NIETO-PELLETIER (130). Das Phänomen der Bildkontakte bzw. Motivwanderung erörtern FISCHER-BOSSERT (127), PUGLISI (207), WAHL (240) und WOODS (245).

Das offensichtlich eingestellte Ikonographieprojekt DIANA und Vorläufer stellen CACCAMO CALTABIANO (92-93), PERA (195), PUGLISI (204-205) vor.

Das Spannungsfeld und Verhältnis von kaiserlicher Reichsprägung und griechischen Lokalprägung behandeln ASSENMAKER (72), CALOMINO (96), HENARES SEVILLA (133), WEISSER (243), ZAJĄC (261), das der Coloniae DAUBNER (108), die Habilitationsschrift FILGES (124), KELEŞ / OYARÇIN / YILMAZ (155), ROWAN (213).

Architektonische Motive stehen im Fokus bei BREITSPRECHER (87), CUYLER (104), DAMSKY (107), ELKINS (117-118, 120), ersteres in Form einer umfangreichen Monographie, MARTIN (168), RAMSKOLD (208), RITTER (211), WALBANK (241), WOODS (246) und WOYTEK (257).

Das Thema der Nacktheit wird durch DROST (112) für Rom sowie HOLLARD (138) für den keltischen Bereich erörtert. Mit der Darstellung von Heilung/Heilgöttern beschäftigt sich VAN SCHAİK (237) und jener von Fremden OKOŃSKI (191).

Lokale Einflüßung in der seleukidischen Münzprägung ECKHARDT UND MARTIN (114). Vgl. auch ERICKSON (122-123) und HOOVER (142). Städteprägungen der mittel- und späthellenistischen Zeit bei MEADOWS (171).

Das Zusammenspiel von Bildauswahl und Umlauf untersuchen BARBATO (73) und KEMMERS (153). Zuhörer und Nutzer in Spätantike und Republik behandeln VANEERDEWEGH (236) und WOYTEK (255).

Den Einfluss anderer Bildmedien auf die republikanische Münzbilder diskutiert HÖLSCHER (143).

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II. Bildsprache

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SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL APPLICATIONS

Maryse Blet-Lemarquand and Gillan Davis

General introduction

In the period of this report from 2014-2020, there have been four main trends. The first is research into improving methods and methodology for analysing coins in order to tackle different questions and especially provenance of metals. This latter research has seen the intensified use of combined elemental and isotopic analysis. It is driven by general acceptance that geolocating silver ore sources can only be done reliably by isotopic analysis using mainly MC-ICP-MS (Multicollector-Inductively Coupled Plasma-Mass Spectrometry). However, elemental analysis can help determine if a set of coins could belong to the same metallic stock and in addition it can contribute useful information about the composition of coins and the technology used to make them. Part of the trend is experimentation with a wide range of analytical techniques and applications investigating the potential information to be derived from specific elements and isotopes, and about manufacturing techniques by metallography or hardness test.

The second trend has been the wide application of a suite of analytical methods to individual coinages from their inception through to modern times.

The third trend has been the investigation of coin manufacture and detection of forgeries.

The fourth trend has been more deliberate aggregation of teams of archaeometallurgists, geologists, geochemists, numismatists, archaeologists and historians for solving numismatic, archaeological and historical problems. This has been made possible through major grants especially from the European Research Commission and the work of university-based institutes and state agencies such as France's CNRS (*Centre national de la recherche scientifique*).

Other methods in the analytical repertoire used in this report include: CT (Computed Tomography); EPMA (Electron Probe Microanalysis); EDX (Energy Dispersive X-ray spectroscopy); FNAA (Fast Neutron Activation Analysis); GRT (Gamma Ray Transmission); ICP-AES (Inductively Coupled Plasma Atomic Emission Spectrometry); LA-ICP-MS (Laser Ablation Inductively Coupled Plasma-Mass Spectrometry); μ XRF (Micro X-ray Fluorescence); negative muons; neutron imaging; PAA (Proton Activation Analysis); PGAA (Prompt Gamma Activation Analysis); PIXE (Particle Induced X-ray Emission); pXRF (portable XRF); RBS (Rutherford Backscattering Spectrometry); SEM (Scanning Electron Microscopy); SG (Specific Gravity); SR-WD-XRF (Synchrotron Radiation Induced WDXRF); TOF-ND (Time-of-Flight Neutron Diffraction); TOF-SIMS (Time-of-Flight Secondary-Ion Mass Spectrometry); WDXRF (Wavelength-Dispersive XRF).

Commentary

Research into improving methods and methodology

There has been much research into methods, both old and new, and methodology.

XRF remains a dominant technique because it is rapid, non-destructive, transportable, inexpensive and useful when coins are made of almost pure noble metals such as gold and silver without significant addition of copper such as were typically minted by archaic and classical Greek city-states where the patina does not present a formidable barrier. GORE AND DAVIS (58) proposed a mathematical correction for approximating the bulk composition of almost pure Greek silver coins 'seeing through' the patina. Surface silver enrichment may also occur in some coinages with high fineness (Ag >90 %), see BORGES *et al.* (29). A new and experimental development of XRF is μ XRF. Although hampered by the extended time needed to analyse samples and lack of portability, it is gaining popularity and it has been used to examine surface enrichment in silver coins by HRNJIĆ *et al.* (76).

Another use of X-ray is X-ray CT that is relevant for identifying completely corroded coins: BUDE AND BIGELOW (33), and for imaging and examining a coin hoard in a pot without having to excavate it: MILES *et al.* (90). Neutron radiation techniques are also non-destructive but more penetrative than XRF. An important series of studies by SALVEMINI *et al.* (120, 121, 122), LUZIN *et al.* (84) and OLSEN *et al.* (109) sought to understand manufacturing

techniques in South Italian incuse and other Greek coins dating to the 6th and 5th centuries BC.

Using LA-ICP-MS's depth profile mode, SARAH AND GRATUZE (131) analysed silver and BLET-LEMARQUAND *et al.* (21) gold. Depth profiling was also interrogated on silver coins using SEM-EDS and TOF-SIMS by MARJO *et al.* (85) and applying LA-ICP-MS by HRNJIĆ *et al.* (76). An innovative, non-destructive method for depth investigation of Roman silver coins was by HAMPSHIRE *et al.* (67) using negative muons.

Some studies worked on devising strategies for analysing silver coins (for example 10, 39, 119). A difficult problem for analysts is analysing debased silver coins, made of silver-copper alloys. MORENO-SUÁREZ *et al.* (95) combined XRF with density tests and GRT to evaluate the bulk composition of Republican silver coins. CORSI *et al.* (37) used TOF-ND for determining silver and copper contents in Celtic silver coins from northern Italy. DEBERNARDI *et al.* (39) developed a model based on ND results for determining the silver contents of debased alloy coins using SG tests (summarised explanations of this model are given in the appendix to 40).

Many studies examined the potential advantages and limits of using stable isotopes (Ag, Sn, Fe) for provenancing ancient metals. A significant development is the use of silver isotopes by ALBARÈDE *et al.* (3) since it analyses the metal from which silver coins were made, rather than the residual lead which did not always come from the same ore source, see ALBARÈDE *et al.* (2). The method is described in MILOT *et al.* (92). BERGER *et al.* investigated tin isotopes (8, 9) and MILOT *et al.* iron isotopes (91).

Other studies looked at individual elements for tackling different problems. There were archaeometallurgical experiments and/or simulation for determining how certain elements behave during pyrotechnical treatments and interpreting contents. These included L'HÉRITIER *et al.*'s (83) study of bismuth in silver, and BLET-LEMARQUAND *et al.*'s (23, 24) study into platinum and palladium and other trace elements in gold. WOOD *et al.* (155) discussed using iridium as a specific marker for provenancing silver objects, including coins, in an article contested by PERNICKA (116) to which WOOD *et al.* replied (156). HINDS *et al.* (72) sought to determine platinum in Roman gold coins using WDXRF and this research was complemented by VAN LOON *et al.* (147) who applied SR-WD-XRF for determining platinum distributions. UHLIR *et al.* (146) examined mercury in some Sasanian coins.

An overview about provenance studies of silver and gold coins was conducted by BLET-LEMARQUAND *et al.* (22) as well as one on the characteristics of analytical methods for coined metals (19).

Metal analysis (references classified by period)

Greek coins received considerable attention. Different studies relate to the analysis of early electrum coins: by XRF in GITLER *et al.* (57), HILBERT (70, 71), and by LA-ICP-MS in BLET-LEMARQUAND AND DUYPAT (17). DAVIS *et al.* (38) used key diagnostic elements in a large-scale XRF study of archaic Athenian coins to reveal compositional patterns. MARKOU *et al.* (86) presented pXRF results of gold coins struck by the kings of Cyprus. Agathocles' coins issued in electrum were analysed using LA-ICP-MS by HOCHARD AND ARTRU (73). NIETO-PELLETIER *et al.* (101, 102) investigated staters of Philip II of Macedon. Gold Lysimachi were analysed by LA-ICP-MS by DUYPAT AND BLET-LEMARQUAND (44) and by XRF by VÎLCU AND PÎRVULESCU (148). SMEKALOVA (139) commented on XRF results obtained for coins minted by Greek states on the Black Sea shores. SHEEDY *et al.* (135) provided elemental analysis of Siphnian coins. BIRCH *et al.* (10, 12) used EPMA and LA-ICP-MS for silver coins from Magna Graecia. FLAMENT (50) gave an overview of available chemical data of Athenian owls. FAUCHER (46) examined the first Egyptian gold coins of Nectanebo II and in FAUCHER (48), Athenian owls and their imitations. Ptolemaic silver and bronze coins were analysed by FAUCHER AND OLIVIER (49), OLIVIER (105, 106) and OLIVIER AND KEEN (108). OLIVIER *et al.* (107) studied the question of the provenance of Alexander's minted silver. BLET-LEMARQUAND *et al.* (18) looked at Hellenistic silver coins from *koina* and cities. General trends in the composition of Greek bronze coins were given in BLET-LEMARQUAND (16). WOJAN (154) pinpointed a series of Greek 'bronze' coins made of pure copper. SHEEDY *et al.* (136) analysed by XRF and ICP-AES a few specimens of a series of 4th century bronze coins to discuss ancient written sources.

Carthaginian gold coins were analysed by ARTRU (5) using LA-ICP-MS to tackle the question of their gold provenance. GARCÍA-BELLIDO *et al.* (52) carried out elemental and lead isotope analyses of coins found in a Second Punic War battlefield site.

Judaean bronze prutahs were investigated by BOWER *et al.* (31) using XRF and XRD to study their manufacture, and in BOWER *et al.* (32), their tin isotopes.

Celtic coins received considerable analytical attention. NIETO-PELLETIER (98) emphasized the importance of

archaeometric data for Celtic gold numismatics. NIETO-PELLETIER AND OLIVIER (101) developed different approaches for studying Celtic Gaul imitations of Philip II of Macedonia staters - see also the publication of one specimen of these imitations by GENEVIÈVE AND NIETO-PELLETIER (53). SILLON (137, 138) updated understanding of gold Celtic coinages of northern Gaul with a large, interdisciplinary study combining numismatic and archaeometric approaches by LA-ICP-MS of almost 600 coins. NIETO-PELLETIER *et al.* (100) brought together composition results of 'globules à la croix' and published new results. BOSSAVIT (30) studied the coin composition and production policies of silver Celtic coinages of Central Eastern Gaul. ŠMIT *et al.* (145) analysed Celtic coins from Slovenia combining PIXE and PGAA. Different Celtic coinages from Armorica were characterised using various methods: billon by FNAA in GRUEL AND NIETO-PELLETIER (60) and gold and billon by PAA or PIXE in GUERRA AND ABOLLIVIER (61). NIETO-PELLETIER *et al.* (103, 104) looked at whether Celtic bronze coins were fiduciary using FNAA of potin and struck coins. NIETO-PELLETIER (97) initiated research on Celtic orichalcum coinages with FNA.

Roman coins continued to attract interest. WESTNER *et al.* (153) combined LIA and elemental analysis of bronze coins issued in Italy and Sicily from the 5th to 2nd centuries BC to trace the development of these coinages. Several studies dealt with silver supply during the Republican period: ALBARÈDE *et al.* (3) using silver isotopes and LIA, WESTNER *et al.* (152) combining LIA and trace elements analysis and PARISOT-SILLON AND SARAH (112) using chemical analysis of a large set of coins. PARISOT-SILLON (111) discussed the minting of the *victoriatus* (silver currency from the 2nd century BC) focussing on composition. Work was also done on this topic by DEBERNARDI AND MANENTI (40). SUSPÈNE AND BLET-LEMARQUAND (142) published the analysis of a gold coin in the name of Flamininus. The gold coins struck by Brutus and Cassius interested SUSPÈNE *et al.* (143), as well as Octavian/Augustus' gold coins, SUSPÈNE (140) and BLET-LEMARQUAND *et al.* (25), while BOCCIARELLI *et al.* (26) delved into Roman gold coins from AD 68-69 and SUSPÈNE *et al.* (144) examined the fineness of gold coinage from the Republic and early Empire. BUTCHER AND PONTING (36) studied the reform of Trajan as an extension of their previous large-scale work on silver Roman coinage in BUTCHER AND PONTING (35). WOYTEK AND BLET-LEMARQUAND (157) provided a thorough study of a peculiar type of silver denarius formerly attributed to Augustus which they linked to the reign of Hadrian based on metallurgical, numismatic and archaeological arguments. OREJAS SACO DEL VALLE *et al.* (110) provided LIA and XRF analysis of Roman coins from an archaeological site. ESTIOT (45) published a detailed study of the special issues of the Rome mint under the Emperor Probus that includes analysis of gold coins and bronze medallions. Elemental analysis of gold coins minted by Aurelian and his successors can be found in GRICOURT *et al.* (59). GUIHARD *et al.* (62, 63) carried out XRF analysis on abraded areas of a hoard of *nummi*. DI FAZIO *et al.* (43) studied the microstructure and composition of cross-sections of orichalcum coins minted after Augustus' reform. BIRCH *et al.* (11) examined copper and copper alloy coins from the Late Roman to Byzantine periods found in archaeological contexts. MONTERO RUIZ AND OREJAS SACO DEL VALLE (94) investigated the copper supply in the Roman Empire and Late Antiquity.

Roman provincial coinage was addressed. Asses of Nimes/ Nemausus under Augustus were looked at by PELLÉ AND BLET-LEMARQUAND (115), and medals showing types of this colony by VILLEMUR *et al.* (151) and VILLEMUR AND BLET-LEMARQUAND (149, 150). GENEVIÈVE *et al.* (54) studied cast coins imitating the bronze coins from Nimes. AMANDRY AND BURNETT (4) compared different methods used for silver coins and presented FNA results of copper alloy medallic coins in the name of Antinous and of silver coins in volume III of *Roman Provincial Coinage*. FNA analysis was also carried out by HOCHARD *et al.* (75) on provincial bronze coins coming mainly from Lydia to diachronically outline general compositional trends, and to discuss the organisation of minting, HOCHARD *et al.* (74). LEMPEREUR AND BLET-LEMARQUAND studied *denarii* minted in Alexandria at the end of the 2nd century (82).

Later periods were also tackled. Merovingian gold coins were analysed by BLET-LEMARQUAND (15) and Merovingian silver coins by BLANCHET (13), BLANCHET *et al.* (14), FOUCRAY *et al.* (51), SCHIESSER AND SARAH (133). SARAH *et al.* (130) provided a full study of a Carolingian hoard that combines many approaches including archaeometry with elemental and lead isotope analyses of the coins. Elemental analyses were of particular interest in a discussion of the monetary politics of the Carolingian Empire (SARAH (126)). The fineness of the rare gold Carolingian coins was commented on in SARAH (124). LA-ICP-MS analysis of 10th century coins allowed MOESGAARD AND SARAH (93) to pinpoint when debasement occurred. PEIGNEY AND SARAH (113, 114) clarified the classification of a French feudal coinage with the help of elemental analysis. Work on medieval excavation finds was the starting point of larger studies conducted by SARAH (123, 125) and by SARAH AND JESSET (132). MATZKE (87) analysed medieval coinages struck in

mining areas in South-western Germany. SARAH (128) investigated the question of the use of brass to debase medieval silver coinages while SARAH (127) dealt with the provenance of early medieval silver comparing lead isotope and elemental analysis of traces; see also SARAH AND GENEVIÈVE (129) for another supply study. JONSON *et al.* (79) examined Byzantine and Islamic mints in North Africa with the help of SG measurements and LA-ICP-MS analysis. In the framework of his study dealing with silver of the Viking Age, MERKEL (88, 89) studied Islamic coins combining elemental and lead isotope analyses. Bulk analysis by FNAA of Arab-Sasanian ‘copper’ coins was conducted by BLET-LEMARQUAND AND GYSELEN (20); and HAM-MEERT *et al.* (65, 66) used μ XRF and lead isotope analyses for Sasanian lead coins.

Modern coins received some attention. BECK *et al.* (7) studied a hoard of 15th to 17th century coins applying PIXE and RBS and dated linen fibers attached to the coins by radiocarbon dating. Gold coins from a small 16th century hoard were looked at by BOMPAIRE *et al.* (28) using LA-ICP-MS. This method was also performed for analysis of hoards of Spanish gold and silver coins discovered in France in JAMBU (78), while XRF was used for Spanish gold coins from South American mints by GUTIÉRREZ NEIRA *et al.* (64). GENTELLI (55) performed a provenance study of 17th-19th century Spanish silver coins using LA-ICP-MS.

Coin manufacture (official/irregular coins and modern forgeries)

FAUCHER (47) summarised the technical processes in manufacturing Ptolemaic coins. DELESTRÉE AND PILON (41) studied the unique bronze mould discovered for Celtic potin coins and published the analysis of a monetary punch (42). NIETO-PELLETIER *et al.* (99) analysed metallic residue in Iron Age ‘coin’ moulds. INGO *et al.* (77) investigated plated Roman Republican coins to decipher the silvering methods. GEORGE (56) carried out experiments to recreate Roman debased alloy coins. ABRAMSON *et al.* (1) examined 3rd century AD billon staters by XRF, NT and ND. HERRINGER *et al.* (69) highlighted alloy segregation in sesterces using neutron imaging. PILON (117, 118) published analyses of metallurgical materials in his large study dedicated to mints of imitative coins in 3rd century AD Gaul. NICOT AND PILON (96) analysed clay coin moulds excavated in Lyons by XRF and provide FNAA of an imitation denarius. Roman iron coins coated with copper alloy (*subferrate*) were studied in different articles: HAUBNER *et al.* (68); KLEIN AND VON KAENEL (80, 81). BOMPAIRE and BLET-LEMARQUAND (27) analysed a hoard of fake silver coins from the 12th century manufactured through tinning of copper alloy flans. BECK *et al.* (6) studied the silvering processes implemented for 16th century coins and replicated them. A modern forged die was published by SUSPÈNE and BLET-LEMARQUAND (141). Gold tracks analysed by SEM-EDX suggested that it has been used to strike coins, and WOYTEK AND WILLIAMS succeeded in matching the die with coins struck from it (158).

Team projects and major publications

Important team projects relevant to numismatics have received an ERC Advanced Grant. These include: ‘Token Communities in the Ancient Mediterranean’, University of Warwick (Grant agreement ID: 678042); ‘Silver Isotopes and the Rise of Money’, ENS Lyon (Grant ID 741454); ‘Silver and the Origins of the Viking Age’, University of Oxford (Grant ID 802349); ‘Rome and the Coinages of the Mediterranean 200 BCE - 64 CE’, University of Warwick (Grant ID 835180).

Many projects have been funded by State agencies, local institutions or private foundations: ACANS - early Attic silver; incuse coinage of South Italy (jointly with ANSTO); A Spring of Silver, a treasury in the earth: coinage and wealth in archaic Athens – *Wappenmünzen* and Archaic Owls; ATMOCE - Celtic bronze coins; Aureus - antique gold; CELTIC GOLD - Celtic gold coins hoarded with gold objects; FANUM - XRF for archaeology and numismatics; GlobaLID - database for lead isotope data; IMAGMA - Roman and barbarian coins; KOINON - Arcadian, Achaian and Aetolian coinages; OLBIA - Münzen aus einer griechischen Kolonie.

There have been a number of significant numismatic publications. Here we list three: BUTCHER edited a book on debasement phenomena that comprises several contributions interpreting scientific data (34); BUTCHER AND PONTING (35) published a major work on Roman silver coinage from Nero to Trajan; Volume 6 of the *Metallurgy in Numismatics* series edited by SHEEDY AND DAVIS (134) includes eleven chapters on scientific analysis of coins.

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PROVENANCE AND LEGAL ISSUES

Nathan T. Elkins

In terms of numbers of individual objects, ancient coins make up the bulk of objects in the antiquities trade, as various studies have indicated in the past and in the period of this survey: e.g., BRODIE (10, 11), BRODIE AND SABRINE (14), BRODIE AND YATES (15), and SARGENT, MARRONE, EVANS, LILLY, NEMETH AND DALZELL (60). In recent decades, ancient coins have become increasingly central to concerns regarding looting, the consequent destruction of archaeological sites and historical information, and the ongoing debate about cultural property issues. Therefore, for the first time, the editors of the *Survey of Numismatic Research, 2014-2020* elected to include a chapter surveying relevant research on these topics. Myriad voices contribute to the discourse: academics and scholars of various stripes, including archaeologists and numismatists, criminologists, lawyers and legal experts, collectors, metal detectorists, dealers, and lobbyists. The outlets for informed discourses on this subject include a broad range of peer-reviewed presses and periodicals, although it is important to include and cite relevant government documents, institutional reports and press releases, and popular news items. Owing to the often polemic and misleading content of personal blogs, Twitter feeds, web-based editorials, and similar media, I have generally omitted them in favor of these more grounded items. The variety of international, national, regional, and local venues in which legal, academic, and popular contributions on this subject may appear is vast. The aim here is to include a representative variety of perspectives and voices as far as possible; any significant omissions outside of personal blogs and editorials/opinion pieces are inadvertent. Owing to my expertise in Mediterranean coinage, specifically of the Greek and Roman worlds, and my own lack of facility with Asian languages, I acknowledge that the discourse specifically surrounding ancient Chinese coins and other ancient Asian coinages is almost certainly underrepresented in this chapter, and for that I apologize.

Aside from one prominent case in the United Kingdom, it should also be noted that this chapter does not include individual instances or reports of looting and/or smuggling of ancient coins, for the sheer quantity of news items and reported incidences since 2014 is overwhelming, numbering in the hundreds or thousands. Readers who are interested in such items are advised to conduct internet searches with appropriate keywords targeted at the country of origin. For example, one could search for “Bulgaria,” “coins,” and “looting” or “smuggling,” and variations on those keywords to find a number of recent incidences from that country. For Italy, one might conduct a similar search by changing the country in the search string. Obviously, more results are returned when using relevant keywords in the language of the country one is searching for (e.g., German keyword searches will provide more news items for looting in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland than keyword searches in English).

There is also a vast and growing bibliography on metal detecting as a hobby, as corrosive to archaeological and cultural heritage, as a social activity unto itself, and as an opportunity for archaeologists to recover knowledge of finds through outreach efforts and recording schemes. While much if not most of what enters the trade as fresh finds comes from metal detecting, I am not attempting a complete or broad bibliography on metal detecting, as the *Survey of Numismatic Research* is concerned with coinage specifically. Therefore, I have restricted the bibliography on metal detecting to contributions that take a broad methodological approach or that have a wider geographical outlook, or to works that deal specifically with coins and metal detecting.

Overviews and Introductions: Laws, Ethics, and Looting

GILL’S (41) book, which collates contributions to his regular column, “Context Matters,” in the *Journal of Art Crime*, discusses a range of topics regarding the looting and trafficking of objects, including ancient coins, and the intellectual consequences thereof. For a general audience, ELKINS (28) summarizes the significance of coin finds in archaeological context and how looting and illegal metal detecting compromises archaeological sites and erodes historical information. A book on the history of antiquities collectors, including occasional discussion of the collecting, looting, and smuggling of ancient coins, discusses the problem and critiques some collectors’ justifications for looting

and smuggling, but also discusses ways forward with collectors: THOMPSON (64).

Although none of the contributions directly engage with the issue of ancient coinage, the handbook by FRANCONI AND VRDOLJAK (34) contains a number of contributions on the broader legal and cultural contexts of cultural heritage and antiquities trafficking issues. Some particularly relevant chapters include GERSTENBLITH (38) on illegal excavation, VIGNI (67) on state responsibility, and FRIGO (35) on ethical codes; some regional overviews of approaches in areas in which ancient coins are found include LEE (50) on Asia, CRAUFURD SMITH (19) on Europe, and KERSEL AND BOUCHENAKI (48) on the Middle East and North Africa. Although ancient coins are not found in North America, FINCHAM'S (32) chapter on North America is important in providing an overview on how important market countries there engage with the rest of the world in the importation of archaeological and historical materials.

While it also does not deal with ancient coins specifically, ANDERSON'S (3) book provides an introduction to the debate surrounding the looting, smuggling, and collecting of antiquities, defining concepts, terms, definitions, stakeholders, sketching out various legal and ethical frameworks, and so on. It should be an essential reference to any newcomer to the debate surrounding antiquities collecting and cultural property issues. Another important book discusses the trafficking of archaeological and cultural goods, summarizing current research, supply mechanisms and trade practices, and the conflation of legal and illegal goods, and links and compares the trade to other transnational crimes: MACKENZIE, BRODIE, YATES AND TSIROGIANNIS (52).

Laws, Cases, and Practices

Some overviews of legal frameworks for Europe, the Middle East and North Africa, Asia, and America appeared in the above section. The International Numismatic Council's annual periodical, *Compte Rendu*, remains an important venue regarding the law and practice regarding coin finds and metal detecting in various countries. In addition to these, the International Numismatic Council maintains a website with copies of various contributions in the *Compte Rendu*'s annual column on "The Law and Practice Regarding Coin Find and Metal Detecting," since its inception: <https://www.inc-cin.org/laws.html>. Some recently published overviews from the *Compte Rendu* for countries outside of Europe include FENINA (31) on Tunisia, KOVALENKO (49) on Russia, and GÜNTHER AND LIU (43) on China.

Europe

Some contributions in the *Compte Rendu* on the legal situation and practices in various European countries, published since 2014, include PENNESTRI (57) on Italy, GATZOLIS (36) on Greece, PROKOPOV (58) on Bulgaria, STAJER (61) on Slovenia, FISCHER ZU CRAMBURG (33) on Germany, and GULLBEKK AND ROLAND (42) on Norway.

CRISÀ (20) analyzes archival documents related the 1911 Calvatone Hoard of Roman Republican coins that was found by two brothers and later seized by Italian police, highlighting the proactivity of Italian authorities in the post-unification period and the enforcement of contemporary law at that period.

In 2019, the European Parliament and Council issued Regulation 2019/880, which aims "to prevent the import and storage in the EU of cultural goods illicitly exported from a third country, thereby reducing trafficking in cultural goods, combatting terrorism financing and protecting cultural heritage, especially archaeological objects in sources countries affected by armed conflict." The legislation establishes a common definition for cultural goods imported into EU countries, encourages due diligence in importation, sets up standards to determine legality, and provides deterrents to trafficking: REGULATION 2019/880 (59). Importantly, while cultural goods within the European Union have been subject to regulations for a long time, this new legislation regulates the import of archaeological and cultural goods entering the European Union from non-EU countries. While I am generally avoiding linking to online editorials, BRODIE'S (12) comment on the new legislation points out that coins and small objects are treated differently from other archaeological objects, largely undermining the intent of the new regulation to deter pillage and profit from it.

The popular weekly newsletter and website, *CoinsWeekly* (<https://coinsweekly.com/>), available also in German as *MünzenWoche* (<https://muenzenwoche.de/>), regularly reports on developments in European law and practice as affects restrictions on the trade in ancient coins without collecting histories. There are dozens of editorials and commentaries available, which are generally critical or skeptical of new legislative efforts. There is a search feature on both websites and relevant pieces may be found through targeted keyword searches such "European law," "coin import," "cultural property," "cultural heritage," and so on (or the equivalent German phrases on the German version of website).

The United Kingdom

The Treasure Act of 1996 covers England and Wales and makes reporting of finds of precious-metal antiquities

and hoards of precious-metal coins obligatory. In an effort to protect historically and culturally significant items from disappearing, a major revision to the Treasure Act is underway and the consultation is closed. The proposed revision would no longer attach the requirement that finds be comprised precious metal: DEPARTMENT FOR DIGITAL, CULTURE, MEDIA & SPORT (24) and DEPARTMENT FOR DIGITAL, CULTURE, MEDIA & SPORT AND DINENAGE (25). For coins to be considered Treasure under the proposed revision, a find must have two or more coins over 300 years old at the time of discovery and, if the find contains less than 10% precious metal, there should be 10 coins.

The prominent case of the looting of a Viking hoard of gold objects and silver coins, which included exceedingly rare “two emperors” coins, in 2015 in Eye, near Leominster, and its subsequent dispersal and police intervention is told by MEAD (54); the detectorists did not obtain the landowner’s permission to detect on the land on which it was found, nor was the find reported as required under the Treasure Act.

The United States

In the United States, import restrictions on antiquities and archaeological objects are negotiated individually with requesting nations; a designated list provides categories of objects that are subject to import restrictions when an object originating in that country has no documented history prior to the date that import restrictions are first implemented. Agreements may be renewed every five years. A list of active import restrictions, with links to the designated lists of each country can be found on the website of the Cultural Property Advisory Committee of the U.S. Department of State: <https://eca.state.gov/cultural-heritage-center/cultural-property-advisory-committee/current-import-restrictions>. The United States currently limits the importation of ancient coins from Algeria (implemented 2019), Bulgaria (implemented 2014, renewed 2019), China (implemented 2009, renewed 2014 and 2019), Cyprus (implemented 2002, coins first protected in 2006, renewed in 2012 and 2017), Egypt (implemented 2016), Greece (implemented 2011, renewed 2016), Jordan (implemented 2020), Libya (implemented 2018), Morocco (implemented 2021), and Turkey (implemented 2021). Ancient coins from Iraq are subject to import restrictions via the Emergency Protection for Iraqi Cultural Antiquities Act (2004), as are coins from Syria through the Protect and Preserve International Cultural Property Act (2016), and emergency import restrictions were imposed in 2020 on coins and antiquities originating from Yemen.

With regard to the consideration of a potential Memorandum of Understanding with Egypt in 2016, WISNIEWSKI (72) provides a legal comment, suggesting it is inappropriate to impose import restrictions on coins of Egyptian type. PEARLSTEIN (56) argues that it is time to reform the Cultural Property Implementation Act (CPIA), which governs the framework for the implementation of bilateral agreements and import restrictions in the United States, as he sees discord between the plain language of the CPIA, the functioning of the Cultural Property Advisory Committee, and the implementation of import restrictions.

In 2009, the Ancient Coin Collectors Guild (ACCG) imported 23 ancient Cypriot and Chinese coins into the United States and declared them of these origins so that they that would be seized at the Baltimore-Washington International Airport, as the United States has bilateral agreements with Cyprus and China that limit the importation of ancient coins from these countries. The goal was to launch a “test case” with the aim of striking down import restrictions from certain countries on ancient coins without previously documented collecting histories into the United States: ANCIENT COIN COLLECTORS GUILD v. U.S. CUSTOMS AND BORDER PROTECTION (5). The case was ultimately lost in 2012 and the U.S. Supreme Court declined to hear it in 2013 after the ACCG put it before them. An attempt was made to relitigate the case by contesting the subsequent forfeiture of the coins; the contested forfeiture also failed, was put before the U.S. Supreme Court in 2018 and denied a hearing in 2019. The forfeited Cypriot coins from the “test case” were ultimately repatriated to Cyprus in 2020: U.S. CUSTOMS AND BORDER PROTECTION (66); while one may presume the Chinese coins from the case were returned to China, there is no press release on that subject.

Archaeologists, anthropologists, and art historians have used the terms “provenance” and “provenience” to refer, respectively, to collecting histories and material contexts. But even among these circles the terms are often confused and used differently. GILL (40) argues that for archaeological materials we should abandon the term “provenance” and use “collecting histories” and also use “archaeology” for an object’s deposition context. Similarly, BELL (7) also discusses the problematic term “provenance.” Related to the ACCG’s case, GERSTENBLITH (37) discusses the terms and concepts of “provenance” and “provenience,” and the more precise verbiage suggested by GILL, and their potential utility in the interpretation and application of U.S. law; importantly, she also distinguishes between “country of origin” (i.e., where an object was made) and “country of discovery” (i.e., where an object was found), which has often been

a confused topic in the American legal system regarding antiquities, as she illustrates with examples from the ACCG “test case.” From an archaeological/numismatic perspective, ELKINS (29) had earlier remarked that the ACCG’s argument that the U.S. State Department was inappropriately restricting certain coin types according to where they were made instead of where they were found was inaccurate owing to the relatively restricted and locally circulating types (e.g., Greek fractions and Roman provincial coins) that were included on the various designated lists, as more broadly circulating types (e.g., republican and imperial *denarii*) are not on these lists.

Looting, Metal Detecting, and the Online Sale of Looted/Smuggled Coins

Within a study on the internet-market in antiquities, BRODIE (10) summarizes looting activities in Bulgaria, the smuggling of ancient coins to market nations, and some seizures in recent decades. A report of the European Commission, focusing squarely on the trade in cultural goods in Europe, examines the scale, profitability, and efforts to combat to the illegal trade in antiquities: BRODIE AND YATES (15). That report identifies ancient and medieval coins as a central to the broader trade in illicit antiquities, and as particularly at-risk objects, bolstered in recent decades by the rise of internet marketing platforms; forgeries often enter the market via looters and smugglers, as indicated by Operation Serdica, which produced modern forger’s dies among a cache of looted coins. Regarding their research on market in ancient and medieval coins in Europe, the authors conclude “European vendors are selling annually in the region of 140.000 to 700.000 antiquities from Europe, North Africa and West Asia, with a total monetary value in the region of €64 million to €318 million. European vendors are also selling annually a minimum of 298.379 ancient and medieval coins, valued at more than €56 million.”

From a criminological perspective, HARDY (45, 46) assesses the potential utility of different data sets mined from open sources to assess the scale and impact of metal detecting on cultural heritage, concluding that sites are being mined for archaeological resources at an unsustainable rate and that permissive detecting laws do not improve the situation. Using different data sets and assessing their reliability, HARDY (44) looks at illicit metal detecting and looting in Belarus, Poland, Russia, and Ukraine, finding that the widespread use of detectors here and the despoilation of sites are, in part, encouraged by economic conditions and the lack of legal enforcement. THOMAS (63) provides comment on HARDY’s study of metal detecting in Eastern Europe, suggesting a limitation of the open-source data approach here is the restricted availability of the internet; she finds his discussion of detectorists’ attitudes towards the law, as iterated in online discussion forums, informative. The edited volume by CAMPBELL, WHITE AND THOMAS (17) contains chapters on legal landscapes surrounding metal detecting, cooperative engagement with academics, and challenges regarding law and practice.

Although it does not deal with ancient coins, WARTENBERG’S (68) article on the Saddle Ridge Hoard of American gold coins merits mention owing to its relationship to the broader issues and concerns. The hoard of 1,400+ rare gold coins, valued at over \$10,000,000, was discovered on the property of a California couple and sold on Amazon. The find spot and details of the discovery remain unknown owing to the legal framework in the United States and important historical information is lost. She suggests that a modern reporting scheme could have incentivized reporting and our knowledge of the hoard.

As reported by KANTCHEV (47), for example, academics and archaeologists continue to express concerns about the unbridled sale of recently looted antiquities and coins in online platforms such as eBay, Facebook, Amazon, WhatsApp, etc. A detailed 90-page report by the Antiquities Trafficking and Heritage Anthropology Research (ATHAR) Project detailed the use of Facebook as a platform for looted and smuggled antiquities and ancient coins: AL-AZM AND PAUL (1). Facebook banned sales of historical artifacts, including ancient coins, owing to concerns that such sales on the platform supported looting: MASHBERG (53) and SWANN (62). Closed Facebook groups have routinely been used to market looted items and have provided advice on obtaining illegally excavated and smuggled material.

While many archaeologists have an aversion to the use of metal detectors, owing to the role they have historically played in the erosion of the archaeological record, DOYEN (27) discusses the utility of metal detectors deployed by archaeologists working under legal parameters and in a scientific framework.

The Islamic State in Syria and Iraq

Looting in Syria and Iraq, and the Middle East and North Africa more generally, have been the subject of intensified study in the past decade and during the period of this survey, owing to the destabilization of the region following the Arab Spring, and the rise of the terrorist group known as the Islamic State. The Islamic State was particularly

powerful in Syria in Iraq, and facilitated the destruction, looting, and sale of antiquities and ancient coins to help fund its activities.

From 2017 to 2019, the Terrorism, Transnational Crime and Corruption Center (TraCCC) at George Mason University, supported by an international team of experts and a grant from the U.S. State Department, intensively studied looting activities in the recent conflict zones of Syria in Iraq through the project *Countering Looting of Antiquities in Syria and Iraq*. The final report indicates that coins and other smaller objects were prime targets, summarizes smuggling networks, some specific scenarios, and potential links with terrorist and other criminal activities: BRODIE (11). The RAND Corporation also issued a lengthy report on the illicit antiquities trade using open-source data and found that fresh supplies of ancient coins are among the prime targets of looters: SARGENT, MARRONE, EVANS, LILLY, NEMETH AND DALZELL (60).

BBC Radio 4 aired a program called “Islamic State: Looting for Terror,” which interviewed people on the ground and experts, and which highlighted the targeting and looting of ancient coins to sell on the international market; it remains available by audio and transcript: COX (18). An investigative report by MOOS (55) on armed Salafist groups in Syria chronicled looting and the targeting of ancient coins. WARTENBERG (69) spoke about ancient coins and the conflict in Syria in 2015 at an event sponsored by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs at the U.S. Department of State, the text of which is available online. Through some case studies, she indicates what appears to be a correlation between the civil war in Syria, the rise of the Islamic State in the Levant (ISIL), and an increase of ancient coins from Syria in the trade. WARTENBERG (70) also wrote about a photograph of a book illustrating numismatic material that was seized by Kurdish People’s Defense Unit after a battle with Turkish Islamic State fighters, which appears to reinforce a connection between the Islamic State and its interest in looting antiquities and coins. TOPÇUOĞLU AND VORDERSTRASSE (65) analyzed cylinder seals and ancient coins of Iraqi and Syrian origin appearing on the online marketplace, finding that there has been a steady increase in such items since 2011 with a peak in 2016-2017. A study by BRODIE AND SABRINE (14), which reports on interviews with seven people in Syria with knowledge of the illegal trade, similarly demonstrates that coins and other small objects were prime targets and highly sought after to loot and sell.

Cooperative Practices with Finders

A response to and critique of HARDY’S (45) argument that permissive policies with regard to metal detecting do not minimize its negative impact is provided by DECKERS, DOBAT, FERGUSON, HEEREN, LEWIS AND THOMAS (23). A further response by BANNING (6) adds that dichotomizing the discourse between prohibitive and permissive policies is misguided, as other complex factors merit consideration, such as presumed ownership, locales for detecting, the availability or absence of infrastructure for the reporting of finds, and whether legislation deals with objects or sites. In England, where metal detecting is legal and voluntary reporting is encouraged through the Portable Antiquities Scheme, GILL (39) discusses the 2014 discovery and removal of the Lenborough Hoard and the rather unscientific retrieval of the hoard, suggesting that there be stronger guidelines surrounding important finds in the country. BRODIE (13) gives the background and history of the Portable Antiquities Scheme and its development alongside the unforeseen rise of the internet market, looking at the scheme through HODDER’S theory of entanglement and how its entanglements affect scholarly and metal-detecting communities.

WERZ (71) discusses the practice of the Landesamt für Denkmalpflege in Lower Saxony in registering coin finds from collectors and metal detectorists in KENOM (Kooperative Erschließung und Nutzung der Objektdaten von Münzsammlung). BRINDLE’S (9) book on the Portable Antiquities Scheme in England and Wales provides a history of the program, whereby metal detectorists can voluntarily report finds and demonstrates the potential academic uses of data from the scheme. Although published in 2021, and therefore too recent for this survey, I think it is important to call attention now to BROWN’S (16) book on 50 important coin finds recorded in the Portable Antiquities Scheme. Roman coins are the most common object found by metal detectorists in England and Wales and reported to the PAS; BROWN shows how data informs aspects of the history from the Roman conquest to the withdrawal, including military activity, the countryside, cultural development, religion, and the economy.

The edited volume by LEHMANN AND HAGEMANN (51) highlights some contributions of metal detectorists and coin collectors to numismatic and archaeological knowledge in Germania, and also relates some “criminal stories.” DOBAT, DECKERS, HEEREN, LEWIS, THOMAS AND WESSMAN (26) present the vision statement of the European Public Finds Recording Network (EPFRN), with the goal of opening a debate that recognizes the challenges presented by metal

detecting but also the potential of working cooperatively with metal detectorists and encouraging finds reporting.

Research on “Provenance” (i.e., Collecting Histories)

DAHMEN (21) summarizes recent initiatives on provenance research in the Münzkabinett der Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. DAHMEN (22) also discusses various records used for provenance research at the coin cabinet. With the help of image-recognition software, <https://www.ex-numis.com> provides provenance-research services to individual collectors of ancient coins by searching for images in older auction catalogues.

Publication Guidelines

For a long time, important international archaeological journals have had ethical guidelines on the publication of objects without old collecting histories or recorded archaeological contexts in an effort to deter looting and profit from the publication of recently looted material. One of the best-known policies is that of the *American Journal of Archaeology*, the journal of the Archaeological Institute of America, which effectively does not allow the publication of any object from a private or public collection that was not legally excavated, does not have a verifiable collecting history before December 30, 1973, evidence of legal export from a country of origin, or that was not presented in a prior scholarly publication, unless the aim of the contribution is to emphasize the loss of context. The latest revision of the policy dates to 2020, and among other things, defines what is an acceptable form of previous publication: ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA (4); AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY (2).

In 2018, the *American Journal of Numismatics*, the journal of American Numismatic Society, became the first scholarly numismatic journal to implement a formal policy on previously unpublished material that dates to before ca. 1500: ELKINS AND YOON (30). The ethical guidelines are less restrictive than that of the *American Journal of Archaeology* owing the centrality of die studies, and other such numismatic methodologies that could not be deployed without attention to objects without old collection histories, export permits, or previous scholarly publications, but it aims to deter the publication and promotion of recently looted objects through a targeted approach. The current iteration of the policy reads: “The *AJN* supports laws designed to discourage fraudulent collectibles and the illicit trade in antiquities. Objects originating before ca. 1500 whose history cannot be traced before the adoption of the UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illegal Import, Export, and Transfer of Cultural Property of November 14, 1970, are subject to certain limitations for publication in *AJN*, if they have not previously been published in a scholarly (noncommercial) publication. If the object is in an institutional collection, has been reported to an official finds-recording system (e.g., the Portable Antiquities Scheme), or has entered the marketplace legally (e.g., after review under the Treasure Act in the United Kingdom), there are no restrictions. Otherwise, if the information has a verifiable source such as a prior publication, a published sale catalogue, or a named owner, it may be used in publication as part of a larger discussion (e.g., a die study, a typological study, etc.) but not as the sole focus of the article. If no such source can be cited, the object is not suitable for publication. *AJN* reserves the option to reject any contribution that appears to publish recently looted or stolen material, especially from recent conflict zones, even if it otherwise meets these conditions.”

The image guidelines continue: “For ancient material, authors should give preference to illustrations of objects held by institutional collections over unprovenanced material from the trade or in private collections. Many institutions allow images of their holdings to be used free of charge for academic publications such as the *AJN*; if uncertain whether this applies, please discuss image sources with the editors. Illustrations of objects from the trade or in private collections may be used where necessary for completeness, if they can be cited to a verifiable source (as described in the previous section); however, objects with a verifiable pre-1970 provenance or in institutional collections should be used wherever possible. In general, articles that deal with types and iconography should always use institutional images, unless dealing with a type that is unknown in such collections. If contributors are unclear as to the guidelines or expectations, please contact the appropriate editor.”

After publishing papyri with false provenances and forgeries, Brill, a major academic publisher, introduced guidelines for the publication of unprovenanced artifacts: BRILL (8).

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ANCIENT AND BYZANTINE WEIGHTS

Charles Doyen

For the first time, the *Survey of Numismatic Research* has devoted a specific section to ancient and Byzantine weights. The INC committee's decision reflects the impressive development the field has undergone in the last decades. However, in line with the editorial policy of the *Survey*, this chapter will not include publications prior to 2014, except for a few corpora and reference works. Even so, we have to cover an extensive timeframe, from the Bronze Age to Byzantine times, and thereby a large geographical area, which roughly corresponds to the Imperium Romanum at its largest extent. Our selection highlights the publication of new reference works, new analytical methods — including archaeometry — and new material — especially the weights discovered in an archaeological context.

Collective projects

Several large-scale projects used an anthropological approach to study weights and measures in ancient and medieval civilisations. The ERC-funded project “Weight and Value” (2015–2021) has been investigating the invention of scales and weights in Bronze Age Western Eurasia (RAHMSTORF AND STRATFORD [228]), while the “Archeometrologia” project focused on weights and measures from the ancient Near East, in their economic and cultural contexts (CHAMBON [49]; CHAMBON AND MARTI [50]). The Berlin Excellence Cluster Topoi II project “From Technology to Science (D5)” (2012–2019) included a side project on the emergence and development of the “Roman steelyard” (the unequal-arm balance) and its associated counterweight: see BÜTTNER AND RENN (37); see also the database (9). For the “Pondera Online” project, see DOYEN (84, 86), DOYEN AND WILLOCX (87), and the database (10).

Public and private collections

OLIVIER ET AL. (191) describe the collection of Greek weights in the National Library of France (BnF) and present the projects of digitalization; for the collection of Byzantine glass weights, see SCHIBILLE, MEEK, TOBIAS, ENTWISTLE ET AL. (248). CAMPAGNOLO AND WEBER (43) publish the Late Roman and Byzantine copper-alloyed weights from the Art and History Museum of Geneva; see also CAMPAGNOLO (40). The publication of Late Roman and Byzantine weights of the British Museum has been a desideratum for a long time; see already ENTWISTLE (95), ENTWISTLE AND MEEK (97), SCHIBILLE, MEEK, TOBIAS, ENTWISTLE ET AL. (248). TOBIAS (281) publishes three beams, four sets of chains and six counterweights from Roman and Late Roman steelyards, as well as two weights, that belong to the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe (all of these artefacts, but one, used to belong to the Zacos Collection).

Several Italian museum collections of Roman weights have been described or published: the National Archaeological Museum of Naples and the Archaeological Museum of Bologna (221); the Roman Theatre Archaeological Museum of Verona (36); the National Archaeological Museum of Aquileia (255); the Civic Museum of History and Art of Trieste (174), and the Antonio Salinas Regional Archaeological Museum of Palermo (77).

JOVANOVIĆ (148) publishes seven weights from the Archaeological Museum in Split. LAZARENKO (165) publishes seven other weights from the Varna Museum of Archaeology. CHEKHOVYCH (55) presents a part of the Anokhin Collection, which is now conserved at the Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. GURULEVA (129) publishes the Late Roman and Byzantine weights in the State Hermitage.

TEKİN continues to publish ancient and medieval weights conserved in Turkish museum and private collections, in the framework of the *Corpus Ponderum Antiquorum et Islamicorum (CPAI)*. After the Klima Plus Collection in Silifke Museum (278) [161 weights], the Istanbul Archaeological Museums (276) [455 weights], and the ancient weights in the Suna and İnan Kıraç Foundation Collection at the Pera Museum (257) [635 weights], TEKİN has devoted a volume to Late Roman and Byzantine weights in the Pera Museum (263) [742 weights]. Smaller collections are published in separate papers (258, 260, 264, 265, 267, 268). Over 50 weights from private and museum collections, many of which are unedited, were displayed in an exhibition held in Antalya (2018–2019): see TEKİN (274). The collection of the Hâlûk Perk Museum (Istanbul) is presented by PERK (202).

GATIER (119) publishes the collection of inscribed weights in the National Museum of Beirut [12 weights and a mould].

KORSHENKO (157) publishes a part of his own collection of small Byzantine weights. WEBER (290, 291) publishes small Byzantine weights conserved in several private collections. Many weights have been auctioned in the last seven years, e.g. the Fischer Collection (Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger, Auctions 419 and 421). An increasing number of ancient and Byzantine weights is appearing on the antiques market, in particular at Classical Numismatic Group (CNG), Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, Leu Numismatik, and Roma Numismatics Limited.

Online resources

The *Antike Bronzen in Berlin* database (1) contains 129 weights from the Antikensammlung, including objects that were lost or destroyed during the Second World War. These objects are also available on the *Online-Datenbank der Sammlungen* (2).

The online catalogue *Médailles et Antiques* of the French national Library contains 138 weights (3). The Louvre recently launched an online database of its collections containing 1,373 weights (4), 149 of which belong to the *Département des Antiquités égyptiennes*, 112 to the *Département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines*, 1,047 to the *Département des Antiquités orientales*, and 58 to the *Département des Arts de l'Islam*.

The British Museum online catalogue contains 12,491 weights from several cultures and periods (5), of which 1,669 belong to the category “Classical world” (including Late Roman and Byzantine weights). The Petrie Museum conserves 6,040 Egyptian weights, from the Bronze Age through the Islamic period (6). The *Portable Antiquities Scheme* records archaeological objects found in England and Wales, including many weights (7).

The *Artefacts* database (8) focuses on small archaeological finds, including weights and balances. The Topoi II research project “Between knowledge and innovation” has collected over 1,000 ancient and early medieval steelyards, almost half of which are available in open access on the *Ancient Steelyards* database (9). The *Pondera Online* database (10) aims to collect and describe ancient and medieval weights conserved in public and private collections. By the end of 2020, the project involved an international network of around 30 scholars and the database contained over 14,000 weights. Thanks to a systematic investigation of unpublished museum collections, scientific archives, archaeological publications and auction catalogues, the database has considerably augmented existing corpora: e.g. Athens (+145%), Asia Minor (+49%), or Near East (+83%).

Historical metrology

The study of ancient and Byzantine weights first-hand is likely to completely change traditional approaches to historical metrology, since most metrological studies have focused on defining modern equivalents of ancient units (e.g. GYLLENBOK [131]): see DE CALLATAÿ (39), PETRUSO (205), and NEAL (186). The importance of this material for analysing weight standards is obvious. In the same way, the structure of the weight systems is linked to the structure of the contemporaneous monetary systems: see e.g. DOYEN (81). Weight and monetary standards should therefore be studied in parallel, since they may undergo similar developments or changes, motivated by economic, military, institutional or hegemonic reasons: see DUYRAT (92) and PSOMA (220).

On the one hand, weights must be examined in the broader context of weighing operations. Several balance scales or parts of balance scales (pans, beam, or chains) have been published recently: see e.g. (36), (48), (184), (187), (223), (252), and (253). However, most publications focus on “Roman steelyards” and their counterweight. Even if steelyards do not require the use of weights per se, they were used in the same contexts as pan scales and provide information about the quantities and nature of the weighed goods. BÜTTNER AND RENN (37) examine the history of weighing technologies and, more specifically, the development of unequal-arm balances from the perspective of a theory of innovation. The *Ancient Steelyards* database (9) includes over 400 steelyards, with an archaeological description and sometimes photographs and 3D models. ROHMANN (240) investigates the terminology used to describe different types of weighing scales. He shows (a) that the term *statera* does not refer to a steelyard, but rather to small or precise scales; (b) that the term *charistio(n)* refers to a steelyard from the 2nd century CE onwards at the latest; (c) that the Late Antique term *campana/kampanon* is often associated with larger scales. For publication or re-examination of Etruscan, Roman, Late Roman and Byzantine steelyards, see e.g. (26), (36), (38), (48), (56), (57), (62), (63), (64), (65), (130), (171), (187), (199), (223), (252), (253), (281), (285), (287), (288), and (289). For their counterweights, see e.g. (13), (36), (46), (48), (52), (56), (57), (100), (114), (141), (170), (171), (185), (239), (256), and (281).

On the other hand, weights cannot be totally separated from measures designed for dry and liquid volumes. A single commodity can be measured differently, depending on the context. For instance, cereals are usually measured by volume, but can be weighed to check their density and their quality. DESCAT (76) analyses the use of different measures for buying and selling wine or grain, and reconstructs the procedure for weighing cereals in the Athenian grain tax law of 374/373 BCE (*SEG* 48.96, 60.137). Studying the graffiti mentioning masses on Northern Italian amphoras (tare, net weight, gross weight), CORTI (61) analyses the weighing procedures, especially for trading large quantities of low-cost products in standardised containers. CIOFFI (59) provides an overview of the measuring tables to calculate capacity — which are often called *mensae ponderariae* or *sekomata*. She emphasises the necessity of contrasting textual and archaeological sources. Several artefacts identified as measuring tables have been published or re-examined recently, both in the *pars orientalis* and in the *pars occidentalis* of the ancient Mediterranean: Delos (51), Naxos (58), Philippi (250), North-Western Pontic city-states (155, 183), Priene (249); Rome and Latium (164), Ostia (33), Iguvium (177), Nora (98), Bregenz (189), and Roman Algeria (230). LANGE (163) investigates two bronze measures conserved in Dresden and Naples, which claim to be the famous “Congius Vespasianus” (75 CE), once conserved in the Farnese collection. ROTHENHÖFER (241, 242) studies a bronze sextarium of the *Legio III*, which cannot be earlier than the 3rd century CE. He also proposes new readings of the inscriptions on a 4th-century sextarium from Naissus (Niš) and on a sextarium from Cyrene. ROTHENHÖFER (243) publishes a bronze sextarium for weighing 24 uncias, which bears an inscription with the names of the three co-emperors Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius II (402–408 CE), and has a handle depicting the busts of the emperors. He identifies this artefact as a *sextarium trisaugustum*, similar to the ξ(έσται) χάλκεοι β' ἔχοντες τρισαυγούστια mentioned in the Andriake inscription (388–392 CE); see also CUVIGNY (67).

BARATTA (29) gathers archaeological and epigraphical evidence concerning the premises where official weights and measures were conserved in Roman cities (*ponderaria*), both in Italy and in Western provinces. Public figures or wealthy freedmen funded the construction or restoration of such premises, and their equipment. STANCO (254) studies the *ponderarium* of *Lucus Feroniae* in Etruria.

AMPOLO (18) publishes 28 studies devoted to Greek agoras, with a focus on Sicily. Special attention is given to the magistrates of the agora and legal aspects: see FANTASIA (103) and ERDAS (99). CAPDETREY AND HASENOHR (44) edit 16 papers on Greek *agoranomoi* and Roman *aediles*, who are among other things responsible for controlling weights and measures; see especially ARCHIBALD (20), BERRENDONNER (34), CAPDETREY AND HASENOHR (45), DAGUET-GAGEY (69, 70), DESCAT (75), FANTASIA (104), FINKIELSZTEJN (107), IVANTCHIK (147), OLIVER (190), and ROUBINEAU (244). In her book on the Roman *aedilitas*, DAGUET-GAGEY (71) describes and comments on the attributions of *aediles*, in particular the *cura annonae* and the control of weights and measures. PAILLER (194) studies the attributions of the Gaulish *dannos/dannus*, who is in charge of certifying both the quantity (weights and measures) and the quality of products.

Finally, several studies explore ancient and Byzantine legislation on weights and measures. For the 5th-century BCE Athenian standards decree (*IG I³ 1453*), see HATZOPOULOS (138), WEISER (293), and KROLL (158). For the 2nd-century BCE Athenian agoranomic decree (*IG II² 1013*), see DOYEN (82, 83, 85) and RIZZI (232, 233, 236, 237). For the broader context of market regulations in Athens, see RIZZI (234). RIZZI (235) comments on Mela’s interpretation of the case of a third party who knowingly lent the buyer weights that were too heavy (*maiora ... pondera*), which deceives the seller (*Digest* 47.2.52.22). RIZZI (238) studies the legislation on falsification (including false weights and measures) during the Early Imperial period. For a presentation and discussion of Late Roman and Byzantine legislation on weights and measures, see CAMPAGNOLO AND WEBER (43), and CHARREY (53). For the reproduction of official weights and measures in the Andriake inscription (388–392 CE), see RIZOS (231), CUVIGNY (67), and ROTHENHÖFER (243).

Epigraphic corpora

For a long time, inscribed weights have also aroused the interest of epigraphists. New material and publications are regularly reported and commented on in the usual bibliographic tools, such as the *Bulletin épigraphique* (*BE*), the *Année épigraphique* (*AE*), and the *Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum* (*SEG*). COJOCARU (60) compiles a retrospective and thematic bibliography of the Northern Black Sea coast until 2013.

The *Neue Inschriften von Olympia* (251) includes 239 Olympian bronze weights (*NIO*, 228–245). Volume VI/2 of the *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae* (28), devoted to Tomis, contains 132 weights and a mould

(*IScM* VI/2, P1–P25); see also AVRAM (27). The first volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae* (66, 15, 16, 17) contain inscribed Hellenistic, Roman, Late Roman and Byzantine weights from Jerusalem (*CIIP* I, 658–692), Caesarea (*CIIP* II, 1725–1751), Dora/Dor (*CIIP* II, 2132–2136), Sycamina (*CIIP* II, 2153), Ioppe (*CIIP* III, 2257–2261), Iamnia (*CIIP* III, 2271–2272), Azotus (*CIIP* III, 2298–2300), Ascalon (*CIIP* III, 2358–2366), Beit Lahiya (*CIIP* III, 2438), South coast, unknown provenance (*CIIP* III, 2580–2648), Kh. el-Thahiriya (*CIIP* IV, 2691), Gezer (*CIIP* IV, 2783–2785), Khan el-Aḥmar (*CIIP* IV, 3134), ‘Ein Feshkha (*CIIP* IV, 3279), Ḥ. Alim (*CIIP* IV, 3426), Eleutheropolis (*CIIP* IV, 3496), Marisa (*CIIP* IV, 3671–3686), and Hebron (*CIIP* IV, 3833).

Bronze Age and Iron Age

A detailed presentation of recent research on balances, weights, and metrology during the Bronze Age and the Iron Age would certainly go beyond the scope of the *Survey of Numismatic Research*. Nevertheless, it seems worthwhile to summarise new trends, since the ERC-funded project “Weight and Value” and other major research projects have revived this field of research.

Reviewing archaeological evidence from Tepe Gawra, HAFFORD (135) argues that weight systems could have developed in Mesopotamia as early as the Ubaid period, at the end of the 5th millennium BCE, at least a thousand years earlier than previously thought. ASCALONE (21, 22) identifies stone weights from Shahr-i Sokhta dated to the second half of the 3rd millennium BCE. He demonstrates that the Helmand valley served as an interface between Mesopotamia and the Harappan cultures. For Harappan weights, see RAHMSTORF (227) and RUIKAR ET AL. (245). RAHMSTORF (225) shows that sealing and weighing processes became increasingly important in Aegean and Western Anatolia all through the 3rd-millennium BCE. These strategies played a part in the development of the economic organisation of Early Bronze Age societies. ALBERTI (14) establishes a connection between the modification of trade circuits and the development of new “glocal” weight systems in the Southern Aegean from the Early Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age.

RAHMSTORF (224) presents the results of a comprehensive study on ca. 400 3rd-millennium BCE weights from nearly 30 sites in Mesopotamia and Syria. PEYRONEL (206) investigates weights possibly linked to the wool systems and weaving tools from Royal Palace G in Ebla during the Early Syrian Period. More broadly, PEYRONEL (208) studies economic activities of Royal Palace G that are attested by written documents, seals and weights. HOREJS (140) publishes five stone weights from Çukuriçi Höyük (Western Anatolia) and discusses the connection between new metrological systems, metallurgy and socio-political frameworks. IALONGO, VACCA AND VANZETTI (146) challenge the idea that the use of weighed metal as “commodity currency” during the 3rd and 2nd millennia BCE resulted in the adoption of shared standards. They argue that the normalisation of the quantities to be exchanged may have occurred without unifying metrological systems.

MARTI AND CHAMBON (179) examine records of weighed metals in 2nd-millennium BCE cuneiform texts from Mari and Assyria. They show that these textual sources reflect administrative practices rather than weighing processes as such. On the other hand, by means of a close examination of silver hoards and assemblages of balance weights, PEYRONEL (209) makes new suggestions on actual weighing of silver during the Middle Bronze Age, especially in Ebla; see also IALONGO, VACCA AND PEYRONEL (145). DERCKSEN (73) and KULAKOĞLU (161) discuss archaeological and textual evidence about the weights used by Assyrian merchants settled in Kanesh (Kültepe). MICHAILIDOU (181) studies archaeological and textual evidence on weighing processes in the Bronze Age Aegean and Near East. She reviews the commodities that were standardised by weight and might serve as a means of payment (copper, silver, gold, lead, and wool). IALONGO AND RAHMSTORF (143) propose a methodology for identifying weights in Bronze Age Europe, excluding the Aegean area. They establish a typology based on a sample of 566 potential balance weights, and analyse their chronology, distribution and metrology. On the same topic, see also IALONGO (142). RAHMSTORF (226) identifies the first-known Bronze Age weights and weight-regulated gold artefacts from Britain, Ireland and Atlantic France. In 2019, POIGT defended a still unpublished PhD dissertation on weighing instruments in Western Europe, from the 14th to the 3rd centuries BCE, with a special interest in 3D volumetric reconstruction: see already POIGT (213, 214, 216, 219). POIGT (218) studies weighing technologies in Final Bronze Age Continental Europe and Iron Age Iberian Peninsula. After emphasizing the different contexts of weighing and the technical limitations for calibrating metal with weights and balances, he questions the link between the progressive standardisation of metal artefacts and the development of trade. See also POIGT (217).

PEYRONEL (207) studies the Neo-Assyrian weights from of the North-West Palace in Nimrud. Inscribed weights

refer either to a “heavy” or to a “light” mina, while written sources attest to a “mina of the king”, a “mina of the land”, and a “mina of the merchant”. So far, 39 weights discovered in the palace have been published: eighteen bronze lion weights, one bronze duck weight, sixteen stone duck weights, two bronze truncated spheres and two bronze cubes with an inlaid winged scarab. FALES (102) reconsiders the fifteen inscribed lion weights from the throneroom and suggests the existence of two distinct weight standards: the pre-existing standard “of the king” and the additional standard “of the land”.

IALONGO ET AL. (144) introduce both a mathematical and an archaeological approach to the study of protohistoric weight series and test this method on Sardinian Early Iron Age bronze hoards. DERIU (74) studies the 141 Phoenician “lead weights” discovered in Sinis (Sardinia). GALLO (116) presents two lead weights with a bronze handle discovered in Motya (Sicily) that provide insight into 5th-century BCE weight systems.

MAGGIANI (171) presents archaeological and iconographical data for weighing practices in Etruria from the 6th to the 2nd centuries BCE (balance scales and weights; steelyards and counterweights). Based on available evidence (one weight from a private collection, two from Chianciano, one from Caere), he argues that the Etruscan reference unit (“libra”) weighs either 145 g or 290 g. He also proposes a new interpretation of a vase showing Talnithe (Palamedes) holding a balance and Turms (Hermes). Finally, he reexamines two inscribed artefacts: a weight from a private collection and a counterweight from Caere. For this famous *aequipondium* from Caere, see also AGOSTINIANI (13). CAPPUCCINI (46) studies two bronze artefacts from Sassi Grossi (Roselle) dating back to the end of the 8th century BCE, which are interpreted as counterweights, and draws conclusions on the origin of the Etruscan weight system. MAGGIANI (172) presents stone weights from Vetulonia. PULCINELLI (222) publishes four stone weights from the territory of ancient Vulci, whose standard seems to correspond to the Roman libra.

Several studies attempt to establish the origin of Iberian Iron Age weight standards. PAPPÀ (198) argues that Atlantic Iberian pre-Roman metrological systems derive from Phoenician standards used between the 7th and the 5th centuries BCE. MORENO PULIDO AND ARÉVALO GONZÁLEZ (182) suggest that the metrological systems used in Gadir (Cádiz) between the 5th and the 3rd centuries BCE originate in Bronze Age Ugarit. In examining a set of five bronze weights from Villanueva de la Jara (Cuenca), MARTÍNEZ CHICO AND GONZÁLEZ GARCÍA (180) conclude that Iberian weights share a common unit weighing 2.1 g, which would originate from Attic weight and monetary standards. On the other hand, POIGT (212) suggests focusing on the structure of Iberian weight systems rather than looking for their supposed origin. He proposes an arithmetic reconstruction for a set of ten copper-alloyed weights discovered in El Cigarrelejo (Tomb 200), based on a standard unit of *ca.* 20–21 g. In another paper, POIGT (215) shows that the production of Iberian weights requires a high level of technical sophistication. Since metrological standards vary from one site to another, Iberian weights were not necessarily used for calibrating premonetary currency. DELANAYE AND POIGT (72) use 3D volumetric reconstruction for analysing 33 Iberian weights from ten different sites, whose mass was modified by adding or withdrawing metal. BARRIOS RODRÍGUEZ AND GONZÁLEZ HERNÁNDEZ (30) present seven artefacts (three weights, three ingots, and a hook from a balance) discovered in El Raso de Candeleda (Ávila).

Greek weights

General studies

TEKİN (266) publishes a very useful handbook on Classical and Hellenistic weights from the Aegean world, with an introduction to the manufacture of the weights, their typology (symbols and legends), and their metrological standards. This handbook contains a detailed description of 384 weights produced by 31 city-states from Greece, Thrace, and Asia Minor. It must be stressed that this inventory does not include a detailed description of the enormous corpora of Athens (*ca.* 900 weights) and Olympia (*ca.* 500 weights), neither does it cover the Black Sea or the Near East. For a short overview of the weights from Asia Minor, see also TEKİN (269).

In her book on the official symbols of the Greek states (*parasema*), KILLEN (151) considers fourteen different contexts of use for *parasema*, amongst which commercial weights play an important role. *Parasema* appears on weights from Greece, Thrace, the Black Sea, and Asia Minor, during the Classical and the Hellenistic period, with a peak during the 3rd century BCE. The most important corpora are Olympia (89 weights) in mainland Greece; Istrus (27 weights) and Callatis (24 weights) in the Black Sea; Cyzicus (71 weights), Lysimachaea (32 weights) and Alexandria Troas (20 weights) in Asia Minor. However, this uneven distribution is partly due to the random conservation of the ancient weights and to the overrepresentation of several corpora in museum collections and published

works. The book describes the weights produced by 39 city-states and confederations (Catalogue), and by 9 unidentified states (Appendix 1); 18 weights appear in the *incerta* (Appendix 2). In total, KILLEN records 446 weights showing a *parasemon*.

The two aforementioned books were prepared independently of one another. Together, they cover over 700 weights, many of which are published for the first time. In each case, the authors have studied most of the material firsthand. TEKIN (266) and KILLEN (151) have indeed contributed greatly to the study of ancient Greek weights.

KILLEN (154) challenges the idea that bronze weights (vs. lead weights) are always standard weights. Based on the Athenian corpus, she defines six additional criteria that help to identify standard weights (global aspect, inscriptions, manufacture, checking of the mass, absence of countermarks, and findspot). Six bronze weights from Athens (out of a total of 31) are probably standard weights. However, none of the bronze weights from Cyzicus (5 weights) and Istrus (3 weights) can surely be identified as a standard weight. This is not the case either for Olympia (498 weights) and Olbia (24 weights), where almost all the preserved weights are made of bronze.

CARÈ (47) studies the natural-sized, astragalus-shaped bronze ingots that are traditionally interpreted as weights. An investigation of the archaeological evidence shows that the production of such ingots originates in ritual contexts. CARÈ emphasizes that these artefacts have a votive rather than a functional purpose.

KROLL AND STEFANAKI (160) study the “mastoid” stone weights originating from Cnidus, Rhodes, and about fifteen other sites of the Aegean Greece, over a hundred of which are currently known. Archaeological evidence, as well as the conformity with the Roman standard, shows that these weights were produced from the late 2nd century BCE down into the Roman Imperial era. The breast depicted on these weights shows a strong connection with women’s domestic and private sphere. KROLL AND STEFANAKI demonstrate very convincingly that these weights were used for weighing wool. New “mastoid” weights have been excavated notably in Smyrna (101) and Ephesus (279, no. MI 8; 229, nos. MI 26–27).

In two complementary papers given during the same conference (246), GATIER (118) and FINKIELSZTEJN (108) provide an overall presentation of the weights from the Near East, from the late 4th century BCE to the 3rd century CE. GATIER (118) describes the production and the daily use of weights, and demonstrates the importance of this neglected material for studying the Hellenistic and Roman Near East. In another paper, GATIER AND OLIVIER (121) describe Greek and Roman weights from Near Eastern city-states conserved in the National Library of France. FINKIELSZTEJN (108) shows that Syria, Phoenicia and Southern Levant constitute three coherent subregions during the Hellenistic period, with common features such as the use of symbols, legends and metrological standards. In two subsequent papers, he focuses on Hellenistic weights from Syria (109) and from Phoenicia (110).

Southern Italy and Sicilia

ANZALONE (19) presents 32 weights and ingots from ancient Himera (19 are made of bronze; 13 are made of lead), dating from the early 6th to the late 5th centuries BCE. He identifies four different standards: the “Chalcidian”, the “Euboean-Attic”, the “Phoenician”, and the “Sicilian” standards.

Epirus and Acarnania

KILLEN (151) lists three weights from Ambracia showing Agyieus as the main symbol.

PLIAKOU (211) publishes a set of six lead weights found during the excavations of a farmstead complex in the locality of Episkopi, in the southern part of the Ioannina basin. These weights, to be dated between the mid-2nd and the mid-1st centuries BCE, seem to refer to the Attic 105-drachma mina (2 minas, 1 mina, ½ mina, ½ mina, ⅓ mina, ¼ mina). The inscriptions incised on five of them suggest a connection with the sanctuary of Apollo Actius and/or the city-state of Anactorium.

Peloponnese

The 239 weights that came to light in Olympia after 1896 are included in SIEWERT AND TAEUBER (251). Siewert’s low chronology is adopted: the third quarter of 5th century BCE for astragali and “Stempelgewichte” (100-drachma mina); the last third of 5th century BCE for Klasse A (100-drachma mina) and Klasse B (105-drachma mina); the first half of 4th century BCE for Klasse C (probably 112- rather than 110-drachma mina) and “Sternengewichte” (standard of 388 g). Most of these standardised ingots were probably used as votive offerings rather than balance weights *stricto sensu*. For the astragalus-shaped weights, see CARÈ (47). KILLEN (151) identifies three different *parasema* on Olympian weights: a flying eagle, with a snake in its claws (6 weights); a standing eagle, without snake in its claws

(3 weights); and a thunderbolt (80 weights). Most of the Olympian weights do not have a *parasemon*. Except for one silver weight, all the Olympian weights are made of bronze: see KILLEN (154).

Only one lead weight from Sicyon is documented, with the dove as *parasemon* (*Pondera*, #12474): see KILLEN (151).

TEKİN (266) records nine bronze and lead weights from Corinth, from the Classical to the Late Hellenistic periods. None of them bears the *parasemon* of Corinth (Pegasus).

Central Greece

One lead weight from Aegosthena shows the goat as *parasemon* (*Pondera*, #1883): see KILLEN (151).

WILLOCX (301) presents an overview of the corpus of Athens, which includes over 800 weights. Most of these weights that were discovered during the second half of the 19th century are conserved in European and American museum collections; 79 Athenian weights came to light during the American excavations of the Athenian Agora. JOVANOVIĆ (148) presents seven Athenian lead weights conserved in Split. VAN DER WILT (302) presents six Athenian weights (3 staters, 2 staters, ½ stater, ⅓ stater, ¼ stater, ⅛ stater) based on the 112-drachma mina and dated to the second half of the 4th century BCE that were discovered in Thonis-Heraclion (Egypt). More than 600 weights show a symbol linked to the denomination. Athenian *parasema* do not appear on commercial weights, except on countermarks: see KILLEN (151). KROLL (159) re-examines the chronology of early Athenian trade standards: the 100-drachma mina was replaced by a 105-drachma mina (the so-called “Solonian” standard) in the 470s BCE; the 112-drachma mina was adopted in the 380s or 370s BCE. TRABUCCO (283) argues that the change of standard had the effect of counterbalancing the rise in prices during difficult periods. KILLEN (154) identifies six Athenian bronze weights dating from the 5th century BCE as standard weights. HATZOPOULOS (138) edits two Aphytis fragments of the Athenian standards decree (*IG I³ 1453*) and compares the text with the other copies of the same decree from Hamaxitus, Cos, Syme, “Smyrna”, Siphnos, and “Odessa”. He dates the decree to 425/424 BCE. The consequences of this decree on the production of weights (and coins) of Athens’ allies have been interpreted in radically different ways: compare e.g. WEISER (293) and KROLL (158). DOYEN (82, 83) re-edits the Athenian agoranomic decree (*IG II² 1013*) that documents the adoption of the 150-drachma mina at the end of the 2nd century BCE. Independently, RIZZI (236) provides an extensive commentary on the same decree; see also RIZZI (232, 233, 237). DOYEN (85) shows that the modification of the commercial mina and the definition of new fruit measures in this text do not necessarily mean that Athens adopted Roman weights and measures as early as the end of the 2nd century BCE. RIZZI (234) proposes an Italian translation and an in-depth institutional and legal commentary on three Athenian decrees related to commercial activities and, therefore, measurement: the agoranomic inscription of Piraeus (*SEG 47.196*), Hadrian’s letter on fish prices (*IG II² 1103 = AE 2015, 1385*), and Hadrian’s law on olive oil (*IG II² 1100 = AE 2008, 1281*). For the agoranomic inscription of Piraeus, see also DESCAT (75).

KILLEN (151) attributes one lead weight showing a Boiotian shield to the Boiotian Koinon, and one bronze weight with the head of a bull to the Phokidian Koinon.

Aegean islands

PAPADOPOULOU (196) publishes a lead weight discovered in Delos, with an inscription equating to a Greek denomination (μναῖ | ἐρίων | γ’, “3 minas of wool”) and a Roman one (λίτραι ζ’, “6 litras”). The reference commercial mina thus weighs 150 Attic drachmas, equalling two Roman libras. See KROLL AND STEFANAKI (160), who date the weight to ca. 100 BCE.

Macedonia and Chalkidike

VOUVOULIS (286) examines five bronze weights found in the Agora of Pella and its surroundings. He analyses their metrological standards and their findspots.

For a short overview of the weights discovered in Olynthus, see TEKİN (266).

Thrace

TEKİN (266) and KILLEN (151) record the two first known lead weights from Thasos, which show the bow and the club of Heracles, as well as the legend ΘΑΣΙΟΝ.

TEKİN (266) publishes the six first known lead weights from Maroneia, with a four-spoke wheel and the letters M–A–P–Ω between the spokes.

TEKİN (266) publishes two bronze weights from Ainos, with a herm on a throne.

Bronze and lead weights from Lysimachaea usually show a lion, the legend ΛΥΣΙ, and an abbreviated denomination. KILLEN (150, 151) identifies 32 weights, 15 of which were published for the first time. Independently, TEKİN (258, 266) lists 39 weights, mainly conserved in Turkish museums and private collections. LAZARENKO (165) adds seven other weights conserved in the Varna Museum of Archaeology. Finally, TEKİN (272) enumerates 72 weights, but suggests twice as many weights remain unpublished. This important corpus was produced within one and a half centuries (between 309 and 144 BCE). Therefore, it provides a useful benchmark for early Hellenistic metrology.

TEKİN (266) records only one weight from Bisanthe (*Pondera*, #12472).

TEKİN (266) and KILLEN (151) collect 11 lead weights from Byzantium, with a dolphin and the legend ΠΥ(ZAN) or BY(Z).

NANKOV (184) publishes a bronze weight, four balance pans, a balance beam and four suspension chains found during the excavations of Seuthopolis. He also provides a table with 18 cylinder weights comparable to the Seuthopolis specimen, from Cabyle (one weight), Torone (one weight), Olynthus (seven weights), Athens (two weights), and Ashkelon (seven weights).

Moesia

BEKOV (32) describes four lead weights from Odessus (one of them is published for the first time) showing the Great God reclining on a dining couch. These weights seem to follow Athenian standards (105-, 126-, and 150-drachma minas). MARIN (178, p. 326) attributes another weight to Odessus, even if its aspect rather evokes the mint of Callatis.

DRAGANOV (88, p. 145), publishes a weight showing on the obverse the laureate head of Apollo I. and the legend EY, on the reverse a lyre and the legend ΦΙΛΟΞΕ | ΔΙΟΝΥ. MARIN (178, pp. 328–329), attributes to Dionysopolis a circular weight with the legend TE unearthed in Krapets, Shabla district (Bulgaria), as well as a square weight with the same legend from the antiquities trade. Considering its findspot, the first one can probably be assigned to a Moesian mint, but the second one originates more probably from Asia Minor (see e.g. *CPAI* III/1, nos. 204–218). Another weight excavated in Krapets, showing the head of Dionysos I. and the legend ΗΡΑ | ΟΓΔΟ certainly belongs to Dionysopolis, as suggested in the *editio princeps*: see MARIN (178, pp. 327–328).

KILLEN (151) records two different *parasema* for Callatis: in one case, a club and a bow in a gorytos (18 weights); in the other case, a club and a bow without the gorytos (6 weights).

In his catalogue of the weights attributed to Tomis, AVRAM (27, 28) identifies two series of Greek weights, whose main symbol is respectively a Dioscurus (*IScM* VI/2, P1–P3) and Hermes (P4–P15). The head of Dioscurus is the *parasemon* of the city-state: see KILLEN (151). According to Ocheșeanu's typology and chronology, AVRAM dates the first series to the 2nd century BCE (138-drachma mina), and the second series to the late 2nd / 1st centuries BCE (150-drachma mina).

Bronze and lead weights from Istrus usually show on the obverse the head of Hermes, the name of the city-state and the denomination, and on the reverse the *parasemon* of the city-state (a sea-eagle attacking a dolphin) and the name of a magistrate. For the two variants of the *parasemon*, see KILLEN (151) (27 weights). For the bronze weights, see KILLEN (154). After a recapitulation of the history of publications, GRAMATICU (127) presents a corpus of 37 weights. She correlates the evolution of both weight and monetary standards. In her view, the commercial mina should always equal 100 monetary drachmas. Therefore, she proposes a revised chronology based on the metrology: [1] a standard of 840 g between 480/475 and 413/410 BCE; [2] a standard of 700–680 g between 410 and ca. 360–350 BCE; [3] a standard of 680–600 g between ca. 380 and 330 BCE; [4] a standard of 580 g between 330 and 300 BCE; [5] a standard of 480 g between 300 and ca. 255 BCE; [6] a standard of 436 g between ca. 255 BCE and the beginning of the 1st century CE. She also suggests that five weights (nos. 18–22) were produced in Istrus but were actually used in Tomis. GRAMATICU (128) publishes another weight from Istrus, very similar to no. 26 in her previous paper (same mould?). DABÎCA AND ANGELESCU (68) publish five weights excavated in modern Histria, two of which are Greek weights from ancient Istrus.

FERENCZ (106) publishes a leaf-shaped mina discovered in Ardeu (Hunedoara County).

Scythia

KILLEN (151) records 14 weights from Olbia with the *parasemon* of the city-state (dolphin). All these weights are made of bronze: see KILLEN (154). CHEKHOVYCH (55) studies 147 lead weights from the Anokhin Collection, which

were discovered in Olbia and the surrounding area. She publishes 76 weights belonging to 11 different metrological standards.

Tauris and Cimmerian Bosphorus

MARIN (178, pp. 324–327), assigns to Chersonesos two weights formerly attributed to Callatis. On the second weight, the symbol interpreted as a modius with three ears of wheat is more probably a knife stuck in a three-legged block which also appears on weights from Istrus.

SAPRYKIN (247) publishes a lead weight discovered near Theodosia. The weight bears on one side the names of three agoranomoi, and on the other side a thyrsus, a vine with a bunch of grapes, and a monogram interpreted as ΠΑ. SAPRYKIN attributes this weight and a similar weight found in Nymphaeum to Panticapaeum, and draws conclusions on the agoranomia in Bosphorus. FEDOSEEV (105) refutes his arguments. He underlines the analogies of these two weights with a third one, showing the head of Pan and the names of three agoranomoi, and attributes the weights to Sinope. He dates the weights from Panticapaeum showing the names of two agoranomoi to the 3rd century CE.

ZHURAVLEV AND ZAKHAROV (303) publish a 2nd-century BCE lead weight from Golubitskaya 2 (Taman peninsula), with four countermarks with a bow in a gorytos.

Two stone weights (1,518 g and 5,730 g) were found in an archaeological excavation in Gorgippia (*Pondera*, #14343–14344): see NOVICHKIN (188), who attributes the second one to Panticapaeum.

Bithynia

KILLEN (151, 152) studies five weights from Heraclea Pontica, three of which are published for the first time. The weights show the head of Heracles on the obverse, a club and a quiver on the reverse, and the name of a magistrate stamped on the four sides. Two weights were probably cast in the same mould. She dates this corpus to ca. 350–250 BCE.

TEKIN (266) records only one weight for Chalcedon, with a caduceus and the legend ΚΑΛΧ (*Pondera*, #536). Another weight was auctioned in 2017 (*Pondera*, #11501).

Mysia

KROLL (158) attributes to Cyzicus two lead quarter-minas showing the Athenian owl, the tuna fish and the retrograde legend π(λ)εω(ς) (*Pondera*, #13472, #13474). He suggests these weights were produced in the context of the late 5th-century BCE Athenian decree on silver coinage, weights and measures (ca. 414 BCE), but see WEISER (293). TEKIN (266) records 135 Hellenistic weights from Cyzicus, and KILLEN (151) identifies 71 weights with a *parasemon* (either a tuna fish or a torch). See also PERK (204). Other symbols are attested, such as a caduceus, a dolphin, a fish, an amphora or a thunderbolt. The vast majority of weights are made of lead, but a few bronze weights also exist: see KILLEN (154). Weights from Cyzicus typically bear a legend above and below the symbol, with the legend ΚΥΖ(Ι) and the denomination. These weights are built on the multiples and fractions (3, 2, 1, ½, ⅓, ¼) of the mina and multiples and fractions (6, 4, 3, 2, 1, ½, ¼) of the stater. Weights showing a (tuna?) fish arranged diagonally, without any legend, probably do not originate from Cyzicus. Even so, the corpus available to date exceeds 150 weights, since many weights from Cyzicus have been auctioned in the last years: see *Pondera*, s.v.

Only one weight from Proconnesus (lost to date) is documented (*Pondera*, #13281), with an oenochoe as *parasemon*: see KILLEN (151).

TEKIN (259, 266) and KILLEN (151) record 23 weights from Lampsacus, ten of which were previously unpublished. The *parasemon* is a winged horse protome: see TEKIN (271), KILLEN (153). A few other weights have been auctioned recently: see *Pondera*, s.v.

TEKIN (266) attributes six weights to Abydos. The *parasemon* is an eagle: see KILLEN (151). Two other weights with an eagle must now be added to the corpus: see *Pondera*, s.v. One could also attribute to Abydos bronze weights with the monogram ΑΒ (*Pondera*, #11835, #11837, #13411).

Troas

The weights from Ilium bear the legend ΙΑΙ. Three main symbols are documented: a crested helmet, head of Athena three-quarter facing r., head of Athena r. See TEKIN (266) and KILLEN (151).

TEKIN (266) attributes to Gentinos a lead weight showing a bee and the letter Γ (*Pondera*, #13321), while KILLEN (151) attributes it to Ephesus.

Up to now, only one weight from Scepsis has been preserved, with a fir tree and the legend ΣΚΗ (*Pondera*,

#13055). See TEKİN (266) and KILLEN (151).

TEKİN (266) and KILLEN (151) record five weights from Tenedus, showing the double axe and the legend TENEΔΙΩΝ.

TEKİN (266) and KILLEN (151) record 25 Hellenistic weights from Alexandria Troas, whose *parasemon* is a grazing horse. See also TEKİN (261), PERK (203). Five other weights have been auctioned or published since: see *Pondera*, s.v. These weights bear the legend ΑΛΕ and the denomination. The most frequent denominations are the mina and its fractions (1 mina, ½ mina, ¼ mina, ⅛ mina). A weight of 5 minas is also documented. One could maybe attribute to Alexandria Troas three weights showing a lyre and a bow, as well as the legends ΑΛΕΞ (1 mina) and ΑΛΕΞΑΝ (2 minas): *Pondera*, #2862 [attributed to Delos by KILLEN (151)], #11465, and #13231 [attributed to Alabanda by TEKİN (266)].

KILLEN (151) publishes the first known weight of Assus, with a griffin lying r. (*Pondera*, #13280).

Aeolis

TEKİN (275) publishes the first two known weights from Gryneium, whose *parasemon* is a *pinna nobilis* (*Pondera*, #13404–13405).

TEKİN (266, 273) and KILLEN (151) record 25 weights from Myrina, nine of which are published for the first time. A few other weights may be attributed to Myrina as well: see *Pondera*, s.v. These weights show a volute krater and the legend MY. Two weights attributed to Myrina by TEKİN (266, 273) more probably belong to Chios (*Pondera*, #13245–13246), since their symbol is an amphora.

TEKİN (266) presents 14 weights from Cyme, nine of which are published for the first time. Almost all the weights bear the legend KY. The symbol is usually a single-handled vase, which is one of the *parasema* of the city-state: see KILLEN (151). At least one weight shows an astragalos with the legend KY (*Pondera*, #1830).

Ionia

Out of the 19 weights from Smyrna dated from the late Classical and Hellenistic periods, eleven show a tripod and the legend ZMY(P): see TEKİN (266) and KILLEN (151). The eight others do not bear a *parasemon*, but only an inscription. They could be dated to the late Hellenistic and early Imperial periods.

TEKİN (274) publishes the first known bronze weight from Clazomenae, with a winged boar protome and the legend ΚΑΑ (*Pondera*, #13178). Another bronze weight from Clazomenae, with the name of the city-state but without the *parasemon*, was auctioned in 2015 (*Pondera*, #892).

TEKİN (266) and KILLEN (151) record 23 weights from Chios. Two *parasema* are listed: a sphinx sitting on an amphora (13 weights), and an amphora alone (13 weights). The most frequent denominations are: 5 minas, 2 minas, 1 mina, ½ mina, and ¼ mina.

TEKİN (274) publishes a lead weight with a griffin walking r., probably to be attributed to Teos (*Pondera*, #13177). Another lead weight with the same symbol could also belong to Teos (*Pondera*, #13249).

TEKİN (266) and KILLEN (151) record 23 weights from Colophon, all of them unpublished. A few others have appeared in the antiquities trade, see *Pondera*, s.v. For the *parasemon* (a lyre), see especially DOĞAN GÜRBÜZER (79).

TEKİN (266) and KILLEN (151) record 28 weights from Ephesus, but the attribution of three weights is questionable (*Pondera*, #1761, #2115–2116). The bee is the most frequent *parasemon* (26 weights, including *Pondera*, #13212 and #13322), but the stag is also documented (*Pondera*, #1843, #13997–13998, and maybe #2424 and #13900).

Four commercial weights from Priene showing the legend ΠΙΠΗ(ΝΕΩΝ) and a trident have been documented since the beginning of the 20th century: see TEKİN (266) and KILLEN (151).

KILLEN (151) publishes the first known weight from Samos, showing the prow of a *samaina* and the legend Ἡρης.

The 32 weights from Miletus bear the monogram MI, sometimes MIA or MIAH: see TEKİN (266), KILLEN (151), as well as *Pondera*, #13401 and #13941. A bronze weight brings together the monogram Μι(λησίωv), the symbol of the bee (*parasemon* of Ephesus), and the dotted legend ιερά Απόλ(λωνος) Διδυμ[έως] (*Pondera*, #13383): see TEKİN (270). Another weight from Miletus is countermarked with the symbol of the bee (*Pondera*, #13383). Finally, a bronze weight shows a fish and the incised legend ΜΙ|ΛΗ (*Pondera*, #11476); its attribution to Miletus is uncertain.

TEKİN (266) attributes to Heraclea ad Latmum a heavy lead weight (2,515 g) showing a club and a cornucopia, with the retrograd legend Ἡρα(κλέων) (?) (*Pondera*, #13409).

Caria

KILLEN (151) publishes the first known weight from Iasus, with a dolphin r. and the legend Ἰα(σέων) (*Pondera*, #13407).

KARLSSON ET AL. (149) present a lead weight discovered during the 2012 and 2013 excavation campaigns in Labraunda; GOUSSARD ET AL. (126) publish another lead weight, discovered in 2017, that bears a double axe.

Only one weight, with a fish and the legend Φυσ|κέων, can be attributed to Physcus (*Pondera*, #13408): see TEKIN (266).

Dodecanese Islands

TEKIN (266) and KILLEN (151) record four weights from Rhodes, which show the Rhodian rose as *parasemon*. Only one weight, with a crab as *parasemon*, can be attributed to Cos (*Pondera*, #13416): see KILLEN (151).

Cilicia

WEISS (297) publishes the first known weight from Aegae (*Pondera*, #11544).

Syria

FINKIELSZTEJN (109) studies Syrian metrological standards. His corpus (58 weights) includes 42 weights from Antioch, Seleucia Pieria, Heraclea ad Mare, Laodicea ad Mare, and Demetrias ad Mare (uncertain location); seven royal weights showing the name of a Seleucid king; five weights without the name of the city-state; four weights referring to a double standard (both mina and sheqel). Many other Syrian weights have been studied (e.g. Henri Seyrig archives and the collection of the Geneva Art and History Museum) or auctioned in the last few years: see *Pondera*, s.v. These weights usually bear a Seleucid symbol (e.g. elephant, horse, bull, anchor, ship) or a common market symbol (e.g. cornucopia, caduceus). On the reverse, many weights show a lattice pattern, probably to prevent people from removing metal from the surface. Very often, the Greek legend names the king or the city-state, the denomination, the date in reference to the Seleucid era, and/or the *agoranomos*. The weights refer to a Greek mina whose mass is increasing over time, from *ca.* 460 g to *ca.* 840 g. The most frequent standards are *ca.* 510 g, *ca.* 550 g, *ca.* 600 g, and *ca.* 650 g. Independently, DOYEN (81) demonstrates that the weight system used in Syria during the first half of the 2nd century BCE refers to a mina of 128 Attic drachmas (*ca.* 555 g). Antiochus IV's reorganisation of the monetary system shows strong connections with the Seleucid weight system, since new silver and bronze denominations are organised according to a binary scale, similar to the weights. GATIER AND OLIVIER (122) publish a mina from Laodicea ad Mare (20/19 BCE) (*Pondera*, #3616) that was cast from the same mould as another weight (*Pondera*, #3615).

Phoenicia

FINKIELSZTEJN (110) studies Phoenician metrological standards. His corpus (156 weights) includes 56 weights from Aradus; 46 weights from Marathus; seven weights from Byblus; six weights attributed to Herodes (99/98 BCE); two weights with the legend ΠΤ^Ϛ; six weights from Berytus; a mould from Sidon; 28 weights from Tyre; three unclassified weights. See the updates on *Pondera*, s.v. (e.g. the 95 weights now documented for Aradus). The impressive corpus of weights from Aradus and Marathus shows a Phoenician inscription with the monogram of the city, as well as a denomination based on the sheqel (*ca.* 9.4 g). Other weights bear common market symbols or *parasema* (e.g. Berytus, Byblus) and a Greek inscription. The weights refer to different standards, especially “minas” weighing *ca.* 520 g, *ca.* 560 g, *ca.* 630 g, and *ca.* 650 g.

Southern Levant

GALILI ET AL. (115) publish seven assemblages of metal artefacts and bronze coins recovered from the northern bay of 'Atlit. Assemblages 2 and 4 include respectively two and four square lead weights, which could come from the same shipwreck. Three of the six weights are dated to 118/117 BCE, 117/116 BCE (rather than 116/115 BCE), and 109/108 BCE. Five weights seem to originate from the Southern Levant, while the sixth one differs from the others in both its aspect and its metrological standard. GITLER AND FINKIELSZTEJN (125) present a copper-alloyed circular weight with an incised Greek legend mentioning the *demos* of Ascalon, the year (150/149 BCE), and the name of an *astynomos*. Two metal analyses show that (a) the weight was not a reused Ptolemaic coin, and (b) the weight and the inscription are genuine. FINKIELSZTEJN (112) presents inscribed *instrumenta* contemporaneous with the Hasmonean dynasty in Judea (Rhodian amphora stamps, weights and measures, Judean stamps, coins, bullae and seals). For other weights dating to the Hellenistic period, see the *CIIP* (66, 15, 16, 17).

Egypt

VAN DER WILT (302) describes the weights discovered in Thonis-Heracleum (154 lead and bronze weights, only two stone weights). The site was in activity between the 8th and the 2nd centuries BCE, with a peak between the 4th and the 2nd centuries BCE. The corpus consists of 26 Greek-style decorated and inscribed weights (including 14 Athenian weights), 92 Greek-style uninscribed weights, and 38 Egyptian-style weights. The spatial distribution of Greek and Egyptian weights probably reflects the commercial life of Thonis-Heracleum, while deposits of Athenian weights could rather be viewed as ritual offerings.

ASHOUR (23) offers new insights into the weight standards of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, based on a corpus of 921 weights (including 365 unpublished weights from the Alexandria Greco-Roman Museum). Based on archaeological and literary evidence, he identifies four different standards referring to a Greek mina and to the Ptolemaic stater, namely: [1] the “Egyptian-Attic standard” (32-stater mina = 457 g); [2] the “Royal Ptolemaic standard” (36-stater mina = 523 g); [3] the “Alexandrian standard” (38-stater mina = 552 g); and [4] the “Ptolemaic commercial and monetary standard” (25-stater mina = 357 g, equivalent to the monetary mina of 100 Ptolemaic drachmas). Another standard refers to Roman units (*libra*, *uncia*, etc.) that serve as a reference for Roman, Late Roman and Byzantine weights.

HAZZARD AND HUSTON (139) publish a circular bronze weight that may come from a hoard along with large bronzes of Ptolemy IV. The weight shows the sign = (δουβόλοι) on one side, and μ´ (40, scil. χαλκοῦ δραχμαί) on the other side. Therefore, it implies a rate of exchange of 500 copper drachmas to a silver stater (tetradrachm equaling 25 obols), instead of 16 copper drachmas to 5½ obols. During his reign (222–205/204 BCE), Ptolemy IV reduced the copper drachm from 68 g to *ca.* 2 g. It was the main cause of the price inflation between the late 3rd and the early 2nd centuries BCE.

Roman weights

Rome

MANCUSI, MENNELLA AND DEL SOLDATO (176) publish a new weight [*exactum*] *ad Articulianum*. They list 19 occurrences of this expression: eleven from Rome, two from Herculaneum, one from Fidenae, one from Praeneste, one from an unidentified locality of Regio I, one from Luni, one from Thibursicum Bure (Africa), and one from the antiquities market. In 47 CE, a reform or a verification of weights and measures was ordered by the emperor Claudius and carried out by the aediles. The word *Articulianum* derives from the gentilicium *Articuleius* and could refer to the name of an aedile in charge of this metrological revision. BERG (33, no. 13) also publishes a 10-libra stone weight with the inscription *exacta (ad) Articulianum*, from Ostia. See also DAGUET-GAGEY (71, pp. 487–492, 545–547).

LUCIANI AND LUCHELLI (169) examine the weights with the inscription *exactum ad Castoris* that guarantees the conformity to standards conserved in the Temple of Castor and Pollux, in the *Forum Romanum*. All these weights are made of bronze: 22 truncated spheres, one astragalus, and 21 nested-cup weights. Their study also includes 21 anepigraphic nested-cup weights that are similar to the inscribed ones. The truncated spheres circulated mainly in Central and Northern Italy, while the nested-cup weights were distributed all along the *limes*, from Gaul to Dacia, with a concentration in the Rhine, Alpine Danubian and Venetian territories. These weights should probably be dated to the 2nd century CE. See also DAGUET-GAGEY (71, pp. 543–545).

HAMROUNI AND NADDARI (136) publish a new weight produced by Q. Iunius Rusticus, *praefectus Urbi* during the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (163–167 CE). This series comprises 28 weights, which were discovered in Italy (Florence, Perugia, Rome, Naples), Sicily, Cisalpine Gaul, Spain, and Africa. See also DAGUET-GAGEY (71, pp. 493–498, 548–550).

Latium and Campania

BERG (33) presents an overview of the material evidence from Ostia for weighing and measuring operations (archaeological artefacts, iconography, and inscriptions).

NICOSIA (187) publishes weighing instruments discovered in Aquinum: the beam of small balance scales, the beam of a small steelyard, nine Roman stone weights, three lead loom weights, and six Late Roman and Byzantine copper-alloyed weights. He also publishes two lead loom weights, two Roman stone weights, and nine Late Roman and Byzantine copper-alloyed weights from the site of *Interamna Lirenas*.

PUGLIESE (220) has studied 87 weights and counterweights conserved at the National Archaeological Museum of Naples. Most of them were apparently discovered in Pompeii and therefore should be dated to the 1st century CE.

Balance weights are usually stone, lead or bronze truncated spheres, elliptic cylinders or truncated double cones. Other shapes are also found: five large trapezoidal lead weights and three zoomorphic bronze weights filled with lead (two goats and one pig). The metrological analysis of these weights reveals a constant reference to the Roman libra, even if six stone weights are remarkably heavier.

Etruria

LUCIANI (168) publishes four stone weights (4 libras, 20 libras, 100 libras, and maybe 100 libras) that were discovered during the 2016 and 2017 excavation campaigns of the “Domus del mitreo” (Tarquinia). Based on their typology and the stratigraphy, these weights must be dated between the 1st century BCE and the 3rd century CE.

Aemilia

CORTI (63) publishes five stone weights (two of them fragmented), five bronze counterweights and a scale pan found during the excavations in the Novi Sad Park (Modena). Their dating ranges from the 1st to the 4th centuries CE.

PUGLIESE (220) presents the collection of 129 weights and counterweights in the Archaeological Museum of Bologna. Stone weights (mostly truncated spheres) represent two thirds of the collection. Bronze weights are usually truncated double cones, cylinders or truncated spheres. The collection includes one lead weight and one iron weight. The metrological analysis shows that several small weights (multiples of the *scripulus*) are much heavier than their theoretical denomination.

Liguria

MANCUSI, MENNELLA AND DEL SOLDATO (176) publish a 20-libra weight discovered in 2012 in Luni. The weight is made of stone (Iherzolite), with a missing iron handle. It is part of the series of weights *exacta ad Articuleianum* (47 CE).

Venetia and Histria

BOLLA (36) presents several artefacts related to Roman weights and measures (parts of balance scales and steel-yards, counterweights, weights, and capacity measures) on display during a temporary exhibition at the Roman Theatre Archaeological Museum (Verona).

DOBREVA AND SUTTO (78) publish a 10-libra stone weight discovered in 2009 during the excavations in the central *domus* of the former Cossar property at Aquileia. Titus Macer, whose name is carved on the weight, probably belongs to the *gens Vettia*, a powerful family settled in the eastern part of the *Regio X*.

SUTTO (255) has studied the collection of weights of the National Archaeological Museum of Aquileia, which has 84 metal weights and 336 stone weights, 100 of which are inscribed. She presents 42 inscribed weights and analyses the type of inscription: the denomination (31 weights), the abbreviated name of the owner (8 weights), what is thought to be a serial number (1 weight), and the certification of the standard (2 weights).

MAINARDIS (174) publishes the Roman weights conserved in the Civic Museum of History and Art of Trieste: 17 lead weights, 15 bronze weights, and 84 stone weights (71 made of limestone, 13 made of basalt). There is a catalogue of the 24 inscribed weights.

Sicily

DIMARTINO (77) publishes 16 Roman weights made of basalt that are conserved in the Antonio Salinas Regional Archaeological Museum (Palermo). The truncated spheres are the most frequent shape (thirteen weights, five of which are inscribed); the three other weights are truncated ellipsoids (one of which is inscribed).

Gaul

LEMOINE AND ROCA (166) list 26 stone weights discovered in the Var department, France. GALTIER ET AL. (117) publish several sets of weights discovered in Augustonemetum (Clermont-Ferrand). HARTMANN (137) presents two stone weights (161.64 g; 6.65 g) found in Eschenz, Switzerland, in 2000; the heavier one is a semis. FRANKEN (114) publishes a new study on balances and counterweights in the Treasure of Bavay. Weights and balances discovered in Gaul (and beyond) are regularly published in the *Artefacts* database (8) and in the bulletin *Instrumentum*. For the Gaulish magistrate in charge with weights and measures (*dannos/dannus*), see PAILLER (194).

Britannia

TOMLIN (282) regularly publishes inscribed Roman weights discovered in Britain: a stamped lead weight (148.6 g) from Kintbury (282: [2018], no. 4); a lead 8-uncia weight from a withheld findspot in Cheshire (282: [2014], no. 12); a lead weight (432.6 g) from Grappenhall and Thelwall (282: [2019], no. 8); two lead semisses (154 g; 179 g)

from Vindolanda (282: [2013], no. 29; [2014], no. 50); a lead 4-uncia weight (108 g) from Airth (282: [2017], no. 58); a lead 2-uncia weight in Thornhill, Scotland (282: [2014], no. 64). See also (7). SMITHER (252, 253) has collected 134 balances, 193 weights and 47 counterweights from Roman London. The distribution of weights and counterweights across London shows a detailed picture of economic activities. The fact that equal and dual balances are more common in London than elsewhere in Britannia, where steelyards are more frequent, suggests that the economy of London was based around smaller quantities and/or more valuable commodities.

Hispania

ERICE LACABE (100) presents a bronze, lead-filled counterweight probably representing Attis (2.4 kg) that was discovered in Sofuentes. RODRÍGUEZ MARTORELL AND RUIZ DE ARBULO BAYONA (239) present another counterweight depicting Aequitas (38 kg), found in the port of Tarragona. This is by far the heaviest *aequipondium* hitherto known in the Roman world, which could weigh loads up to 1,500 kg. CEBRIÁN FERNÁNDEZ AND HORTELANO UCEDA (48) examine the weighing equipment from Segobriga and its surroundings (balance scales and weights, steelyards and counterweights), dating from the 1st century BCE to the end of the 3rd century CE. BARRIOS RODRÍGUEZ (31) lists Roman and Late Roman weights discovered in Lusitania.

Africa

HAMROUNI AND NADDARI (136) publish a 10-libra stone weight from Mactaris that bears the name of Q. Iunius Rusticus (163–167 CE). They suggest that the *ponderarium* of Mactaris was located in the *macellum*.

Epirus

HAENSCH AND SHEHI (132) publish three inscribed stone weights excavated in Durrës in 2002 and 2010 (20.2 kg; 4.4 kg; 5.4 kg). Inscribed denominations (50 libras; 12 libras; 25 libras) do not correspond to the actual masses of these three weights, if the monetary libra is assumed to be the weight standard.

Thracia

Several weights of Perinthus have been auctioned in recent years: see *Pondera*, s.v. This corpus now includes 15 weights (denominations: 5 libras, 2 libras, 1 libra, ½ libra, 1 uncia).

Moesia Inferior

AVRAM (27, 28) also follows Ocheșeanu's typology and chronology for describing the Roman weights attributed to Tomis. Ten weights seem to refer to a Greek mina: a 20-uncia mina dated to the first half of the 1st century CE (*IScM* VI/2, P16–P21), a 16-uncia mina from the second half of the 1st to the beginning of the 3rd centuries CE (P22–P23), and an 18-uncia mina from the 3rd century CE (P24–P25). However, the huge majority of the weights produced between the 1st and 3rd centuries CE (106 weights and a mould for casting eight different denominations) refer to the Roman libra and uncia (P26–P132). Two recently auctioned weights (*Pondera*, #11469, #13133) should now be added to the kantharos series (P31–P43). The mina with the names of Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta (P23; *Pondera*, #13768) shows strong similarities with the weights from Tium (see e.g. *Pondera*, #13915); therefore, its symbol is probably the bell of an agoranomos, rather than a pileus. In most cases, the absence of a symbol or the name of the city-state makes it difficult to distinguish between the weights from Tomis and weights produced in other Moesian, or even Thracian mints.

PARASCHIV (200) presents an unscripted lead weight from Aegyssus (3 uncias?), which could date to the Roman period.

Chersonesus Taurica

LYSENKO AND MASYAKIN (170) publish a figured counterweight shaped as a Roman emperor that was found in the sanctuary of Eklizi-Burun (Southern Crimea). They identify the emperor as Nero and suggest that this counterweight and its steelyard were captured by (Scytho-)Taurians during the Roman-Bosporan War (45–49 CE) and then offered to the sanctuary.

Pontus et Bithynia

ATASOY AND YILDIRIM (26) describe a counterweight, four lead weights with vertical strokes, and one lead weight identified as a ἡμίλειτρον ἰταλικόν that were discovered in three shipwrecks off the coast of Tium in 2013. They also present a dozen typical lead weights from Tium, six of which were found on the bank of the Billaios River in 2009 and 2012.

HAENSCH AND WEISS (133) republish three weights from Nicomedia: a libra dated to the 17th year of an unnamed

emperor, who must be Marcus Aurelius (176/177 CE) (*Pondera*, #1764); a litra of the 2nd year of Elagabalus (218/219 CE) (*Pondera*, #2401); a hemilitron of the 4th year of Aurelian (272/273 or 273/274 CE) (*Pondera*, #2395). The three weights refer to the commercial libra (λείτρα ἀγοραία), which is significantly heavier than the monetary libra (λείτρα ἰταλική), also attested in Nicomedia. Based on the available corpus (23 weights), HAENSCH AND WEISS draw conclusions on the position of governorship of Pontus et Bithynia in the consular career, the function of *curator rei publicae Nicomediae* held by some governors, the production of weights and coins in connection with military activities, the organisation of the agoranomia in Nicomedia, and the date of Decius' *dies imperii*. They also provide an overview table of the governors of Pontus et Bithynia. ÖZTÜRK (192) publishes a litra of the 5th year of Philip the Arab and Philip II (247/248 CE) (*Pondera*, #12213). The *editio princeps* was amended by ADAK (12), HAENSCH AND WEISS (134), and by ÖZTÜRK himself (193). Two other weights were auctioned in 2020: a hemilitron of the 4th year of Elagabalus (220 CE) (*Pondera*, #13358), and a hemilitron of the 4th year of Gordian III (240/241 CE) (*Pondera*, #12842). This brings to 26 the number of published weights from Nicomedia.

A lead 5-litra weight from Nicaea dated to the 5th year of Antoninus Pius (141/142 CE) was auctioned in 2014 (*Pondera*, #13144). A litra, dated to the same reign, was already documented (*Pondera*, #13145). WEISS (300) compares the different ways Nicomedia and Nicaea represented themselves on weights and coins.

Asia

The attribution of imperial-era weights is difficult, since the *parasemon* and the name of the city-state disappear, even if the legend regularly mentions the name of the agoranomos or another magistrate. Weights from Western Asia Minor have a very similar aspect, especially in Ionian city-states (Smyrna, Ephesus, Colophon, Magnesia ad Maeandrum, Metropolis, Miletus and maybe Samos), but also in Pergamon (Mysia) and in Hypaepa (Lydia). Roman lead weights and stone moulds have been discovered in Smyrna (101) and in Ephesus (229, no. B 346; 223, nos. G 63–67).

WEISS (294) studies the weights that were produced and controlled by magistrates other than the agoranomoi: *panegyriarchai* (unknown city-states), *eirenarchoi* (Colophon), *paraphylakes* (unknown city-states, and maybe Ephesus), and *hipparchoi* (Smyrna and maybe other city-states). A weight signed by the *hipparchos* Claudius Sellius Sulla should probably be assigned to Philadelphia rather than Smyrna: see WEISS (296). For another weight of an *eirenarchos* in Colophon and addenda to the weights produced by *hipparchoi*, see WEISS (298). WEISS (294) also presents two unusual situations: the city-state mentioned as the agoranomos, and a bronze weight offered by the agoranomos to the city-state (*Pondera*, #13913; see also #13056, #13912, and #14422). A weight from Smyrna bears the name of a strategos: see WEISS (299).

WEISS (295) observes that the circular countermarks on West Asian weights are similar in size and aspect to coin types. He suggests that the seals were produced by the specialised workshops that struck the provincial coins for several city-states. In some cases, the main deity of the city-state serves as a *parasemon*: Ephesus (Artemis Ephesia, bee, doe), Magnesia ad Maeandrum (Artemis Leukophryene), Colophon (Apollon Clarius), and Sardis (Artemis Sardiane / Kore).

Cyprus

TWARDECKI (284) publishes a lead weight discovered during the excavations of the Agora of Nea Paphos, but leaves open the question of its provenance. The weight is dated to the year 251, is signed by the agoranomos Seleucus, and shows the legend ἐσηκώθη “it was calibrated” (*Pondera*, #14503). These elements point to a well-documented series of ten weights from Seleucia Pieria (see *Pondera*, s.v.).

Palestina

FINKIELSZTEJN (111) recapitulates the weights standards of the Hellenistic Near East, before analysing the Roman period, with a focus on Southern Levant: stone weights from Jerusalem; lead weights of Herodian rulers and Roman emperors; weights in the name of Hadrian and Bar Kokhba; weights from Gaza and Ascalon; weights from Roman Syria. KLETTER (156) re-examines the 168 limestone weights from the Jewish Quarter in Jerusalem and calculates a weight standard of ca. 375 g. FINKIELSZTEJN (113) offers an overview of coins, amphoras, weights and measures dating to the Herodian rulers. DONCEEL-VOÛTE (80) studies the stone weights from Jerusalem with the legend “Year 5 of the king” (probably Agrippa I, i.e. 40/41 CE). GATIER (120) re-publishes a weight from Antiochia ad Chrysothoam, i.e. Gerasa (107/108 CE) (*Pondera*, #3584). For other weights dating to the Imperial period, see the *CIIP* (66, 15, 16, 17).

ABU-BAKER, AL SEKHANEH ET AL. (11) analyse the composition and corrosion of five allegedly Roman weights discovered in Qasr Ar-Rabbah (Jordan), by means of SEM-EDX and XRD. Analyses show that these weights were cast from relatively pure lead.

Late Roman and Byzantine weights

General studies

Three major museum collections of Late Roman and Byzantine weights have been published in recent years. TEKIN (263) presents the collection of the Pera Museum (Istanbul) [742 weights], which includes 64 truncated spheres (nos. 4–67), 433 square weights (nos. 68–156, 201–544), 121 circular weights (nos. 157–197, 545–624), and 11 octagonal weights (nos. 198–200, 625–632). These mostly copper-alloyed weights are described either as “commercial weights” (fractions and multiples of the libra or the uncia) [197 weights], and “monetary weights” (fractions and multiples of the nomisma) [432 weights]. Other sections present 27 coins transformed into weights (nos. 633–659), 17 anepigraphic circular weights and three Late Byzantine coin weights (nos. 660–680), 24 nested-cup weights (nos. 681–704), and 38 glass weights described by TOBIAS (nos. 705–742). CAMPAGNOLO AND WEBER (43) publish the rich collection of Late Roman and Byzantine copper-alloyed weights of the Art and History Museum (Geneva) [488 weights], with an original introduction and a detailed commentary. The catalogue ranges the weights from the heaviest (3 libras) to the lightest (2 siliquas?), regardless of their different shapes (truncated spheres, square and circular weights, *exagia solidi*), their legend, or their decoration. Nevertheless, the authors propose a classification into six categories (I–VI) and eight families (A–H), and pay special attention to the profile of the weights. CAMPAGNOLO (41, 42) further develops this typology. For a broader presentation of the collection of the Art and History Museum that also includes steelyards, counterweights, and glass *exagia*, see CAMPAGNOLO (40). GURULEVA (129) publishes the collection of Late Roman and Byzantine weights in the State Hermitage (Saint Petersburg) [284 weights]: 139 glass *exagia* (nos. 1–139), eight copper-alloyed *exagia* and eight Late Byzantine coin weights (nos. 140–155), four truncated spheres (nos. 225–228), 74 square weights (nos. 156–194, 229–263), three octagonal weights (nos. 195–196, 264), 46 circular weights (197–224, 265–282), and two nested-cup weights (nos. 283–284).

PASSERA (201) re-examines a copper-alloyed inlaid *tessera* probably discovered in Moimacco (Udine). The artefact shows a monogram on one side, and the letters VC (i.e. *vir clarissimus*) on the other side. It dates from the second half of the 5th to the first half of the 6th centuries CE. PASSERA discusses the status of the artefact (weight or *tessera*) and draws up a list of 28 comparanda from Africa Proconsularis and Italy. Independently, KULIKOWSKI (162) presents a catalogue of 36 similar copper-alloyed inlaid *tesserae* showing the names of the emperor(s), the *praefectus Vrbi* or the *praefectus praetorio*. He considers the possible functions of these artefacts and rejects the metrological interpretation. This question is a subject of lively debate among specialists.

WEBER (290) analyses 468 copper-alloyed 1-nomisma weights, mainly from private collections. He studies their metrology, their different shapes, their typology, their metal composition, their production and their decoration. WEBER (291) gathers 182 copper-alloyed coins transformed into weights (mainly 1-nomisma). This phenomenon mainly occurred with coins struck between the mid-3rd and the mid-4th centuries CE, and during the 6th century CE. KORSHENKO (157) presents 91 small weights (multiples of the *siliqua* and the *scripulum*) from his own collection.

WEBER (292) publishes a Late Roman truncated sphere that still shows a sprue and studies the evolution of copper-alloyed truncated spheres from Roman times to Islamic Middle Ages.

GIACALONE (123) studies the evolution of the iconography of copper-alloyed weights linked to gold coinage: not only *exagia solidi*, but also square and circular weights. PITRAKIS (210) analyses public measuring instruments in the context of the visual and material culture of marketplaces in Constantinople. CHARREY (54) analyses the production of Byzantine weights on both a technological and an iconological level. Based on three case studies (the *exagia solidi*, the “imperial” weights, and the weight with the inscription Θεοῦ χάρις), he emphasizes the triple function of symbols and legends on weights (homologation, propitiation, and ostentation). For a semiotic perspective on Late Roman and Byzantine anthropomorphic counterweights, see CHARREY (52).

CHARREY (53) questions the identification of “standard weights” or “official weights” among the corpus of Byzantine weights. He shows that these anachronistic designations obliterate the multiplicity of control and standardisation practices. For the production of wheat measures and weights according to official standards sent by the *praefectus praetorio* in Myra (388–392 CE), see RIZOS (231), CUVIGNY (67), and ROTHENHÖFER (243).

For an overview of Byzantine weights, see TOBIAS (280) and ENTWISTLE (95, 96). For the analogy between copper-alloyed *exagia* and lead bullae, see ASOLATI (25) and CHARREY (54); for the analogy between glass *exagia* and amphora stamps, see PAPANIKOLAOU (197).

Commercial and monetary weights

According to CUVIGNY (67), weights representing three co-emperors (scil. Valentinian II, Theodosius I, and Arcadius) might be called *τρισαυγούστια* in an inscription from Myra (Andriake), dated to 388–392 CE, but ROTHENHÖFER (243) shows that this epithet characterises capacity measures. Amongst unpublished bronzes from the Archaeological Museum of Verona, BOLLA (35) presents a 1-libra copper-alloyed weight decorated with the incised busts of two emperors. She suggests identifying Arcadius and Honorius (395–408 CE). PAPAPOULOU (195) publishes a 6-uncia copper-alloyed weight with silver inlay representing two emperors and a female figure standing, which was unearthed at the Kastritsa hill, near Ioannina. The female figure is interpreted as Tyche or Moneta, and the two emperors as Arcadius and Honorius or Valentinian II and Gratian. This discovery might prove that Kastritsa was an administrative center in the Late Roman period.

ENTWISTLE (94) re-examines the Early Byzantine weights discovered in Kunszentmárton (Hungary) in the early 1930s. The assemblage includes five copper-alloyed weights and four glass weights (*exagia*). The quite unusual association of square and circular copper-alloyed weights and the presence of glass weights point to a date in the first half of the 7th century CE. ENTWISTLE provides an updated catalogue of the weights and a list of the finds of Byzantine weights in Central and South-Eastern Europe.

PARASCHIV (200) publishes two copper-alloyed square weights from Argamum in Scythia Minor (1 *nomisma* and maybe 1 *tremissis*).

MAIKO (173) examines over 50 square, octagonal, circular and nested-cup weights from Sugdaia (Sudak) in Taurica, a majority of which were discovered underwater in the bay of Sugdaia, without an archaeological context. Since the peak of the port activity occurred between the second half of the 10th and the 13th centuries CE, most of the finds can be dated from this period. Finds dated from the last quarter of the 7th to the first half of the 10th centuries CE are scarcer. However, Byzantine weights are older: it is assumed they circulated for a long time. MANAEV ET AL. (175) publish a copper-alloyed 2-uncia circular weight from Gorzoubitai (Gurzuf). DUSHENKO (90, 91) presents five square and two circular copper-alloyed weights excavated at Doros (Mangup).

PÜLZ (223) publishes balance scales and weights, steelyards and counterweights excavated in Ephesus (nos. G1–G43), in particular three truncated spheres (nos. G34–G36), one square weight (no. G33), and six circular weights (nos. G29–G32, G37–G38), all of which are made of copper-alloy.

GATIER (118) documents rare early Byzantine weights produced by Near Eastern city-states (Tyre, Iamnia, and maybe Gaza), under the responsibility of ephoroi (*curatores civitatis*). Other weights, often made of lead, which might be attributed to city-states, reflect the persistence of a certain autonomy. GITLER AND CHARREY (124) publish eight copper-alloyed circular weights reportedly found in Israel. Based on the stylistic and iconographic similarities, the state of preservation, and a homogenous chemical composition, GITLER AND CHARREY assume that these weights form a set that was produced in the same workshop. EISENBERG ET AL. (93) propose an XRF analysis of a copper-alloyed square 6-uncia weight from Antiochia Hippos (Sussita). This highly elaborate Byzantine weight, discovered in a church destroyed in 749 CE, was still in use during the Umayyad period. LESTER (167) publishes three circular and three square copper-alloyed weights dated to Byzantine and Early Islamic periods excavated northwest of Tel Lod.

For Late Roman and Byzantine copper-alloyed weights discovered in Italy, see PASSERA (201) and NICOSIA (187).

Exagia solidi

DROST (89) presents two copper-alloyed *exagia solidi* produced in the name of Julian (363 CE), in Constantinople and probably in Rome. Therefore, this new control procedure for gold coinage was not limited to Antioch during the end of the reign of Julian, but had already spread to Western mints. ASOLATI (25) compares a lead seal from Altino with copper-alloyed *exagia solidi* attributed to the joint reign of Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius II (403–408 CE). TEKİN AND EROL-ÖZDİZBAY (277) publish an *exagium* attributed to Theodosius II and Valentinian (425–450 CE) that was found during the excavations in Alliano; see also TEKİN (262). For the iconography of copper-alloyed *exagia solidi*, see GIACALONE (123).

ASOLATI (24) discusses three glass *exagia* dated to the 6th century CE discovered in Tyana in Cappadocia. These

artefacts show the importance of the site of Tyana in early Byzantine times, which is compared to the archaeological structures and the material found in the Gymnasium of Sardis. ASOLATI also analyses the distribution of 163+ glass *exagia* in the Byzantine Empire: Italy (14 weights), Balkans and Central Europe (28 weights), Greece (12 weights), Asia Minor (56 weights), Near East (37 weights), Asia (6 weights), Egypt and North Africa (10+ weights). PAPANIKOLAOU (197) makes a connection between amphora stamps and glass *exagia* produced in the name of the *praefecti* Ptolemaeus and Innocentius, between the second quarter and the middle of the 7th century CE. ENTWISTLE AND MEEK (97) present a selection of 44 glass *exagia* from the British Museum's collection (180 pieces), which is organised in four categories: "imperial" weights; weights with the bust of an eparch and an inscription; weights with a box or cruciform monogram; "Arab-Byzantine" weights. These weights range from *ca.* 500 CE to the mid-7th century CE. Scanning electron microscopy with energy dispersive X-ray analysis distributes these weights into six compositional types. Tentative conclusions may be drawn from these analyses concerning the links between typology, colour, dating, supposed provenance, and compositional type. SCHIBILLE, MEEK, TOBIAS, ENTWISTLE ET AL. (248) analyse 275 glass *exagia* from the British Museum and the French National Library's collections by means of LA-ICP-MS. This sample represents about 20% of all known specimens (*ca.* 1,300 in total). Glass weights are dated to the 6th and 7th centuries CE and belong to six compositional types. The two main types of glass used during the 6th century CE probably originate from Egypt. A new type, also with an Egyptian origin, emerged towards the second half of the 6th century CE. The Levantine I type was used during the late 6th and the early 7th centuries CE. The distribution shows (a) a large-scale, centralised production of the weights, and (b) the co-existence of alternative sources of supply for a same emission of weights.

Counterweights

Several Late Roman and Byzantine counterweights have been published recently. TOBIAS (281) presents five copper-alloyed counterweights representing a female bust and a lead spherical counterweight that used to belong to the Zacos Collection (now in the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe). ŞİRİN (256) publishes a copper-alloyed counterweight representing Athena conserved in the Samsun Museum. NANKOV (185) publishes a spherical counterweight discovered in Parthicopolis (Macedonia), with a puzzling Greek inscription. The archaeological context and the paleography of the inscription point to the 6th century CE. HRISTOV (141) publishes a copper-alloyed counterweight representing an empress from Hrisosotira (Chernomorets) and gathers other similar artefacts conserved in Bulgaria. A steelyard and two copper-alloyed counterweights representing an empress were found off the coast of Aléria (Corsica, France): see CIBECCHINI (56; 57, no. 54).

CHARREY (52) questions the widespread use of bust counterweights representing two feminine standardised stereotypes ("Athena" or the "Empress") between the 4th and the 7th centuries CE. These representations are part of early Byzantine visual culture: the empress represents the authority, the sacredness and the stability of the state, while Athena refers to ancient pagan female deities and allegories that are reinterpreted in the context of a Christian empire.

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2. THE GREEK WORLD

INTRODUCTION

Peter van Alfen

In their Introduction to the Antiquity section in the INC Survey published in 2007, Carmen Arnold-Biucchi and Markus Peter lamented that the “growth of publication seems to have slowed down slightly.” By 2015, when the last INC Survey was published, this trend was already reversing. This Survey section, which focuses on “Greek” coinage, shorthand for those coins produced in the Mediterranean and adjacent regions from ca. 650 to 30 BCE not necessarily by Greek peoples, contains a total of 2,910 citations compared to the 2,004 found in the “Greek” section in the 2015 Survey, a 32% increase. This dramatic rise reflects not just the greater latitude and scope given the contributors to this volume, and an additional year of scholarship added to the Survey due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the postponement of the planned 2021 INC meetings, but an assured growth in scholarly output. While some areas of study have unquestionably seen increases in scholarship, notably early electrum and Hellenistic coinages and coins found in excavations, the amplitude is found across all fields. Part of this is no doubt due to an increasing number of large-scale, multi-year, state-funded research projects on various aspects of early money and Greek and related coinages that now are or have been underway in several countries. These projects include (project directors noted in parentheses): “The Archaic Coinage of Athens” (Kenneth Sheedy and Gil Davis, Macquarie University); “CHANGE. The Development of the Monetary Economy of Ancient Anatolia, c. 630-30 BC” (Andrew Meadows, Oxford University); “KOINON: Common Currencies and Shared Identities. Understanding the Structures and Daily Realities of Greek Federal States through an Analysis of Coin Production and Coin Circulation in the Aetolian and Peloponnesian Koina (5th - 1st BC)” (Fleur Kemmers and David Weidgenannt, University of Frankfurt); “Token Communities in the Ancient Mediterranean” (Clare Rowen, Warwick University); and “Silver Isotopes and the Rise of Money” (Francis Albarède, Ecole Normale Supérieure de Lyon).

Changes in research technologies over the last decade have also fueled part of the surge, most notably in metallurgical analyses. The proliferation of inexpensive, portable X-ray fluorescence (XRF) machines have enabled many more quick and non-destructive metallurgical analyses of ancient coins than was possible in previous years. Coupled with additional non-destructive, lab-based types of analyses, including micro-computed tomography (μ CT) and LA-ICP-MS (Laser Ablation Inductively Coupled Plasma Mass Spectrometry), which have also proven the accuracy of XRF in most cases, the picture of metal supply and use in Greek coinage is rapidly evolving.

Digital technologies have also offered the promise of die recognition software, based on facial recognition algorithms, that would greatly ease the eye-strain and time needed to conduct die studies, still a cornerstone of Greek numismatic studies. While several attempts are currently being made to produce such software, none has yet been released for general use. More immediately, however, the Roman Republican Die Project (numismatics.org/rrdp) points to how Greek die studies performed using traditional methods might be digitized and leveraged to address both older and newer research questions.

Where digital technologies have had the greatest impact on Greek numismatics in recent years has been in the online publication of collections and typologies. While the print publication of the *Sylloge Numorum Graecorum* (SNG) series carries on steadfastly, notably with the ever-expanding *SNG Turkey* series under Oguz Tekin’s leadership, some of the larger cabinets in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Europe have concentrated more of their efforts on producing and honing their online catalogues. Remarkably, for example, the entire Greek collection of the coin cabinet at the Bibliothèque nationale de France is now available online fully described and photographed. The German NUMiD consortium, founded in 2015, is digitizing 42 collections at 34 university locations, as work continues on the digitization of the large Greek collection at the Münzkabinett Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Other digitization projects are also underway in the Netherlands, Austria, and Greece. Such monumental and commendable efforts have gone hand-in-hand with attempts to develop international standards for methodologies and terminologies associated with the online presentation of collections and related digital projects. The ARCH project (<https://>

www.greekcoinage.org/arch-project.html) has sought to develop standardized methods for describing coins while the international Nomisma.org project is continually developing a thesaurus of standardized terms and concepts, including, for example, the names of rulers, magistrates and other authorities, as well as mint sites, and so forth. Each such term and concept is presented on its own webpage with a stable URI that subsequently allows it to be used freely in other digital resources. This standardization is critical as more collections and other digital projects have gone online and have become interlinked using Linked Open Data (LOD) principles.

The usefulness of LOD has been most apparent in the development of a number of online typologies for Greek coinages since 2015, most of which have been state-funded projects. The Hellenistic Royal Coinages project (<https://numismatics.org/hrc/>) based at the American Numismatic Society incorporates several component typologies under its umbrella including PELLA (numismatics.org/pella) focusing on the coinages of Philip II of Macedonia and those in the name of Alexander the Great; Seleucid Coins Online (numismatics.org/sco); Ptolemaic Coins Online (numismatics.org/pco) and Antigonid Coins Online (numismatics.org/agco). By the end of 2022, Bactrian and Indo-Greek Coinages Online (numismatics.org/bigr) will also be added to the roster, a joint project between the ANS and Oxford University. The online type pages within each of these components presents the typological information with terms and concepts linked to Nomisma.org, individual illustrated specimens of the type linked in from collections around the world, plus maps indicating where the type was minted and where it has been recorded in hoard finds. Tools also allow users to search for types by monograms and symbols and conduct statistical analyses on the data across the site(s) or on individual types. Similar functionality and interlinking is also found in the Corpus Numorum Online (<https://www.corpus-numorum.eu>) based in Berlin focusing on the coinages of Thrace, Moesia Inferior, Mysia, and the Troad, and to a lesser extent in Kyprios Character (<http://kyprioscharacter.eie.gr>) based in Athens focusing on Cypriot coinage, and Historia Numorum (<http://hno.huma-num.fr/>) based in Bordeaux currently focusing on the coinage of Caria. Other online typologies that are being built include PHANES focusing on early electrum.

With the reconfiguration of CoinHoards.org in 2020, Greek hoard studies have also entered the LOD digital age and will continue to grow as both the ANS and Oxford University's CHANGE project add substantial additional hoard information to the website in the near future based on recent and older hoard publications. At the same time, protocols for the online presentation of coin finds from archaeological excavations are being developed.

There is little question that the last several years have witnessed significant and positive changes in the study of Greek numismatics, beyond just an overall increase in the amount of scholarship. The attraction of large amounts of state funds to big research projects and to the development of digital research tools underscores the vitality of the field. In the coming years, as the digital resources for Greek numismatic research expand and become more comprehensive and sophisticated, including collection databases, typologies, databases for hoard and excavation coins, as well as die study aids, we can look forward to an increase in the speed and ease with which larger and smaller research projects can be undertaken. That and the continued melding of digital and print publications will no doubt see the current upward trajectory of research and dissemination continue.

MONETARY INSTRUMENTS BEFORE COINAGE

John H. Kroll

In an illuminating and very readable essay LORENZ RAHMSDORF (11) surveys the three phases of early monetary innovation and practice, beginning with the ‘adscription of value’ to prized things in facilitating exchange, through the discovery, around 3000 BC, of weighing and the emergence of weighed metals as the common denominators of value, to the third innovation of employing metal in the form of pre-weighed coins stamped with a guarantee of the issuing authority. During the period 2014–2020, it is the second of these phases that has received an unprecedented amount of scholarly attention and engagement.

Interested especially in the spread and impact of weighing, RAHMSDORF (11) has assembled an important collection of eight specialist papers on weighing in Viking Scandinavia and Bronze Age Mesopotamia, Europe, and Aegean Greece. Further studies of the past seven years on weights and weighing will be found in the new, separate entry devoted to them in this Survey volume by Charles Doyen.

Hoarding of silver bullion in the Early Bronze Age, the earliest such hoarding in the Middle East, is the subject of a wide-ranging essay by CHRISTOPH BACHHUBER (1). Concerned especially with motivation, he cites textual evidence to conclude that “[c]oncealing bullion in the ground can represent simultaneously a rational, economic decision to safeguard wealth, and a magico-religious appeal to protect personal property”.

The urban sites of the Middle Bronze Age provide the written documentation and finds of bullion and weights for the sophisticated analyses of LUCA PEYRONEL and colleagues (8 and 10). For the Late Bronze Age, GRACIELA GESTESO SINGER (5) has assembled an exceptionally rich compilation of evidence for payments and trade in metal from hoards and texts of New Kingdom Egypt and the cargos of sunken ships off the south coast of Turkey.

From an examination of four Early Iron Age hoards from Phoenicia, a group of researchers at the University of Haifa (4) contend that “contrary to common interpretations, the hoarding of silver in stamped bundles and the practice of hacking silver do not represent a single phenomenon. Rather, bundling was gradually replaced by the practice of hacking silver ingots to verify their quality.” But whether or not bundling was ever abandoned, surely the main reason for chopping silver in all periods was to obtain appropriate-sized pieces for precise weighing. Such misunderstanding does not, however, diminish the value of the two other Haifa papers. One (2) reports on the lead-isotope sourcing of the silver in these hoards: mixed silver from southeast Anatolia and Sardinia in the two 10th-century hoards was replaced in the two 9th- and 8th-century hoards by more distant silver from southern Spain. The other paper (3), that presents analyses of silver pieces from eight hoards, concludes that the disruptions at the end of the Bronze Age caused a shortage of silver and a consequent debasement until new silver sources in Anatolia and the Western Mediterranean beginning around 950 BC made debasement unnecessary.

Another team (13) reports on silver analyses obtained from the Early Iron Age hoard from Tel Dor. The silver is mixed, having come from the southern Spain, the Taurus mountains in Anatolia, and a third source that the authors identify as Kalavassos in Cyprus.

ELON HEYMANS (7) breaks new ground in exhaustively describing two other Early Iron Age Levantine hoards with an emphasis on the size distribution of the individual pieces of silver, most of which weigh less than one gram. He contrasts these hoards with chopped chunks of silver and gold from a rich grave in Cyprus that he identifies not as a conventional monetary hoard but as a funereal gift for the deceased. In a more theoretical paper (6) he relates the dual economic and political valuation of coins to the economic valuation of raw silver which was socially enhanced by its potential for conversion into status-displaying fine vessels and jewelry.

The Ephesian inscription discussed in (9) documents that even as electrum coinage was circulating in westernmost Asia Minor in the late 7th and early 6th centuries BC, at least this one conservative institution required payments in weighed gold and silver bullion.

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LA PENÍNSULA IBÉRICA

Bartolomé Mora–Serrano

Se presenta aquí una selección de las publicaciones sobre la moneda hispana antigua de época preaugustea que han aparecido entre los años 2014 y 2020, continuando así la relación anterior de GOZALBES (100). El retraso en la celebración de este XVI Congreso Internacional de Numismática, ha conllevado la ampliación del arco cronológico que habitualmente cubre estas selecciones bibliográficas.

Durante este periodo se han publicado las actas del *XV Congreso Internacional de Numismática* (45), del *XV Congreso Nacional de Numismática* con el lema *Patrimonio numismático y museos* (105), así como una nueva edición de los *XXI Cursos d'història monetària hispànica* (83), centrado en los principales sistemas monetarios del occidente europeo.

Con motivo de la terrible pandemia del covid-19 han fallecido colegas y amigos numismatas; sirvan estas líneas como recuerdo a su interés y dedicación por los estudios sobre la moneda antigua de Hispania.

Estudios Generales

Como introducciones u obras de carácter general cabe reseñar la publicación de VICO y DE FRANCISCO (196), así como una nueva entrega, la quinta, de las obras completas de L. VILLARONGA (202). En el apartado de colecciones públicas y privadas SINNER y CAMPO (185) catalogan la colección de moneda hispana de Florencia dentro de la serie italiana de los *Sylloge Nummorum Garecorum*, y GARCÍA-BELLIDO y METCALF (92) publican la importante colección Cervera de la *Hispanic Society of America*, hoy desmembrada. La Universidad de Valencia edita la colección Cores de moneda hispánica (72, 73). De interés didáctico es la publicación de GOZALBES y SÁNCHEZ (102) *Historias en miniatura*. Como continuación del anterior volumen dedicado a la flora ibérica, MATA (130) coordina el dedicado a la fauna.

Los estudios de síntesis sobre aspectos de la moneda hispana antigua de GOZALBES (101) y RIPOLLÈS (156, 163), se complementan con otros trabajos sobre el aprovisionamiento y posibles nuevas emisiones hispanas de moneda romana (76, 91, 89, 154, 180), incluidas las imitaciones oficiosas de ases y semises (170, 171, 173). Las emisiones del bando pompeyano en Hispania son analizadas por AMELA (21) y RIPOLLÈS (159) valora el valor identitario de la moneda hispana antigua.

Emisiones griegas

Como continuación de un trabajo anterior dedicado a las emisiones arcaicas de Emporion, RIPOLLÈS y CHEVILLON han realizado una nueva sistematización de la etapa post-arcaica de la ceca (165), junto con otros trabajos dedicados a representativas emisiones como la de cabeza de carnero - puntos (157), cabeza de Sileno - lechuza (65) y Pegaso (64), además de otros centrados en el origen y evolución de otras tipologías (61, 62) en más de un caso de claras reminiscencias orientales (63). CHEVILLÓN y MELMOUX (132) y G. VILLARONGA (198, 66) aportan nuevas variantes de divisores anteriores a la dracma, sobre cuyas primeras emisiones se ocupa CRUSAFONT (74), y AMELA (26) de las dracmas de peso ligero. Sobre la ceca de Rhode, CRUSAFONT (75) ofrece nuevos datos sobre sus divisores.

CAMPO (50) y PELLICER (155) tratan, bajo diferentes enfoques, de la repercusión de estas amonedaciones en las sociedades ibéricas del entorno de estas dos colonias griegas.

Emisiones púnicas

Sobre las cecas de tradición fenicio-púnica de Hispania se han propuesto nuevas atribuciones como las de MARTÍNEZ CHICO (128) sobre la rara emisión Bes – palmera, y los divisores de plata con estrella en reverso a Malaka (123). CAMPO (48) ha analizado con detalle la fase inicial de la ceca de Ebusus, confirmando la antes dudosa emisión de plata que acompaña a las más copiosas de bronce. BLANCO (41) se ocupa de la iconografía del toro en esta ceca y PADRINO (153) de las monedas engarzadas en collares procedentes de la necrópolis ibicenca de Puig des Molins. El uso de la moneda como viático en el mundo funerario de Gadir, Ebusus y Malaca es analizado en una monografía coordinada por ARÉVALO (29), ampliada en el caso gaditano con estudios específicos de ARÉVALO y MORENO (33).

Estas mismas autoras (146), junto con MORA (137), tratan de la singularidad metrológica gaditana, cuya

iconografía monetaria influye en los sellos anfóricos (36). Una emisión de Sexs es comentada por AMELA (5), mientras GONZÁLEZ BORNAY (95) realiza una síntesis sobre las amonedaciones fenicio-púnicas de la actual Extremadura. Estas últimas, conocidas como libiofenices, son valoradas por JIMÉNEZ (114) como ejemplo de la existencia de una cultura púnica local en el suroeste hispano. La singularidad cultural de las amonedaciones hispano-púnicas tiene una de sus mayores y más complejas manifestaciones en sus iconografías, con estudios de conjunto de MORA (140) y MORENO (144, 145), junto a otros centrados en la representación arcaizante de Melqart (142) y en los altares o edificaciones religiosas (134).

Hispania Citerior

Dentro de los estudios de síntesis y monográficos, SINNER (184) ha publicado una monografía sobre la ceca de Ilduro, y AMELA una dedicada a las amonedaciones del sistema del denario ibérico en el noreste peninsular (13), y la segunda a las amonedaciones tardías de la Celtiberia (25). BURILLO (43) trata de las influencias helenísticas en la cultura celtibérica, incluidas sus amonedaciones, mientras ARÉVALO (28) traza un panorama general sobre el origen y evolución de las amonedaciones en Cuenca y su territorio. LÓPEZ (119) lleva a cabo un detallado repaso de los textos de Apiano que le llevan a valorar la presencia celtibérica en Lusitania, así como el perfil ambiguo de muchas de estas poblaciones con respecto a Roma.

Además de los trabajos centrados en la circulación monetaria y atesoramientos de las emisiones localizadas en la Citerior, ya referidos en otros apartados, el grueso de las aportaciones que a continuación se relacionan se centran en la síntesis de muchos de estos talleres, pero también en aspectos más concretos como sus tipos (162, 167, 199) o ubicación. El primer apartado resulta difícil de exponer de manera tan resumida, pues el número de cecas tratadas, de forma bastante sucinta a veces, es muy elevado. AMELA se ha ocupado de los talleres de Ausesken (11), Eusti (12), Contrebia Carbica (14), Iltirta (23), Kolounioku (185), Sekobirikes (18), Tamusia (15), Toletum (19), entre otras (5, 6, 10, 24, 113). DOMÍNGUEZ (79) lleva a cabo un completo repaso del de Bolskan, RIPOLLÈS analiza la problemática del taller de Kili (160), y rectifica la atribución gala de Kiratikus (161). RIPOLLÈS y CORES estudian la ceca de Oskumken (166).

La localización discutida de ciertos talleres es abordada por GOZALBES para los casos de Ikalesken (96) y Urkesken (97), temática también tratada por MARTÍNEZ CHICO (129) para Olkairun. Igualmente se han producido novedades en cuanto a la aparición de nuevas emisiones para Erkauika (158), además de nuevos tipos y variantes en Iltirta (191, 201). Una prueba de cuño de la ceca de Nertobis ha sido publicada por RIPOLLÈS, CORES y GOZALBES (168).

Hispania Ulterior

Junto a una nueva síntesis sobre las amonedaciones de la Ulterior-Baetica (35), ARÉVALO y MORENO también se ocupan del fenómeno monetario en las cecas costeras del suroeste peninsular, con una puesta al día de los diferentes talleres monetales que emiten en este periodo, abordando también el interesante fenómeno del uso del plomo asociado a las producciones de estos talleres (34). CHAVES (57) lleva a cabo una visión de conjunto de la amonedación de Caura y GARCÍA-BELLIDO (88) actualiza la de Castulo. Las cecas de la Serranía Ronda, entre las que sobresalen Carissa, Ocuri y Acinipo han sido tratadas por ARÉVALO (30), COMPAÑA (68), HENARES (109), GUERRERO (108), MARTÍNEZ CHICO (121) y MORA (135), respectivamente. Ventipo, Lacipo, Lastigi y Carteia han sido también objeto de diferentes trabajos (5, 9, 109, 127), y de esta última amonedación sobresale la localización de su taller monetario en una de las casamatas de la muralla púnica reutilizada en época republicana dado a conocer por ARÉVALO, BLÁNQUEZ y ROLDÁN (31).

La rica iconografía de las cecas Béticas se concreta en las aportaciones de CHAVES (56) sobre el tipo del jabalí, así como de MORENO (143) y RUIZ (183), centrados en este caso en los motivos vegetales. Algunos de estos motivos pueden tener un trasfondo literario y, al igual que otros, modelos no necesariamente numismáticos (133, 136).

Tesoros y ocultamientos monetarios

Nuevos hallazgos, pero sobre todo el reestudio de otros conocidos como los de Arrabalde (78), Salvacañete (5, 37), Driebes (38), Tivissa (201) y Valeria (174), entre otros (22, 27, 51, 94), han ampliado considerablemente este importante capítulo bien analizado en su conjunto por GOZALBES y TORREGROSA (103), que se complementa con un considerable número de estudios centrados en periodos o aspectos concretos. DEBERNARDI (77) vincula el grueso de la plata romana presente en conocidos tesoros hispánicos como Tivissa y Armuña de Tajuña, entre otros, con la estancia de P. Cornelio Escipión en Hispania. La presencia en estos tesoros de hacksilber, lingotes, etc., además de moneda hispana y foránea de diferente procedencia y ambientes monetarios queda patente en el minucioso estudio que del

ocultamiento de Villarrubia de los Ojos lleva a cabo CHAVES y PLIEGO (59).

Bajo la premisa de un suministro de moneda romana muy vinculado a los principales acontecimientos bélicos en la península Ibérica, LOCKYEAR (118) propone una revisión del patrón de hallazgos en Italia e Hispania aplicando un análisis estadístico multivariante. La falta de información sobre muchos de estos tesoros, especialmente de su composición, en muchos casos se trata hallazgos antiguos y descontextualizados, complica su estudio y favorece la aplicación de modelos explicativos que pueden cuestionarse como hace RODRÍGUEZ (175), apuntando la posibilidad de retrasar a la primera mitad del siglo II a.C. algunos considerados de la II Guerra Púnica.

Desde un punto de vista regional, los ocultamientos del noroeste están capitalizados por los procedentes de Emporion, tanto de denarios romanos como de dracmas estudiados por CAMPO (49, 52), y también de bronce de Untikesken (5). AMELA (5) recuerda la motivación bélica, en este caso el paso de los Cimbrios, para la interpretación de tesoros como los de La Barroca y Sarrià, entre otros. MARTÍNEZ CHICO (122, 124, 125) y CHAVES y PLIEGO (60) publican hallazgos de moneda cartaginesa (124, 125). Nuevos datos sobre ocultamientos en Lusitania se deben a CENTENO (53), RUIVO (181) y a MARTÍN y BLÁZQUEZ (120). La circulación y atesoramiento conjunto de moneda de bronce romana e ibérica en la Ulterior es valorada por MORA (136).

Hallazgos y circulación monetaria

La estrecha relación entre ejército y moneda, no siempre ligado a conflictos bélicos, queda de manifiesto en numerosos trabajos recientemente publicados. CHAVES (55) ofrece una visión general del problema, mientras BLÁZQUEZ (42) se centra en el occidente peninsular, cuyo vacío de cecas locales permite valorar el importante suministro de las grandes cecas ibéricas del alto Guadalquivir, además de Corduba. NOGUERA, PRINCIPAL y ÑACO (148) se ocupan del noroeste peninsular. La más intensa circulación de moneda en los campamentos militares queda de manifiesto en las publicaciones sobre el Camp de les Lloses (80) y en el cerco de Numancia (115, 116, 197). También cabe destacar el valor de la moneda como testimonio de enfrentamientos y destrucciones. En tierras alavesas AMELA (7) analiza el de Andagoste datable en época tardorrepública, si bien el testimonio hasta ahora más relevante en este tipo de hallazgos, también por su metodología y carácter interdisciplinar, es el de la famosa batalla de Baecula, analizado por GARCÍA-BELLIDO, BELLÓN y MONTERO (89).

Con una particular problemática como apunta CHAVES (58), los cotos mineros son un importante foco de atracción de moneda, también de plomos monetiformes. RODRÍGUEZ y PENCO (178) estudian el caso de Cerro Muriano. Dentro de otras categorías singulares de hallazgos monetarios, RIPOLLÈS (164) publica los procedentes del santuario de Montaña Frontera, y UROZ y ARÉVALO (194) presentan con detalle tres conjuntos monetarios procedentes de un ambiente de destrucción del *oppidum* de Libisosa. ARÉVALO (31) reexamina el interesante conjunto de moneda del pecio de Illa Pedrosa.

Junto a estudios regionales como el dedicado a la Ilergecia (93), a la circulación monetaria de las cecas meridionales ibéricas en la Ulterior (182), o temáticos como la distribución de hallazgos de aes grave en Hispania (126), numerosas aportaciones se centran en la circulación monetaria de diferentes asentamientos rurales (70, 179), pero sobre todo en *oppida* y ciudades hispanas como Acinipo (150), Castulo (56), Desobriga (47), Ebusus (151, 152), Lesera (192), Suel (86), así como de Valeria y su entorno (44, 98). La distribución de los hallazgos de la ceca de Lauro plantea su ubicación en el poblado ibérico del Puig del Castell de Salamús (Barcelona) (106).

Varia

La relación de la numismática antigua, la hispana preaugustea en este caso, con otras disciplinas como la epigrafía y filología paleohispánicas, queda de manifiesto en los numerosos trabajos recientemente publicados. ESTARÁN y BELTRÁN (82) reúnen en una monografía la información de la base de datos *Hesperia* de lenguas paleohispánicas, tema también sintetizado por SINNER y VELEZA (187), mientras RIPOLLÈS y SINNER (172) se centran en las inscripciones monetales, cuya elección y trasfondo identitario es analizado por ESTARÁN (81). HERRERA (111) se interesa por el momento y posibles causas de su desaparición en el sur peninsular y BELTRÁN (40), de HOZ (112) y ORDUÑA (149) tratan de diferentes inscripciones monetales celtibéricas. De la escritura en forma de grafitos sobre moneda antigua se ocupan GARCÍA-BELLIDO y DE HOZ (90), a propósito de un shekel del tesoro de Mogente.

Con una larga tradición en los estudios numismáticos, la relación entre inscripciones monetales y toponimia es estudiada por GUERRA (107) para la región lusitana, y por AGUILERA (3) para Bursao. CHURCHIN (67) ha ampliado su ya conocido trabajo sobre los magistrados locales de Hispania, y ABASCAL (1) trata sobre la epigrafía y numismática

de Carthago Nova. Cabe destacar también la continuación de las *Crónicas de onomástica paleo-hispánica* de FARIA (84, 85). También se han realizado avances en el conocimiento de la composición metálica de las amonedaciones de Ebusus y de otros talleres ibéricos (4, 186). Sobre los plomos monetiformes, no solo circunscritos al sur y levante peninsulares (2), estacan los tipos relacionados con Italia con estudios de conjunto y nuevos hallazgos de RODRÍGUEZ GAVILÁ (176), SINNER, STANNARD y FERRER (188, 189, 190).

En cuanto a la historiografía de la numismática, MOZAS (147) ha dado a conocer un manuscrito inédito de un anticuario y numismata del siglo XVII, y BELTRÁN, GIMENO y MORA (39) han estudiado la figura F. X. Delgado, padre del célebre Antonio Delgado. De las relaciones numismáticas hispano-lusas se ha ocupado MORA (139), y GARCÍA-BELLIDO (87) ha presentado documentación inédita sobre las relaciones entre Hübner, Mommsen y Haeberlin en torno a la moneda hispánica. MEDEROS (131) y CONEJO (71) han profundizado en la biografía de Antonio Vives y José de Viú, respectivamente. Abundando en el uso espurio por parte de anticuarios y coleccionistas diferentes trabajos se tratan de las falsificaciones y alteraciones intencionadas de moneda hispana antigua (69, 138, 193).

Como parte de las Humanidades digitales, la investigación, documentación y difusión del patrimonio numismático tiene cada vez un mayor peso, como ponen de manifiesto los trabajos de GRANADOS, GOZALBES y RIPOLLÈS (104, 169).

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GAULE GRECQUE

Marie-Laure le Brazidec

Commentaires

Les publications relatives aux monnayages grecs en Gaule se sont surtout concentrées, pendant la période 2014-2020, sur des articles apportant des éclairages nouveaux sur certaines séries existantes, mais aussi des exemplaires inédits et cela pour les différentes périodes considérées. Plusieurs travaux de CHEVILLON ont contribué à la connaissance des monnayages de Marseille et à leur diffusion, que ce soit par des articles de synthèse (2) ou par des articles ciblés (3, 6, 7, 8, 10 et 14). Ainsi il rappelle que premier monnayage émis en Gaule, celui de la Marseille grecque, tient une place majeure dans le développement des séries attribuables aux Gaulois du Sud-Est et il y étudie sa diffusion (2). Avec LILLAMAND (13), il met en lumière des oboles massaliètes à l'ethnique présentant, pour la première fois, une légende exprimée en ionien « savant ». Les deux auteurs (14), après une première étude en 2006, examinent des oboles à l'ethnique sur lesquelles le A du revers est gravé à la main ou au burin après la frappe. Deux dépôts d'oboles ont été publiés : le premier, datable du milieu de V^e s. av. J.-C., a été découvert sur l'oppidum de Marduel (18) ; le second, daté du début du IV^e s. av. J.-C. (9), vient éclairer les moments charnières du retournement définitif du motif de droit et d'un changement d'étalon des oboles massaliètes. Par ailleurs CASTA (1) s'intéresse aux influences de Syracuse sur le monnayage de Marseille.

Concernant la sphère de Marseille, CHEVILLON apporte de nouveaux éléments sur le monnayage archaïque de Théliné, l'Arles grecque (4 et 5). Fondation phocéenne, l'Arles archaïque va émettre peu après sa création, que l'on date des années 540-530 av. J.-C., ses propres monnaies. Après une approche large de ce nouveau monnayage archaïque pour l'Extrême-Occident grec, l'auteur donne sa vision actualisée du trésor de Volterra. Avec DUARTE (12), il présente un nouveau groupe d'oboles de cet atelier. Par ailleurs CHEVILLON et RIPOLLÈS reviennent sur la découverte d'exemplaires de ce monnayage en Ibérie (15). Les travaux de CHEVILLON, STANNARD et SCHLEGEL (16) examinent de façon approfondie les petits bronzes au taureau passant, ces petits bronzes massaliètes du 2^e quart du I^{er} s. av. J.-C, ce qui amène à positionner la frappe de ces monnaies au sein du Languedoc central. SALICIS revient sur les petits bronzes, d'imitation de Marseille, à légende KPIΞEOC (19 et 20), en tranchant pour une attribution à un chef celto-ligure, Krixsos ou Crixsos, et en proposant une datation entre 125 et 49 av. J.-C.

Enfin, concernant la circulation monétaire, on notera les études de SALICIS pour le sud-est de la Gaule (21), incluant les monnayages de Marseille, et une obole de Marseille découverte en Espagne (17).

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ITALIA E MAGNA GRECIA

Benedetto Carroccio

Nota introduttiva

Anche per il periodo in esame confermiamo molte osservazioni e raccomandazioni di CANTILENA (22) nella precedente *Survey*.

In primo luogo, sulla necessità di pubblicazioni in tempi ragionevoli delle sequenze dei conii di importanti zecche magnogreche annunciate, o anticipate in termini stringati, da tempo.

Va anche ricordato che ricostruzioni di questo tipo possono dirsi veramente completate, e utili, solo dopo che si sia giunti alla pubblicazione fotografica delle coppie di conii individuate, così da permettere alla comunità scientifica di verificare le deduzioni e ricostruzioni degli autori, e a curatori di musei e case d'asta di classificare correttamente gli esemplari in proprio possesso, segnalando l'eventuale rinvenimento di nuovi conii, o coppie di conii.

In secondo luogo, a proposito della riduzione del numero di contributi di studiosi non italiani, che ovviamente limita il dibattito e confronto scientifico.

Sono comunque continuati studi dedicati a singole zecche o aree, e alla circolazione monetale in aree archeologiche, con pubblicazioni complete o sintetiche dei rinvenimenti. Oppure sintesi dedicate ad aree o periodi più vasti, spesso in atti di convegni interdisciplinare, storici o archeologici, che tendono a dedicare poco spazio alle monete e al loro ruolo di fonte diretta per la ricostruzione storica, culturale e politica, oltre che storico-economica.

Questa crescente attenzione a pubblicare materiali poco studiati o inediti, e a indagare i contesti culturali e politici di produzione e circolazione della moneta, è manifestata anche da numerose pubblicazioni, e collane, dedicate a singole collezioni museali, indagate anche nella loro genesi. O alla ricostruzione dei significati simbolici, identitari, politici e propagandistici che hanno portato alla scelta delle diverse iconografie adottate da comunità e stati emittenti.

Sequenze dei conii, corpora e volume della produzione.

Dopo l'ottimo studio, e sequenza dei conii, di *Paestum* di CARBONE (del 2014, già nella precedente *Survey*), un solo grande studio monografico con individuazioni e sequenze dei conii è stato pubblicato da SPINELLI (126, sintesi in 127), e dedicato alla produzione monetaria di *Lokroi Epizephyrioi*, colmando una carenza delle nostre conoscenze. Il volume, preceduto da studi preliminari (122, 123, 124, 125), ha ribaltato la tradizione, che riservava lo studio dei conii alle serie auree e argentee, censite e ben illustrate, individuando, seriando e illustrando i conii delle sole serie bronzee, prevalenti nella produzione della zecca, censendo e ordinando in 33 serie 808 monete, delle quali 22 d'oro, 159 d'argento, 627 di bronzo, queste ultime battute "al marco" (122) da 450 conii di diritto e 548 di rovescio. Diverse cronologie vengono rialzate, altre ribassate, con più consistenti emissioni nelle età timoleontea, quando iniziano le coniazioni, agatoclea e della II guerra punica.

Un'altra monografia dettagliata, ma senza analisi dei conii, è stata dedicata da SILBERSTEIN (118) alle monete di *Rhegion* dal IV secolo a.C. alla chiusura della zecca, posta nel secondo quarto del II sec. a.C. Sono censite 80 monete argentee e 4033 bronzee. Ampia è la discussione dei dati di rinvenimento, metrologici, di varianti e datazioni, oscillando tra riproposizioni di cronologie e interpretazioni anche obsolete, per le guerre puniche, e accettazione, per i medesimi periodi, di più recenti interpretazioni. Alcuni fraintendimenti sono stati riscontrati nei riferimenti a ipotesi altrui (*review* in CARROCCIO: 40), ma il volume resta una fondamentale fonte di informazioni e riflessioni, punto di riferimento e di partenza per ulteriori approfondimenti e ricostruzioni.

In un ambito più ristretto, l'analisi di SPAGNOLI (121) di uno spezzone di sequenza dei conii degli incusi di *Kroton*, collegati a conii con la sigla QPO-TE, ricondotti con prudenza a *Temesa* piuttosto che a *Terina*, dimostra la loro coniazione ad opera della zecca crotoniate, in una fase, tra 510 e 470 a.C. in cui il suo *output* viene realizzato da più rami paralleli della zecca. Vedi più oltre per *Populonia*.

Comunità emittenti

Etruria e centri italici

Partendo da un'ottima, dettagliata sintesi degli orientamenti e discussioni sorte tra gli studiosi di monetazione etrusca, offerta da CAVAGNA (51), in merito ai rapporti intercorsi con altre monetazioni del mondo antico, a partire dal convegno napoletano del 1975 fino all'età presente, va notato un certo numero di contributi su temi specifici, soprattutto per quanto riguarda l'*Etruria*.

In particolare, vanno notati diversi studi analitici dedicati da GIANNONI (71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76) a singole serie di *Populonia*, con determinazioni quantitative e tecniche partite dal riconoscimento dei conii, anche insieme con CATALLI (50), che si è pure dedicato alle sue serie bronzee (48). VECCHI (137) ha inoltre segnalato una nuova variante della leggenda con il nome della zecca.

SERAFIN (115) ha rievocato i termini della decennale controversia sulla datazione (tra VI e III sec. a.C.) dei pezzi aurei etruschi con testa di leone, sottolineandone lo stile arcaico che, di per sé, riporterebbe alla fine del VI sec. a.C. DAVICO (55) ha comparato i segni numerali su serie etrusche d'argento con quelli romani, successivi. CATALLI (49) ha scritto anche sulle emissioni fuse. RAFANELLI (110) sulle monete di *Vetulonia*.

Per quanto riguarda le altre comunità anelleniche dell'Italia antica, CANTILENA (26) è tornata sulle monete dei *Tyrrhenoi* e *Syleraioi*, segnalando rinvenimenti e assonanze toponomastiche in area campana. F. e V. RAPPOSELLI (111) hanno dedicato a *Teate Apulum* una monografia che ha censito 1121 monete. LA NOTTE (96) ha sottolineato la problematicità di una serie attribuita a quella zecca.

Campania e Magna Grecia

Oltre la sintesi generale di HORSNAES (77), utili quelle sulla ricerca recente e sul pubblicato offerti da SPAGNOLI (120) e TALIERCIO MENSITIERI (133), e la riedizione degli scritti di PARISE (102). Per quanto riguarda l'età arcaica e classica, partendo dalle analisi generali, CANTILENA (25) ha ribadito il ruolo ufficiale, identitario, politico e determinato dalle autorità, della moneta, attraverso il tipo, *sema* della *polis*, la leggenda e l'articolazione dei nominali. GARRAFFO (70) si è soffermato sulla fase originaria delle monetazioni magnogreche, e sulla derivazione da esperienze del Mediterraneo orientale, con modifiche e adattamenti ad esigenze locali dei metri e nominali adottati.

Le *monetazioni incuse*, nella loro genesi, cronologia, tecnica e funzione, hanno suscitato interesse e dibattiti. CARROCCIO (41, e BARRITTA: 5), segnalando che lo studio di *Sybaris* di Spagnoli consente anche una interpretazione della coniazione per linee parallele, più concentrata, ha proposto una datazione più bassa (525ca. a.C.) dell'introduzione di queste monete, determinata dall'influenza del pitagorismo sui governi delle *poleis*, e dalle necessità di propaganda e scambio con le élites dei centri indigeni. Simile, ma più estrema, la posizione di ARNAUDO (2), che basandosi su dati tecnici e analisi del metallo (OLSEN ET AL.: 97; SALVEMINI ET AL.: 112, 113; SHEEDY ET AL.: 116; altre analisi su queste emissioni, non citate dallo studioso, in BROCCIERI, VITALE e SABBARESE: 15), ipotizza "un'unitarietà di manifattura all'interno di un'unica zecca specializzata", "almeno per un periodo", di serie intestate a diverse *poleis*. Analisi numismatiche degli incusi dei *centri indigeni* sotto controllo sibarita o crotoniate e della loro funzione sono state inoltre prodotte da SPAGNOLI (119, 121).

A *Poseidonia-Paestum* CANTILENA e CARBONE (32, *review*: 16; e sulle riconiazioni a *Paestum*: 33) hanno dedicato una monografia che riunifica per la prima volta e sintetizza le più recenti acquisizioni sulla storia monetale della città. Nel volume è ribadita la falsità di due monete auree, ritenute autentiche da IULA (78). CANTILENA (29) si è pure soffermata sulla identificazione con gli ecisti di nomi aggiunti all'etnico in alcuni pezzi poseidonati.

Nuove edizioni di *nominali frazionali* di diverse zecche in cataloghi d'asta o da scavo hanno acceso i riflettori su serie poco conosciute nel loro metro, *output* e funzione, d'incerta cronologia, e estremo interesse. A uno studio di TALIERCIO MENSITIERI su *Taras* (135) si sono affiancati quelli su singole serie o rinvenimenti di CARROCCIO (42, 43) e LAZZARINI (80). Ci auguriamo che altri studi seguano.

Su monete di *Taras* dal V al III sec. a.C. sono state condotte anche analisi metalliche (BUCCOLIERI ET AL.: 18).

Terina è stata oggetto di un'analisi critica complessiva di SPAGNOLI e TALIERCIO MENSITIERI (121) e di un riepilogo di quanto già acquisito di MONTESANTI (94).

GARGANO (68) riepiloga le conoscenze su *Kaulonia* sottolineando tipi ancora discussi, simboli segno di influssi pitagorici, e segnalando diverse nuove frazioni e serie bronzee, aggiungendo un riepilogo dei rinvenimenti di moneta straniera nella città.

BROUSSEAU (16) ha sintetizzato le conoscenze sulle zecche e la circolazione monetale in *Lucania*. Per l'età ellenistica, BURNETT (19, repliche in CANTILENA: 23, CARROCCIO: 39) ha sintetizzato il quadro delle emissioni postpirriche riproponendo le cronologie tradizionali, con le loro incertezze. Diversi studi sono stati dedicati a zecche ubicate nell'attuale *Puglia*, o alla proposizione di nuove varianti, o cronologie, delle loro emissioni (CAMILLETTI ET AL.: 21, sui centri *messapi*; MONTANARO: 90, sui *peuceti*; CRAWFORD: 54, e PITTINI: 103, sulle serie di *Gra-Graxa*; LA NOTTE: 96, su una presunta dracma di *Teanum Apulum*; MIGLIOLI: 87, su *Orra*), arricchendo un quadro precedentemente trascurato. SARCINELLI (114) ha scritto sulla monetazione bronzea di *Heraclea Lucaniae*.

Le monete dei *Brettii* continuano a interessare: LIPPI e CAMPANA (85) hanno analizzato la struttura della coniazione degli argenti Dioscuri/Dioscuri, ritenuti conati a Locri nel 215/214 a.C. dallo stesso *atelier* di mezzi shekel argentei con tipi punici coevi, e modello del rovescio dei primi *denarii*. Sulle serie federali è tornato a scrivere ATTIANESE (3, da valutare con prudenza, per il tentativo di rialzare alcune cronologie agli inizi del III sec. a.C.).

Sistemi monetali e metrologia

Non risultano studi direttamente dedicati a questioni metrologiche, salvo quello di DAVICO (55) già ricordato, su serie *etrusche*, e altri dati utili alla ricostruzione dei sistemi ponderali prodotti da PULCINELLI (109), ma diversi studi più generali hanno dedicato gran spazio allo standard delle serie esaminate, come GARRAFFO (70) sulle prime serie magnogreche, SILBERSTEIN (118) soprattutto sulle serie più recenti di *Rheghion*, CARROCCIO (42) sulla possibilità che una frazione sibarita rechi indicazioni di valore.

Iconografia

Diversi gli studi dedicati a tipi, simboli, e scene riportate sulle monete, per coglierne il valore simbolico-propagandistico generale, seguendo il metodo iconologico varato dai ricercatori aderenti al progetto del *Lexicon Iconographicum Numismaticae*, o cercando di cogliere il significato particolare assunto da singole emissioni nel contesto territoriale, culturale e storico che le ha prodotte.

Per quanto riguarda la Magna Grecia, CACCAMO CALTABIANO (20) ha comparato l'elmo crestatto nelle monete di *Temesa* con altre rappresentazioni di età arcaica e classica e con i segni di potere trovati negli scavi nella città, per sottolinearne il ruolo di simbolo persistente dell'eroe-sovrano mitico. BRACCESI (14) interpreta la colomba retrospiciente, motivo secondario su monete di *Cuma*, in accordo con le fonti letterarie, come guida simbolica dell'ecista di una nuova polis sede oracolare. CARROCCIO (37, non nella precedente *Survey*), ha identificato il giovane su delfino di *Taras* con l'eponimo *Taras*, eroe territoriale e trasposizione del *Melikertes-Palaimon* istmico-peloponnesiaco entro un quadro culturale complesso. CORRADO (53), invece, lo identifica più tradizionalmente come Apollo delfico *oikistes*. Ancora CARROCCIO (38, non nella precedente *Survey*), esaminando tipi e simboli di serie tarantine, ha manifestato dubbi sull'identificazione dei "cavalieri" con *Phalantos*, o solo come Dioscuri.

CASTRIZIO ha riproposto in un volume (44) alcuni studi iconografici, aggiornandoli. In uno dedicato ai tipi della monetazione di *Rheghion* (45), ha notato un'influenza di culti eracleici di confine nell'unico incuso della zecca, e identificato con Asklepios la figura seduta dei tetradrammi successivi alla tirannide. In un altro (46), un particolare ben visibile di un trofeo in una serie bronzea di *Kailia* è visto come tardo ricordo della sconfitta di Reggini e Tarantini a opera dei Messapi del 473 a.C.

MONTANARO ha segnalato la possibile derivazione di una presunta testa di Herakles, in una moneta di *Rubi*, da una coeva testa di Filippo V di Macedonia (90). MIGLIOLI e CAMPANA (88) identificano un simbolo, frainteso come torcia, in monete metapontine e di altri centri come groma agrimensorio, o *astériskos*, usato per tracciare allineamenti ortogonali.

SPINELLI ha dedicato diversi studi all'iconografia delle monete locresi (123, 124, 125) segnalando una personificazione della città seduta e numerose derivazioni da tipi siciliani e tolemaici, soprattutto in serie con testa velata e con aquila, segno di un'ampia rete di contatti nell'ambito mediterraneo. POLOSA (104) si è soffermata sui rapporti tra monete e culti a *Sybaris* e *Thurii*.

Ripostigli, ritrovamenti di monete in scavi, problemi di circolazione

Anche negli ultimi anni sono abbondate le edizioni di nuovi o vecchi rinvenimenti monetali.

Per quanto riguarda i *tesoretti*, SICILIANO, GIARDINO e MONTANARO (117) ne hanno pubblicato uno di 10 incusi da *Muro Leccese*. GARGANO ha pubblicato quello da Casa Gazzera di Monasterace Marina (*Kaulonia*) del 1986 (67), con monete magnogreche incuse e a doppio rilievo dal VI al IV sec. a.C., e si è soffermata su quelli di Chiesa Pepe

a *Reggio* del 1913 (57), e *Vito Superiore* del 1939 (58), con monete magnogreche e siceliote di V sec. a.C., ricostruendo la storia dei rinvenimenti e comparando le descrizioni della composizione. CASTRIZIO (47) ha pubblicato un tesoretto di “pegasi” da Calanna, vicino *Rhegion*. CANTILENA (27) ne pubblica uno da *Montesarchio* di III sec. a.C. con una moneta di Pirro, e BOCCARDI (11) edita un deposito votivo dal santuario di *Pietrabbondante*, chiuso durante la II Guerra Punica. LIBERO MANGIERI pubblica qualche esemplare di un ripostiglio da *Latiano* (81).

Date le incertezze sulla eventuale coniazione locale di monete interrante negli anni della II guerra punica, menzioniamo pure lo studio di VISONÀ e KENKEL sul tesoretto di monete con tipi punici rinvenuto a *Tiriolo*, nel Bruzio, nel 1925 (IGCH 2022) (138).

Il principale centro oggetto di scavi, da cui sono emerse anche monete magnogreche, pur nell'ovvia prevalenza delle romane, è stato certamente *Pompei*. Due monografie, di VITALE (139) e PARDINI (100) sono state dedicate alle monete rinvenute nelle regioni VII e VIII. Ai rinvenimenti nella città e ai progetti di inventariazione e divulgazione dei rinvenimenti sono pure stati dedicati i contributi più specifici di ELLIS e PARDINI (56), PARDINI (98, 99, 101), e STAUB e DE ROSA (132).

STANNARD ET AL. (130, 131) è tornato sulle imitazioni di monete bronzee di *Ebusus* attribuite a coniazione locale di *Pompei* segnalando loro rinvenimenti in Gallia, e cercando di trarre riflessioni sulla crisi della circolazione di moneta spicciola in Italia Meridionale tra II e I secolo a.C. (129)

Su altri rinvenimenti di moneta magnogreca in *Campania* hanno scritto CANTILENA (30), sui dati ricavabili dai santuari ubicati presso i centri indigeni, e TALIERCIO MENSITIERI (134), sui rinvenimenti di età sannitica a Cuma. CANTILENA si è anche soffermata sul rinvenimento di una moneta di *Lampsaco* a *Poseidonia* e sulle circostanze che potrebbero averla fatta giungere in Occidente (28).

Per l'*Etruria* segnaliamo i rinvenimenti da *Roselle* editi da DE BENETTI e CATALI (10) e DE BENETTI (7), e altri da *Grosseto* e *Scoglietto* editi pure da DE BENETTI (6, 8), oltre un'analisi più generale sulla circolazione monetale in Etruria Meridionale offerta da PULCINELLI (108).

Una prima sintesi dei rinvenimenti monetali anche di serie preromane da *Norba*, nell'attuale *Puglia*, è stata offerta da CARFORA, FERRANTE e VITALE (36). BROUSSEAU (16) si è soffermato sulla circolazione monetaria in *Lucania*, CORRADO (52) ha ricostruito la storia di un antico rinvenimento dal territorio di *Kroton* e GARGANO è tornata sulle caratteristiche di diversi rinvenimenti dal *Bruttium*, e dai territori di *Rhegium*, dei *Tauriani* (66) e da *Vibo Valentia* (63), con dati da considerare anche per la storia monetale di *Hipponion*. Utili dati circa la circolazione monetale tardoarcaica e classica nel territorio già sibarita sono giunti da *Franca Villa Marittima* (CARROCCIO: 42, 43), mentre PUGLISI (105, 106, 107) ha segnalato monete di *Thurii*, *Laos*, *Velia* e *Metapontion* da scavi dell'Università di Messina a *Palecastro di Tortora* e *Laino Borgo*.

Collezioni museali

Gli ultimi anni hanno visto un incremento di pubblicazioni dedicate a raccolte museali, anche in una chiave storico-culturale utile per una miglior ricostruzione dell'effettiva provenienza di materiali acquisiti da tempo, o della consistenza originaria di tesoretti.

Non sono mancate nuove edizioni di collezioni, come i volumi della *SNG* dedicati alle monete siciliane e magnogreche del museo Pushkin di *Mosca* (KOVALENKO: 79) e a monete anche magnogreche del museo archeologico di *Firenze* (BARBATO ET AL.: 4). Oppure comunicazioni sull'incremento dei possedimenti dei musei di *Sibari* (BONFIGLIO e CARROCCIO: 12) e *Grosseto* (DE BENETTI: 6), o più in genere sulla consistenza, l'allestimento, iniziative di catalogazione, o singoli possedimenti di musei o aree archeologiche con presenze di monete etrusche, italiche o magnogreche, come quelli di *Locri* (AGOSTINO: 1), *Vibo Valentia* e ancora *Sibari* (BONFIGLIO e GARGANO: 13), *Paestum* (CARBONE e GRIMALDI: 35), *Chianciano Terme* (DE BENETTI: 9), *Capua* (VITALE: 142), *San Paolo del Brasile* (LO MONACO: 89).

Importante è stata l'iniziativa del Ministero della Cultura italiano, che, tra altre iniziative del *Notiziario del Portale Numismatico dello Stato*, ha promosso diverse monografie su medagliere museali di antica tradizione, partendo da *Reggio* (GARGANO e PENNISTRÌ: 69). Queste, anche per le emissioni magnogreche e dell'Italia antica, hanno unito presentazioni di selezioni delle monete possedute per ogni area o età (per *Parma*, CARBONE: 34, GARGANO: 66, LIBERO MANGIERI: 83, MONTANARO: 92) e ricostruzioni di tesoretti e collezioni in essi confluite, e della storia della loro formazione (per *Reggio*, GARGANO: 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, e, per tutta la regione: 62; per *Napoli*, CANTILENA: 31; per *Taranto*, LIBERO MANGIERI e PENNISTRÌ: 84), molto utili per corrette ricostruzioni delle composizioni e dei contesti

originari dei rinvenimenti.

Oltre a qualche pubblicazione con simile finalità (VITALE: 140), vanno citati anche alcuni studi su cultori della Numismatica che scrissero in età rinascimentale e nella fase antiquaria, con osservazioni sull'attendibilità di alcune serie e identificazioni da essi riportate (LIBERO MANGIERI: 82; NAPOLITANO: 95; SPINELLI: 128; TONDO: 136).

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SICILIA

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Note preliminari, indirizzi di ricerca e studi in corso

In questa rassegna di studi aventi per oggetto principale tematiche numismatiche inerenti la Sicilia antica, selezionati tra opere monografiche e contributi editi nei principali convegni/congressi o miscellanee e nelle più accreditate riviste del settore, sono stati censiti circa 300 lavori, tra i più significativi, pubblicati fra il 2014 e il 2020 con qualche integrazione relativa al 2013 rimasta fuori dal precedente resoconto sulla Sicilia, curato da L. SOLE (257), pubblicato all'interno del volume "Survey of Numismatic Research 2008-2013", a cura di C. ARNOLD BIUCCHI e M. CACCAMO CALTABIANO (13), abbinato al XV Congresso Internazionale di Numismatica - Taormina 2015. A completare il quadro relativo alla Sicilia preimperiale nello stesso volume si ricordano le sezioni dedicate alla numismatica punica (CALLEGARIN [58]) a quella repubblicana (WOYTEK, WITSCHONKE [301]) e alle monetazioni delle provincie occidentali (CALLEGARIN, FREY-KUPPER e GENEVIÈVE [59]).

Rispetto all'ultima rassegna (SOLE [257]) si nota un numero più elevato di pubblicazioni inerenti la Sicilia a livello totale. E in effetti, come evidenziato da François DE CALLATAÏ (54), deducendo i dati dal catalogo bibliografico dell'American Numismatic Society (DONUM), la 'numismatica siciliana' non ha mai avuto un decremento di interesse da parte degli studiosi di ambito antico, evidente anche dall'analisi degli ultimi quattro "Surveys" dell'International Numismatic Council (DE CALLATAÏ [53]), grazie anche alla 'bellezza' di tante serie monetali che da sempre hanno attirato attenzione nel mondo della storia dell'arte, a cominciare da J. J. Winckelmann (o forse ancor prima da G. B. Bianconi), come evidenziato dallo stesso DE CALLATAÏ (51 e 52).

Inoltre la sede del XV International Numismatic Congress, che si è svolto proprio in Sicilia, a Taormina nel settembre 2015, ha sicuramente favorito la scelta di argomenti 'siciliani' da parte di molti studiosi, come dimostrano i più di trenta abstracts di papers con argomento siciliano rispetto ai 475 interventi totali presentati (CALTABIANO, PUGLISI, SALAMONE [48]) e i relativi articoli estesi, editi nei "Proceedings" dello stesso Congresso (CACCAMO CALTABIANO, CARROCCIO, CASTRIZIO, PUGLISI, SALAMONE [45]).

L'elemento di novità più rilevante circa le linee di ricerca seguite rispetto al passato è l'alta concentrazione di studi in alcuni settori meno consueti.

In particolare, ci riferiamo al sensibile aumento delle ricerche in campo iconografico, stimolato da vari recenti progetti e convegni specifici che hanno dato spazio anche a comunicazioni relative all'iconografia 'siciliana' (TRAVAINI, ARRIGONI [274]; IOSSIF, DE CALLATAÏ, VEYMIERS [149]; ELKINS, KRMNICEK [106]; MORELLI, FILIPPINI [184]).

Un altro ambito oggetto di crescente interesse è stato quello dell'antiquaria numismatica che ha visto l'apparire di copiosi studi incentrati su importanti figure di collezionisti e studiosi del passato e quindi anche per le collezioni, museali e non, di monete siciliane o di materiali numismatici di provenienze siciliana, in un clima di rinnovata e crescente attenzione per la transizione da un approccio antiquario ad uno sempre più scientifico alla disciplina, riscontrabile non solo riguardo alla Sicilia, ma anche a livello generale.

Sempre vivace si rivela il settore che riguarda le pubblicazioni di rinvenimenti singoli da indagini archeologiche, anche se non sono numerosissimi i nuovi ritrovamenti pubblicati, più che per mancanza di interesse al documento numismatico in seno alle attività di scavo, per la carenza di figure professionali specializzate, a causa del ridottissimo numero di funzionari preposti o curatori con la qualifica di numismatico presso Soprintendenze e Musei della Regione Siciliana.

Non sono particolarmente numerose le pubblicazioni di nuovi ripostigli: ne sono stati ultimamente studiati alcuni a lungo rimasti inediti, mentre altri già noti sono stati ripresi ai fini di una revisione scientifica.

L'importanza dell'inquadramento dei rinvenimenti monetali - sia singoli che da ripostiglio - nel contesto archeologico è stata ribadita nell'importante workshop su "Numismatica e Archeologia. Monete, stratigrafie e contesti: dati

a confronto”, da cui è derivata una ricca pubblicazione (PARDINI, PARISE, MARANI [193]), nell’ambito della quale alcuni contesti siciliani sono stati presi in considerazione (LENTINI, POPE, PUGLISI [159]; SOLE [262]; CACCAMO CALTABIANO, LA TORRE, LONGO, SALAMONE [49]; BAUMANN, ZIEGERT [21]).

Gli studi metrologici hanno avuto uno spazio piuttosto limitato e si è notata una diminuzione, in termini di numero, di lavori incentrati sulle analisi archeometriche.

Si nota una quasi totale assenza di studi quantitativi e anche gli aspetti tecnici della produzione monetale in Sicilia sono stati poco considerati.

Due sono i corpora pubblicati in questo ultimo arco di tempo: uno su Akragas (WESTERMARK [295]) e un altro sulle serie siracusane dei ‘Maestri firmanti’ (FISCHER-BOSSERT [111]), mentre si attende ancora l’uscita del volume ‘Historia Nummorum - Sicily’ e degli studi complessivi sulle zecche di Katane, Leontinoi e Selinunte da lungo tempo in preparazione.

L’epigrafia monetale ha ricevuto una certa attenzione e si annovera qualche studio su legende di specifiche emissioni. In avvio è invece un progetto che unisce l’epigrafia e la numismatica (‘I.Num.Sic.’) relativamente alle legende monetali delle emissioni siciliane pre-imperiali, come ampliamento del noto progetto ‘I.Sicily’ ideato da J. Prag (isicily.org), a cui si deve la pubblicazione online delle epigrafi siciliane in continuo aggiornamento.

Opere e contributi a carattere generale, testi di riferimento

Storia degli Studi numismatici

Recentemente, dopo molti anni di interruzione, la rivista “Kokalos” ha ripreso la pubblicazione della consueta rassegna di studi numismatici - curata per varie edizioni, dal 1976 al 2008, da A. Cutroni Tusa - affidando a M. CACCAMO CALTABIANO (43) il compito di ripercorrere analiticamente gli avanzamenti relativi alla numismatica siciliana antica negli ultimi anni (2013-2018), integrati da uno sguardo sull’area occidentale dell’isola a firma di L. SOLE (260), entrambe le raccolte condotte con senso critico.

Uno sguardo al passato propone l’articolo di L. SOLE (255) sulla numismatica nella Sicilia (occidentale) tra le due guerre mondiali, che richiama le maggiori opere sulla disciplina dedicate in toto o in parte alla Sicilia.

Nel frattempo è apparso sugli “Annali dell’Istituto Italiano di Numismatica” un articolo di M. TALIERCIO (270) che ripercorre gli studi degli ultimi sessant’anni sulla Sicilia (e sulla Magna Grecia) apparsi sulla prestigiosa rivista italiana nelle varie sezioni dedicate ai medaglieri e ai rinvenimenti, nonché gli studi monografici abbinati ai convegni organizzati dal Centro Studi di Napoli editi nei “Supplementi”.

Anche sul primo numero della nuova rivista scientifica italiana “Dialoghi di Numismatica” M. CACCAMO CALTABIANO (44) ha avuto modo di ricordare i più rilevanti lavori a firma ‘italiana’ incentrati su tematiche siciliane in un ampio lavoro che considera le pubblicazioni dagli esordi della disciplina ai giorni nostri. Nel secondo numero dello stesso periodico gli studi di numismatica punica dell’ultimo ventennio sono stati invece ripercorsi diffusamente da L. I. MANFREDI (172) con una particolare attenzione alle coniazioni siciliane.

E diversi sono i resoconti sull’avanzamento degli studi di numismatica punica sia direttamente incentrati sulla Sicilia sia più generali, sui quali non ci si dilunga in questa trattazione poiché più dettagliatamente trattati in un’altra sezione della presente “Survey”. È però opportuno ricordare il panorama sui vari indirizzi di studio relativi alla Sicilia punica delineato da L. I. MANFREDI (171) nel volume per A. Cutroni Tusa e un articolo a carattere generale ad opera di P. VISONÀ (281), il quale riesamina le ricerche passate e aggiorna sulle quelle correnti relativamente alle coniazioni puniche anche siciliane.

Per la Sicilia in genere, nonostante la maggiore facilità di ricerca bibliografica data dagli strumenti digitali presenti sul web, resta comunque ancora difficoltoso reperire notizie di diversi rinvenimenti monetali, poiché in svariati casi pubblicati in appendice a reports di natura archeologica in riviste non specificatamente del settore numismatico, dunque di più arduo reperimento.

Monografie

Ha visto la luce dopo lunga attesa l’imponente opera monografica sulla zecca di Akragas (c. 510-406 a.C.) a firma di U. WESTERMARK (295: cfr. recensioni: DE CALLATAÏ [55]; CAVAGNA [80]), corredata da una complessa sequenza dei conii, che ha evidenziato una produzione monetale incostante - suddivisa in tre periodi in base alla tesaurizzazione - con un’interruzione nell’attività di coniazione in coincidenza con la distruzione cartaginese del 406 a.C., momento a cui risalirebbe la coniazione del decadrammo con quadriga in volo, riconiato sui decadrammi siracusani dei ‘Maestri

firmanti', che di conseguenza si porrebbero anteriormente alla data suggerita.

A W. FISCHER-BOSSERT (111: cfr. recensioni: BODZEK [23]; DE CALLATAÿ [56]; GORINI [140]; SOLE [261]; VISONÀ [283]) si deve la traduzione in lingua inglese e la revisione dell'opera dello studioso tedesco L. O. Tudeer sui tetradrammi siracusani a nome dei 'Maestri firmanti', che vengono collocati cronologicamente, in base alla sequenza dei coni, tra il 425 e il 405 a.C., a parte il gruppo dei tetradrammi con quadriga al galoppo e delfino in esergo da collocarsi sotto Dionisio I, perché, secondo lo studioso, non oggetto di imitazione da parte di altre zecche siciliane o puniche.

Cataloghi e Opere di riferimento

Nell'ultimo settennio due volumi della serie "Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum" sono stati dedicati alle monete siciliane: quella del Museo Pushkin di Mosca curata da S. KOVALENKO (154) che comprende anche emissioni dall'Italia e quella esclusivamente dedicata a monete di zecca siciliana del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze edita da S. BANI (18); a quest'ultima si deve aggiungere un altro volume della raccolta di Firenze che presenta le monetazioni cartaginesi, che include esemplari punici di zecca siciliana (PIGA [203]: cfr. recensione VISONÀ [282]), ma non le emissioni delle zecche di Mozia, Panormo, Solunto, Cossura e Melita che hanno trovato spazio invece nella citata Sylloge fiorentina sulla Sicilia.

Un nucleo di monete siciliane sono comprese nella Sylloge dei Civici musei d'arte di Verona (ARZONE, CAPPIOTTI [16]), altrettanto dicasi per quella del Museo di Zagabria (MIRNIK [177]).

Qualche ulteriore serie monetale o qualche aggiunta di nuovi esemplari inquadrabili nella produzione romano-provinciale siciliana appaiono negli ultimi Supplementi del Roman Provincial Coinage in formato elettronico (AMANDRY, BURNETT, HOSTEIN, MAIRAT, RIPOLLÈS, SPOERRI BUTCHER [3]; RIPOLLÈS, BURNETT, AMANDRY, CARRADICE, SPOERRI BUTCHER [227]).

Studi in onore

Tra le pubblicazioni che raccolgono contributi di vari studiosi in omaggio a importanti figure scientifiche legate al panorama numismatico siciliano, ricordiamo il volume "Nomismata" per Aldina Cutroni Tusa, ideato come omaggio alla studiosa palermitana, ma purtroppo pubblicato poco dopo la sua scomparsa (SOLE, TUSA [265]), volume che raccoglie un ampio numero di articoli di 'argomento siciliano' (vedi infra: ARNOLD-BIUCCHI [12]; BOEHRINGER [24]; BURNETT, McCABE [30]; CACCAMO CALTABIANO [34]; DE CALLATAÿ [51]; CANTILENA [64]; FISCHER-BOSSERT [110]; FREY-KUPPER [120]; GORINI [138]; MANFREDI [171]; PARISE [194]; RUTTER [237]; SOLE [258]).

"Thesaurus Amicorum" è un florilegio di studi in onore di Giuseppe Guzzetta (CRIMI, FRASCA, GENTILE MESSINA, PALERMO [88]) che ospita diversi contributi centrati sulla numismatica, soprattutto siciliana (vedi infra: AMATO, CIURCINA [5]; ARSLAN [15]; CARROCCIO, MANENTI [73]; LO MONACO [182]; MUSUMECI [190]; SORACI [266]).

La figura di Giacomo Manganaro è stata ricordata sia nella rivista *Sicilia Antiqua* (270) in un numero interamente dedicato all'ecclettico studioso catanese in cui si segnalano alcuni scritti numismatici (LAZZARINI [157]; CUTRONI TUSA [97]), sia in un convegno 'Sikelía/Sicilia' pubblicato nel periodico *Mediterraneo Antico* (250), che ospita, tra le altre, anche relazioni di argomento numismatico (CACCAMO CALTABIANO [39]; GARRAFFO [129]).

Manuali

Due manuali di numismatica sono stati di recente pubblicati: uno in lingua francese a cura di M. AMANDRY (3), in cui piuttosto ridotto è lo spazio riservato alla Sicilia dall'età arcaica all'età ellenistica, un altro in lingua spagnola ad opera di F. LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (165), in cui non vengono sufficientemente approfondite le caratteristiche della produzione monetale siciliana antica.

Antiquaria: Collezioni e Collezionisti

Nel numero 61 del "Compte Rendu" edito dall'International Numismatic Council del sono apparse brevi segnalazioni su varie collezioni isolate più o meno conosciute al pubblico: Museo "A. Salinas" di Palermo (SPATAFORA, GANDOLFO [267]; GANDOLFO [124 e anche 127 e 128]), Museo Archeologico Regionale di Gela, Museo Regionale interdisciplinare di Caltanissetta, Museo Archeologico Regionale di Marianopoli (SOLE [252]), Medagliere del Museo "P. Orsi" di Siracusa (CIURCINA, GUZZETTA, MANENTI [86]), Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Agrigento (SALAMONE [241]), Museo Regionale di Camarina (VICARI SOTTOSANTI [278]), Museo Regionale di Messina (CARROCCIO [67]), Museo di Naxos (PUGLISI [221]), Collezioni numismatiche di Caltagirone (SANTANGELO [243]), Collezione B. Baldanza dell'Università di Messina (CARROCCIO [66]).

Riguardo Siracusa è stato oggetto di studio il caso di un monetiere del tutto particolare, cioè la lekythos del

canonico Lentiniello, che si trova nel Museo “P. Orsi” di Siracusa, illustrata da G. GUZZETTA (146), mentre A. M. MANENTI (170) ha recentemente ripercorso il processo di riallestimento del Museo siracusano di Piazza Duomo dopo la seconda guerra mondiale.

Circa altri gruppi di monete siciliane da collezioni non ubicate nell’isola si possono ricordare quelle del Museo Nazionale di Cracovia presentate da W. FISCHER-BOSSERT e J. BODZEK (114) e quelle del Medagliere del Complesso monumentale della Pilotta di Parma catalogate da B. CARROCCIO (71).

K. SHEEDY (249) ha comunicato i nuovi accessi di moneta siceliota nell’Australian Centre for Ancient Numismatic Studies della Macquarie University, mentre V. LO MONACO (182) ha segnalato le monete siceliote inedite dalla raccolta numismatica dell’Università di San Paolo del Brasile; alcuni esemplari di zecche siciliane dalla collezione dell’Alpha Bank di Atene sono stati illustrati da D. TSANKARĒ e P. ADAM-VELENĒ (275).

L’attenzione alla storia del collezionismo e nei confronti di celebri studiosi del passato e noti collezionisti di moneta siciliana come Filippo Paruta e Vincenzo Mirabella (GUZZETTA [143 e 144]), Antonino Salinas (GANDOLFO [125]); Emanuele Taranto Rosso (SANTANGELO [243]) era già emersa nel citato “Compte Rendu” del 2014 con brevi note a firma di diversi numismatici siciliani.

Alcuni di questi collezionisti insieme con altre figure di spicco del settore sono stati oggetto di ulteriori approfondimenti o studi specifici come Bartolo Baldanza (CACCAMO CALTABIANO [32]), Filippo Paruta (RUOTOLO [232 e ancora 233]) G. E. Rizzo ricordato soprattutto come studioso (MANENTI [168]). Alla storia del collezionismo archeologico ottocentesco tra Tindari e Lipari ha dedicato un’intera monografia A. CRISÀ (92), il quale ha anche delineato i profili di Antonio Filippello e, contestualizzati insieme, quelli di Antonino Salinas e di Delfino Trucchi (CRISÀ [90 e 89]). La personalità di Biagio de Spuches e la sua raccolta di monete sono state oggetto di uno studio di F. MUSCOLINO (189).

Un volume specifico è stato dedicato alla trascrizione dei taccuini di Paolo Orsi in cui emerge l’interesse dello studioso, finalizzato all’interpretazione storica, per i ripostigli monetali nel loro contesto archeologico (ORSI, LAMAGNA, MONTEROSSO [192]).

Degli studiosi siciliani di numismatica contemporanei è stata delineata la figura di Aldina Cutroni Tusa, come prolifica e attenta studiosa delle varie problematiche della numismatica siciliana, nel volume in suo onore (SOLE, TUSA [265]); con brevi cenni relativi al suo studio sulla monetazione bronzea di Sicilia è stata ricordata S.N. Consolo Langher (SAVIO [247]).

In generale uno spazio degno di nota hanno ricoperto all’interno del XV Congresso Internazionale di Numismatica numerosi studi di antiquaria numismatica incentrati sulla Sicilia: M. L. NAPOLITANO (191) ha esaminato l’opera di Hubertus Goltzius; D. WILLIAMS (299), ha commentato la corrispondenza tra Joseph Eckhel e il Principe di Torremuzza, il cui carteggio con W. Hunter è stato esaminato da D. BATESON (20), mentre A. CRISÀ (91) si è soffermato sul fenomeno del collezionismo al tempo del Regno delle due Sicilie. Più di un contributo riguarda ancora una volta la personalità di Antonino Salinas (LOMBARDI, RUOTOLO [162]) i cui scritti inediti, preparatori all’opera ‘Le monete delle antiche città di Sicilia (1858)’ e custoditi nel museo palermitano a lui intitolato, sono stati presentati da L. GANDOLFO (128). In altra sede è stato esaminato il percorso di elaborazione della quest’ultima opera rimasta incompiuta (BOEHRINGER [24]).

Studi sulle zecche siciliane

Non si registrano lavori complessivi sul panorama monetale siciliano, ma più che altro approfondimenti o studi specifici su alcune zecche o singole serie monetali.

A livello generale alle monetazioni siciliane è stato dedicato un ampio spazio all’interno della monografia sulla storia sociale ed economica della Sicilia arcaica e classica da F. DE ANGELIS (100).

K. RUTTER (236 e 238) ha ripercorso gli inizi della monetazione siciliana, sottolineando l’impatto delle coniazioni siciliane sulla storia del mondo greco antico.

Poche zecche hanno ricevuto l’attenzione di studi diacronici, se si esclude la monografia su Akragas (WESTERMARK [295]; vedi supra); in diversi casi sono apparse invece sintesi circa la successione delle varie serie monetali di un determinato centro emittente.

La storia monetale di Tyndaris viene ripresa all’interno di un volume monografico sulla città antica (FASOLO [108]); altrettanto per la zecca di Kalakte in una pubblicazione monografica sulla polis antica (CARROCCIO, COLLURA [72]).

L'attività della zecca di Zankle-Messana è stata sinteticamente ripercorsa in più di un contributo da M. CACCAMO CALTABIANO (35 e 36) con brevi accenni alle più importanti e caratteristiche iconografie monetali.

A. CUTRONI TUSA (98) ha fornito un guardo d'insieme sulla produzione della zecca di Himera, raccogliendo varie riflessioni relative alle sue emissioni.

La stessa studiosa (CUTRONI TUSA [94]), analizzando degli esemplari di una collezione privata svizzera, ha presentato la monetazione di Lopadusa in un'ottica diacronica; nuovi esemplari di questa zecca, di recente apparsi in commercio, hanno attirato l'attenzione di BERTELLI e ROSSINI (22) che li hanno segnalati come probabilmente falsi.

Alcuni esemplari inediti o rari sono stati di recente pubblicati: due di Halykiai, uno di Himera, uno di Lipara (LAZZARINI [157]) e due attribuiti a Morgantina (CAMPANA, PERIN [61]).

Per l'importanza e l'abbondanza delle sue coniazioni, è ovviamente Siracusa ad avere catalizzato gli studi sulle produzioni monetali siciliane.

Sicilia orientale

Età arcaica e classica

Continua a interessare gli studiosi di numismatica siciliana il periodo siracusano dei 'Maestri firmanti': oltre alla citata monografia tratta dall'opera di Tudeer sui 'signierenden Künstler' (FISCHER-BOSSERT [111]; vedi supra), W. FISCHER-BOSSERT (109) aveva già approfondito l'analisi dell'Arethusa frontale di Kimon, ribadendone la cronologia di Milldenberg e accettando la proposta di Cahn circa lo scioglimento dell'abbreviazione ΣΩ in Soteira come epiteto riferito alla ninfa, mentre L. SOLE (253) si era precedentemente soffermata sulle 'opere minori' dello stesso incisore, poste nell'età di Dionisio I, indagandone anche il sistema di produzione distribuito in diverse officine.

M. CANEVARO e K. RUTTER (63) ritengono che le emissioni siracusane dei 'Maestri firmanti' possano avere come terminus post quem il 413 a.C., poiché realizzate grazie all'afflusso di metallo derivato dalla spedizione ateniese in Sicilia sotto forma di moneta e di riscatto dei prigionieri.

W. FISCHER-BOSSERT (112) si occupa anche di aspetti tecnici relativi alla coniazione, sostenendo che la condivisione di conii fosse alquanto comune nell'antichità e portando l'esempio di Siracusa e Leontinoi nel V secolo a.C. Dal numero crescente di riconiazioni riconosciute in relazione alla zecca di Leontinoi FISCHER-BOSSERT (110) deduce che la zecca fu costretta dalla necessità improvvisa a ricorrere all'espedito della riconiazione su esemplari di altre città siciliane che aveva a disposizione, tra cui un tetradrammo selinuntino con Apollo e Artemide su quadriga/ divinità fluviale sacrificante, da lui datato al 440 a.C.

A. CONVENTI e L. LAZZARINI (87), grazie alle loro analisi chimiche su elettri e aurei siracusani dal V sec. a.C. a Ieronimo, hanno evidenziato analogie nella composizione dell'oro utilizzato da Agatocle per le campagne contro i Cartaginesi con manufatti aurei egiziani da Abydos, segno di una possibile provenienza comune del metallo.

I nominali aurei minori della fine del V secolo a.C. sono ricollegati al momento dell'attacco cartaginese alle città siceliote, protraendosi forse fino all'esordio di Dionisio I a Siracusa ma non oltre (LO MONACO [180]).

Ad età timoleontea è posta una rarissima serie siracusana con Zeus Eleutherios e quadriga di cui è apparso un nuovo esemplare segnalato da A. CAMPANA (60).

Ben argomentata da E. ARENA (11), grazie a un riscontro epigrafico relativo al santuario di Delo, di datazione anteriore, è l'ipotesi dell'esistenza di una entità poleica a Tauromenion prima della fondazione andromachea del 358 a.C. a cui attribuire il dilitron a leggenda ΝΕΟΠΙΟΛΙ(ΤΩΝ) con tipi nassii.

Le complesse coniazioni della zecca tauromenitana sono oggetto di un parziale tentativo di riordino cronologico da parte di B. CARROCCIO (69).

Per quanto riguarda Himera, A. CUTRONI TUSA (98) con ulteriori riflessioni sulla circolazione monetale delle coniazioni cittadine vede, da un lato, una proiezione costiera in prospettiva esterna, dall'altro, una direttrice verso l'interno indigeno, rappresentata dai ritrovamenti di moneta bronzea in aree limitrofe.

La leggenda KIMAPA su un hemilitron di Himera (figura maschile giovane su caprone/ figura femminile alata) di fine V sec. a.C., già intesa come un gioco di parole basato sul nome greco della capra (χίμαρος) raffigurata sulla moneta stessa, viene letta da F. DELL'ORO (105) piuttosto come il riflesso della trascrizione del nome della città in lingua indigena.

Età ellenistica e repubblicana

Le consistenti serie siracusane dei 'tridenti' di Ierone, largamente presenti nella circolazione siciliana di età

ellenistica e romano-repubblicana, anche in base ad uno studio sulla conservazione e usura delle serie a tondello stretto, vengono compattate da B. CARROCCIO (68 e 70) all'ultimo anno di governo di Ierone II e al breve regno di Ieronimo.

Lo spunto di una nuova epigrafe metrica di I-II secolo d.C. dagli scavi urbani di Messina, che cita il 'signore di Zancle dal bel porto', conduce D. CASTRIZIO e C. MELIADÒ (79) a credere che si riferisca al mitico fondatore Pheraimon, protagonista di una emissione di Messina di età greca, ma con tutta probabilità da riconoscere anche nella figura di guerriero, ricorrente, in varie pose, in diverse serie mamertine.

Sui Mamertini è tornata M. CACCAMO CALTABIANO (41) che ha suddiviso le emissioni in tre gruppi sottolineando come le iconografie rispecchino fortemente l'identità militare e le scelte politiche, in base ai vari momenti storici e individuando nelle figure maschili di varie emissioni le figure istituzionali mamertine dei due meddices e del touto (corrispondenti ai due consoli e al Senato di Roma).

Dirimente è stato il rinvenimento durante scavi regolari di esemplari della discussa rara serie di Akrai di età romana (testa femminile coronata di canne/ figura femminile con torcia e scettro) per la conferma della sua attribuzione alla zecca della città da parte di T. WIĘCEK (296), che ne fa uno studio dettagliato.

Sulle emissioni 'coloniali' romane di Tyndaris è intervenuto P. VILLEMUR (279) che nel volume in onore di R. B. Witschonke porta le sue molteplici argomentazioni, tra cui quelle dei rinvenimenti locali, per ricondurre a questo centro alcune serie con nomi di duoviri di attribuzione incerta. Egli stesso (VILLEMUR [280]) ribadisce l'interesse strategico rivestito da Tyndaris agli occhi del Princeps, tanto da essere stata zecca attiva dopo il 21 a.C.

L. AMELA VALVERDE (7 e 8) considera nel loro complesso le emissioni bronzee col bifronte e la prua dei figli di Pompeo Magno, anche dal punto di vista metrologico e iconografico e, in base alla frequenza dei rinvenimenti e ad analisi metallografiche, distingue i luoghi di produzione, attribuendo rispettivamente alla Spagna meridionale RRC 471/1 di Gneo Pompeo figlio e alla Sicilia RRC 479/1 di Sesto Pompeo e dubbiosamente a Massalia RRC 478/1, a nome di quest'ultimo.

Sicilia interna

Età classica

R. CANTILENA (64) ha analizzato le riconiazioni della seconda metà del IV secolo a.C. su moneta dionigiana a nome dei gruppi mercenari dei Tyrrhenoi e dei Sileraioi, sottolineando la provenienza etrusca, di area salernitana, per i primi e la componente campana dall'area del Sele per i secondi e individuandone le zone di stanziamento nella parte settentrionale dell'isola.

Sulle coniazioni dei mercenari stanziati, alla fine del loro servizio nell'isola, nella parte interna della Sicilia occidentale in età post-dionigiana e sulle loro origini osco-campane è tornata più volte L. SOLE (254 e 256).

Un sunto sulla produzione della zecca di Agyrion funge da spunto per approfondire le caratteristiche del culto di Eracle in quest'area della Sicilia interna (LA DELFA 104).

Sicilia centro-meridionale

Età arcaica e classica

Al di là della già citata monografia di U. WESTERMARK sulla zecca di Akragas (295), i tetradrammi acragantini con quadriga sono stati ulteriormente indagati da V. LO MONACO (181), che ne pubblica un nuovo catalogo.

M. B. BORBA FLORENZANO (26) si concentra sulle città indigene della Sicilia centrale che, in contatto con le apoikiai greche durante il V secolo a.C., adottano l'uso della moneta, analizzando i risvolti culturali del fenomeno, specialmente per quanto riguarda la nozione di valore.

Per quanto riguarda la zecca di Gela, è stata pubblicata, corredata da ingrandimenti fotografici e informazioni storiche sulla città (ALTERI, GIAMPICCOLO [2]) una raccolta di esemplari, presenti sia nel Museo Archeologico locale sia nel Medagliere della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Età ellenistica e repubblicana

Le serie HISPANORVM sono state oggetto di studio da parte di L. AMELA VALVERDE (7), che ne ha analizzato l'articolazione e la cronologia, negando qualsiasi relazione di questa monetazione con Sesto Pompeo ed escludendo che i personaggi citati fossero duoviri di Morgantina.

F. LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (164) sostiene che le emissioni a nome degli Hispani siano state prodotte in più zecche siciliane tra il 214 e il 210 a.C. per il contingente ispanico presente nell'isola, prima come guardia personale di Epicydes e

Hippocrates, poi al servizio di Marcello e Levino.

C. SORACI (266) interpreta, partendo da un'analisi delle fonti storiche ed epigrafiche, la discussa leggenda MVN HENNAE di alcune emissioni ennesi, dalla datazione ancora incerta, come il probabile primo caso in Sicilia di concessione dello status di municipium da parte di Ottaviano, tanto da avere spinto la città a sottolinearlo nella iscrizione monetale, verosimilmente all'indomani di Nauloco.

Sicilia occidentale

Età arcaica e classica

Sugli inizi della monetazione in Sicilia, e in particolare sulla zecca di Selinous, sono intervenuti, anche per questioni metrologiche (vedi infra), N. PARISE (194) e C. ARNOLD-BIUCCHI (12), la quale colloca le prime monete fuse in bronzo nel 460 a.C. Lascia invece aperta la questione cronologica M. GKIKAKI (133), la quale, pubblicando un gruppo di monete enee fuse di Selinous dal Museo dell'Università di Würzburg, le inquadra genericamente nella seconda metà del V secolo a.C.

Sono state segnalate anche alcune nuove contromarche selinuntine su lire siciliane (SANTELLI, CAMPANA [244]).

L'identificazione con il centro abitato dagli Scheraioi, citati da un decreto di Entella, con il sito archeologico della Montagna Vecchia di Corleone è stata, seppur dubitativamente, proposta da A. CUTRONI TUSA (96), in base alla raccolta di informazioni ufficiali e non sulla provenienza dei pochi esemplari bronzei noti, alcuni dei quali però risultano rinvenuti presso il sito di Santa Caterina di Villarmosa, il che lascia ancora aperta la questione.

Sulle serie argentee a leggenda QRTHDŠT E MHNT, su cui persiste incertezza circa l'attribuzione alla Sicilia (o a Cartagine), VISONÀ (281) propone una zecca siciliana, attivata dopo la distruzione di Selinous e Himera (post 408 a.C.), grazie al bottino di argento ricavato da queste azioni militari.

Sul rapporto privilegiato dei Cartaginesi con Entella, i cui inizi della monetazione vengono posti da VISONÀ (281) intorno al 401/0 a.C., è tornata S. FREY-KUPPER (120, 121 e 122) che la ritiene il luogo adatto alla coniazione dei tetradrammi QRTHDŠT/MHNT durante la presenza del contingente campano.

S. FREY-KUPPER (118) si è anche soffermata sui bronzi siculo-punici con testa femminile/ cavallo stante, dietro palma anche dal punto di vista stilistico, individuandone l'incisore.

Le emissioni di ŞYŞ-Panormos sono ancora oggetto di dibattito: L. SOLE (264 ripubblicato in 265) ha proposto degli aggiornamenti sui modi di produzione delle emissioni di argento non frazionarie con leggenda greca ΠΑΝΟΡΜΟΣ e con leggenda punica ŞYŞ, prendendo spunto dalle sequenze dei conii di G. K. Jenkins del 1971 e mettendole in relazione con le spese di guerra a fine V secolo a.C., sottolineando quindi il ruolo militare strategico di Panormos in seno all'eparchia punica.

Il carattere "sovraregionale" della monetazione punica, a prescindere dai luoghi di produzione, evidente anche dal limitato impiego di leggende riferite al centro di emissione e di un numero ridotto di temi iconografici con l'evidente intenzione di facilitare l'uso e la circolazione della moneta in una prospettiva mediterranea, è stato sottolineato da S. FREY-KUPPER (116) che auspica un superamento della categoria del confronto con la monetazione greca per interpretazione delle varie coniazioni puniche.

P. VISONÀ (281) nel suo lavoro globale di riesame delle attuali conoscenze sulla numismatica punica, si sofferma anche sugli inizi delle coniazioni bronzee in circolazione nell'isola dal 330 a.C., escludendone l'attribuzione a una singola zecca, considerate sia la diffusione capillare in tutto il Mediterraneo punico sia le numerose varianti tipologiche e differenze tecniche, che fanno piuttosto pensare a diversi ateliers di produzione sotto il controllo di Cartagine.

Isole

Età ellenistica e repubblicana

Sulla zecca di Melita, attiva dalla fine del III fino al I secolo a.C. è tornata C. PERASSI (200), che ne ha analizzato la produzione sotto vari aspetti, comparandola con la coeva la monetazione di Gaulos.

Roma in Sicilia

Seppure senza sbilanciarsi nella proposta di una zecca A. BURNETT e A. McCABE (30), ribadiscono la coniazione in una officina monetale siciliana della serie bronzea a leggenda ROMANO testa femminile elmata/ aquila sul fulmine, in virtù sia di analogie iconografiche sia dei pochi rinvenimenti noti, attribuendole una data non anteriore al 240 a.C. e notando una certa 'aggressività' nel riadattamento dell'iconografia alla nuova situazione politica.

Lo stretto legame fra moneta siracusana e iniziali coniazioni romane a causa dell'appoggio finanziario di Siracusa

a Roma è riaffermato da M. CACCAMO CALTABIANO (34) che valorizza la testimonianza di Festo sul valore di 3 denari dell'ultimo talento siracusano di età ieroniana, che troverebbe corrispondenza nella tariffazione XXX di un contro-verso esemplare aureo repubblicano con scena del giuramento.

La stessa studiosa (CACCAMO CALTABIANO [39]), ricordando la figura di Giacomo Manganaro e la sua adesione alla 'prospettiva siciliana' sull'introduzione del denarius, attribuisce a zecca siciliana la coniazione dell'oro 'marziale', mettendolo in relazione con l'evergetismo tolemaico.

A. BURNETT e M. CRAWFORD (29) in un puntuale articolo, che trae spunto dalla recensione al volume "Argentum signatum" di F. COARELLI (2013), valorizzando soprattutto i dati derivati dalle riconiazioni oltre all'analisi dei ripostigli, evidenziano vari (recenti) 'punti fermi', fondamentali nella ricostruzione cronologica della monetazione romana dagli esordi all'introduzione del sistema denariale in Sicilia, per la quale ribadiscono, motivandola, una possibile datazione fra il 213 e il 211 a.C.

Metrologia

Non sono numerosi gli studi imperniati sulla metrologia e si concentrano sulle prime fasi della monetazione siciliana.

N. PARISE (195) nel *Festschrift* in onore di Giovanni Gorini presenta un contributo che riguarda la litra-peso siciliana, prendendo spunto da un'iscrizione da Megara Hyblaea, mentre nel volume per Aldina Cutroni Tusa (PARISE [194]) propone una rilettura dei sistemi monetali delle prime monetazioni siciliane in particolare di Selinunte per la quale opera un riordino cronologico delle prime emissioni, collocandole all'ultimo venticinquennio del VI secolo a.C. Egli interpreta inoltre come siclo ridotto la dracma del sistema 'calcidese'.

C. ARNOLD BIUCCHI (12) nella stessa sede riprende questa tematica e discute sul sistema monetale di Selinous, soffermandosi sull'unica dracma arcaica, posta al 460 a.C., momento in cui secondo la studiosa prende avvio nella stessa polis la monetazione bronzea fusa, prioritariamente alle altre città siceliote, mentre data i tetradrammi con quadriga di Apollo e Artemide al 440 a.C.

S. GARRAFFO (129), in occasione del convegno in memoria di Giacomo Manganaro, in un trattazione maggiormente incentrata sulla Magna Grecia, rianalizza il sistema 'calcidese' adottato da alcune colonie di Sicilia, leggendolo però come eginetico ridotto, a causa della rilevante presenza di valuta di Egina nei più antichi ripostigli siciliani; analogamente, nella miscellanea alla memoria di Enzo Lippolis, egli (GARRAFFO [130]) si concentra sui sistemi monetari in uso nella Magna Grecia e in Sicilia evidenziando i confronti con il mondo greco contemporaneo.

P. VAN ALFEN (276) ritiene che il sistema ponderale di fase arcaica, comune alle poleis siciliane di origine calcidese di Himera, Naxos e Zankle - sia che esso sia stato frutto di una qualche cooperazione formale o di un coordinamento informale - abbia avuto luogo a causa delle reciproche interazioni economiche e politiche, pur se non necessariamente con l'intento di creare un'unione monetaria regolamentata.

Riguardo alla priorità dell'introduzione del bronzo in Occidente tra Sicilia e Magna Grecia è intervenuto D. CASTRIZIO (78), confutando l'ipotesi di L. Brousseau che la collega a Sybaris, ribadendo l'antiorità della fase sperimentale bronzea siciliana di Akragas e Selinous, grazie a considerazioni sulla metrologia.

Epigrafia monetale

Ultimamente sono apparsi diversi studi di epigrafia monetale che in alcuni casi prendono in esame leggende siciliane: M. J. ESTARÁN TOLOSA (107) evidenzia come a volte la lingua delle iscrizioni monetali sia diversa da quella attestata nelle testimonianze epigrafiche e analizza il caso di Morgantina.

K. KORHONEN e C. SORACI (152), notando la variabilità nell'uso linguistico nelle iscrizioni monetali di alcuni municipi siciliani, dimostrano la mancanza di un intervento volto a imporre ai municipi stessi di utilizzare il latino; in particolare C. SORACI (266) analizza il caso dell'emissione con legenda MVN HENNAE.

M. VITALE (286), basandosi su fonti letterarie ed epigrafia monetale, ripercorre in termini consequenziali, dall'età tardo-arcaica, la storia dei patti e delle alleanze in Sicilia.

K. RUTTER (237) invece ha esaminato le forme delle lettere delle leggende di monete siceliote di V sec. a.C.

Anche in ambito punico sono state prese in esame alcune iscrizioni monetali: su una leggenda punica dubbia presente su due diverse emissioni di litre di Motye si registra la proposta di lettura come mem-aleph di V. PERIN e A. CAMPANA (201 e 202) che attribuiscono il toponimo abbreviato 'K a Solous (CAMPANA, PERIN 62).

Circolazione monetale: rinvenimenti e tesaurizzazione di età greca

Opere generali sulla circolazione monetale non se ne registrano per quanto riguarda gli ultimi sette anni.

Rinvenimenti isolati da scavo e circolazione monetale in Sicilia in età greca e romano-repubblicana

Area nord-orientale

M. PUGLISI (223) ha offerto un sintetico quadro delle principali caratteristiche della circolazione monetale a Messina in età antica nel catalogo della mostra archeologica “Da Zancle a Messina 2016”.

Un rinvenimento insolito, un token di terracotta, proveniente dalla necropoli Tyndaris, ha dato lo spunto all'autore di approfondire casi simili in Sicilia per l'età greca e ipotizzare una sua possibile finzione quale 'obolo di Caronte' (CRISÀ [93]).

Alcuni esemplari monetali dall'antica Kalakte (Caronia), sebbene privi di contesto, frutto di raccolta di superficie o provenienti da collezioni locali, sono stati catalogati insieme con monete da scavi regolari già edite per delineare un quadro generale di presenze monetali nel sito (CARROCCIO, COLLURA [72]).

Per il sito di Himera vengono esaminate le deposizioni monetali in tomba per reconsiderarne l'uso funerario, distinguendo però i casi di possibile tesaurizzazione d'emergenza (VASSALLO [277]).

Uno spaccato di variegata circolazione 'urbana' di età arcaica e classica dal sito di Naxos viene offerto da M. C. LENTINI, S. POPE e M. PUGLISI (159) con attenzione alle funzioni delle specifiche aree di ritrovamento delle monete.

Un profilo sulle presenze monetali dal sito indigeno interno di Grammichele, tra acquisizioni di P. Orsi e altri rinvenimenti, segno di vari contatti con le vicine colonie greche di Leontinoi, Katana, Siracusa e Kamarina e anche con l'eparchia cartaginese, è stato fornito da B. CARROCCIO e A. M. MANENTI (73).

Area sud-orientale

Tra i materiali del Museo 'P. Orsi' di Siracusa rimasti a lungo inediti, sono stati oggetto di studio i rinvenimenti monetali degli anni novanta dalla Neapolis (CIURCINA, AMATO [85]) e le monete da Ortigia (AMATO, CIURCINA [5]).

Esemplare gestione dei rinvenimenti numismatici in rapporto al loro contesto archeologico si riscontra nello scavo di Akrai da parte della missione polacca come evidente negli articoli finora pubblicati (CHOWANIEC, WIĘCEK, GUZZARDI [84]; WIĘCEK, CHOWANIEC, GUZZARDI [297]; CHOWANIEC, WIĘCEK [83]; WIĘCEK [296]).

Un elenco dei rinvenimenti dagli scavi archeologici dal sito di Camarina è stato anticipato, in attesa di studi più analitici, da P. PELAGATTI (198).

Area interna centrale

Le tracce monetali dei mercenari operanti in Sicilia ora al soldo di Cartagine ora di Siracusa sono state prese in esame, riguardo l'area del nisseno sede di numerosi xenoi di probabili origini osco-campane, da parte di L. SOLE (254), la quale si è soffermata in un altro lavoro (258) sulle aree santuariali dell'entroterra siciliano e la funzione svolta dalla moneta in questi contesti religiosi.

Un importante risultato derivato dagli scavi di Morgantina (WALTHALL [292]) è relativo alla circolazione dei 'tridenti' iberici dimezzati, i cui ritrovamenti sono abbondanti e da collocarsi, per quanto riguarda le prime serie a tonello largo, entro la metà del III secolo a.C. Per quanto concerne i rinvenimenti più antichi da questo sito l'autore segnala una litra della zecca locale, l'unica nota da contesto sicuro, insieme con altre litre siciliane che sono indizio dei contatti precoci della città con altre poleis isolate; altri rinvenimenti di tardo III secolo a.C., corredati da contesto, sono stati presentati da A. WALTHALL (291), ulteriori prove per fissare al 211 a.C. il terminus ante quem della coniazione del victoriatus e in generale del sistema del denarius, la cui introduzione potrebbe essere verosimilmente avvenuta attorno al 215/4 a.C. più che al 212/1 a.C.

Area centro-meridionale

Gli scavi di Licata, l'antica Finziade, hanno restituito importanti testimonianze monetali utili alla comprensione dell'ingresso nel panorama della circolazione isolana delle prime emissioni romano-repubblicane. Per quanto riguarda i rinvenimenti isolati da scavo studiati da M. PUGLISI (219) si evincono tre fasi di circolazione: una relativa all'occupazione del phourion, la seconda in rapporto al primo impianto della città di Finziade popolata dai Gelo e una terza, più ricca di testimonianze monetali, intorno agli anni della II guerra punica.

Nel volume complessivo sulle indagini archeologiche a Heraclea Minoa, E. DE MIRO (178) elenca, mettendole in relazione con le aree scavate, le monete emerse durante ricerche più che cinquantennali, notando la netta prevalenza di valuta punica nel sito.

Area nord-occidentale

Relativamente alla Sicilia occidentale, da Entella si segnalano nuovi rinvenimenti, in particolare dal Thesmophorion (FREY-KUPPER [121]), tra cui monete campane, segno della presenza mercenariale nel centro, ulteriormente presa in considerazione in altri contributi: due monete di Katane presenti sono interpretate da S. FREY-KUPPER (120, 122) come veicolate dai mercenari campani ivi stanziati da Dionisio I.

A. CUTRONI TUSA (97) ha contestualizzato i dati numismatici da Montagna Vecchia di Corleone, forse Schera, da Marineo probabilmente l'antica Makella e da Montagna dei Cavalli (Prizzi), cioè Hipana, identificando un'area unitaria di circolazione 'punica' all'indomani della distruzione delle tre colonie di Selinute, Himera e Akragas. Un altro contributo della studiosa (CUTRONI TUSA [99]), apparso postumo, riprende in considerazione i rinvenimenti monetali editi anche da vari altri centri indigeni delle Madonie e della Sicilia centro settentrionale finalizzandoli alla loro possibile identificazione toponomastica.

I rinvenimenti da Pizzo Ciminna, centro indigeno del palermitano, in posizione strategica tra le aree punica e greca, raccolti da M. T. RONDINELLA (230), mostrano anche nelle proporzioni le peculiarità di un sito di confine.

R. WILSON (300) esprime le proprie considerazioni sulla circolazione a Ietas in occasione della sua recensione del volume sui ritrovamenti monetali dagli scavi di Monte Iato di S. FREY-KUPPER (115), monografia che conta diverse altre recensioni degne di nota (DE CALLATAÿ [50], GORINI [137], GRANDJEAN [141], HORSNÆS [147], VITALE [284], WILLIAMS [298]).

Dalle acque vicino Marsala, località Petrosino, è stato segnalato il rinvenimento di un elettro cartaginese (SGROI [248]).

Canale di Sicilia

S. FREY-KUPPER (117) ha preso in esame un'ampia documentazione di rinvenimenti dall'isola di Malta, dal santuario di Tas-Silg, catalogati analiticamente in relazione al loro contesto archeologico e ne ha fornito una dettagliata interpretazione; in base ai materiali da scavo ha anche analizzato il quadro monetale di Cossyra-Pantelleria, sostenendo che la circolazione di moneta punica nell'isola si sia protratta anche dopo l'occupazione romana (255 a.C.) (FREY-KUPPER [118]); la stessa studiosa (FREY-KUPPER [119]) ha inoltre catalogato le attestazioni di moneta cirenaica in Sicilia e isole minori.

Tesaurizzazione in Sicilia in età greca e romano-repubblicana

Premoneta

La tematica della deposizione di metalli in contesti sacri è stato ultimamente indagato più approfonditamente in rapporto alla Sicilia. A. MURGAN (187) si è occupato di metalli deposti in templi e tombe di Sicilia e Italia; egli stesso con F. KEMMERS (MURGAN, KEMMERS [188]) ha analizzato dei casi studio di pratiche premonetarie ancora una volta da aree santuariali delle medesime regioni geografiche, scegliendo come esempio per la Sicilia il Thesmophorion di Bitalemi (Gela), così come anche C. GIARDINO (131) riguardo alla tesaurizzazione siciliana di oggetti metallici dall'Età del Bronzo Finale alla prima età del Ferro.

Su depositi di monete in aree sacre con valore di riserve di metallo o thesauroi in epoca greca classica e ellenistica si registra uno studio specifico di KARATAS (150) che analizza, tra gli altri, i casi siciliani dei santuari di Demetra a Gela e a Morgantina.

Area nord-orientale

È stato ripubblicato (BOEHRINGER, FISCHER-BOSSERT [25]) il ripostiglio di Capo Schisò (Naxos) 1852 (IGCH 2096), corredato da una ricca raccolta di informazioni circa la sua storia e di documenti epistolari anteriori al Novecento.

Area sud-orientale

Un paio di ripostigli dall'area di Siracusa e del siracusano, oggi al Museo 'P. Orsi' di Siracusa, sono stati di recente editi a lunga distanza di tempo dalla loro scoperta: uno da Palazzolo Acreide di monete in oro, argento e bronzo che vede la compresenza di moneta siracusana, punica e cirenaica, ritenuto riferibile a un membro della spedizione agatoclea in Africa di ritorno in Sicilia (MANENTI [167]); un altro più tardo, composto da diciotto tetradrammi siracusani a nome di Filistide e un solo tetradrammo ateniese (STORACI, MANENTI [268]).

Il ripostiglio di Caracausi, nelle campagne leontine, composto da centinaia di argenti principalmente di Siracusa e Leontinoi, letto alla luce di altri rinvenimenti monetali dalla zona, appare come il possibile *misthos* di ex-mercenari

dionigiani stabilitesi nel sito, in prossimità, ma comunque fuori, dal centro urbano di Leontinoi (MUSUMECI [190]).

Due ripostigli di età ellenistica sono stati riproposti da P. PELAGATTI (197) nella sua monografia su Camarina/Caucana: uno nel 1967 (predio Arezzo) esclusivamente contenente moneta agatoclea e uno nel 1980 (Acropoli, temenos di Atena) con moneta di Agatocle e di Pirro.

Anche il ripostiglio di Scoglitti-Camarina 1938 è stato ripreso in esame per discutere di esportazione e falsificazioni monetali, poiché inquinato da monete false (BARELLO, MANENTI [19]).

Area interna centrale

Il panorama monetale relativo agli insediamenti indigeni della Sicilia centrale sembra dimostrare un certa resistenza all'uso della moneta, che pare invece accolta negli scambi al pari di un pezzo di metallo, come appare plausibile dalla composizione del ripostiglio di Monte Raffè (IGCH 2162) (SOLE [262]). È stato rianalizzato, con una proposta di datazione al 344-340 a.C. per il suo occultamento, il ripostiglio di Gibil Gabib (IGCH 2132) nella Sicilia interna, ricollegabile alle presenze mercenarie nella zona a datare dall'età post-dionigiana (SOLE [259]).

Gli scavi di Morgantina hanno ancora una volta restituito vari ripostigli monetali: tre gruzzoli di bronzi di età ellenistica editi da A. WALTHALL (293) presentano in due casi solo monete siracusane in maggioranza ieroniane, nel terzo valuta siracusana e acragantina insieme e mostrano il forte influsso siracusano sulla città.

Diversi ripostigli da Morgantina, costituiti esclusivamente o in prevalenza da moneta romano-repubblicana e studiati di recente, hanno dato modo di rivedere le cronologie del sistema denario. A. WALTHALL (290), rileggendo alla luce del contesto archeologico un ripostiglio di soli denarii tardo-repubblicani, ritiene plausibile il suo occultamento negli anni delle azioni 'punitive' intraprese da Ottaviano ai danni di varie città siciliane.

A. WALTHALL e A. E. TRUETZEL (294) hanno analizzato un altro ripostiglio repubblicano da Morgantina, già edito, ma cruciale per la datazione del denarius: l'elemento più importante emerso dal riesame di questo tesoretto, in relazione al sito di rinvenimento e alla stratigrafia, ha portato gli studiosi a collocarne l'interramento a dopo l'assedio del 211 a.C. e ad affermare che denari, quinari, sesterzi e vittoriat anonimi fossero già in circolazione prima dell'introduzione dei bronzi di standard sestantale e quindi della riduzione sestantale dell'asse.

Il quadro iniziale della circolazione di età repubblicana in Sicilia si completa con alcuni studi di P. DEBERNARDI con altri studiosi: sul c.d. 'S hoard' ritenuto di provenienza isolana per la 'forte' presenza di 'serie siciliane' (DEBERNARDI, BRINKMAN [101]); sui quadrigati, conati, per quanto riguarda le loro prime fasi (terminus ante quem non: 220 a.C.), in Sicilia (DEBERNARDI, LEGRAND [102]); sul tesoretto di vittoriat di Morgantina (c.d. Serra Orlando hoard), datato nel 213 a.C. in relazione alla ribellione della città contro la guarnigione romana, costituito dalle serie iniziali anonime, di produzione siciliana, come dimostrano le caratteristiche del metallo impiegato, simili a quelle dei 'probabilmente' contemporanei quadrigati emessi in Sicilia (DEBERNARDI, MANENTI [103]).

Area centro-meridionale

Il ripostiglio di Gela 1999 viene rianalizzato da L. SOLE (262) in relazione al contesto ceramico, con ricadute sulla cronologia della serie testa femminile/cavallo e palma, la cui datazione sembra doversi collocare anteriormente all'occupazione agatoclea della città (317-309 a.C.).

Un rilevante tesoretto repubblicano rinvenuto in strato durante gli scavi in ambito urbano dell'antica Finziade (Licata) è stato analizzato da M. CACCAMO CALTABIANO con K. LONGO e G. SALAMONE (47 e 46); esso riconferma, ad una data non successiva al 215 a.C., la cronologia iniziale del denarius romano, che con i suoi sottomultipli si allineava al sistema ponderale siracusano dell'ultima fase ieroniana; ne si attende ora la pubblicazione completa con l'illustrazione delle coppie di conii.

Area nord-occidentale

La Montagna Vecchia di Corleone ha restituito un tesoretto di esclusivamente di bronzi a leggenda ḤYḤ con esemplari punici testa maschile/ cavallo al galoppo, il circolante più comune per l'uso quotidiano nell'area di influenza cartaginese dopo la distruzione di Himera, Selinunte, Agrigento (CUTRONI TUSA [96]).

Canale di Sicilia

Da indagini sottomarine è emerso dai fondali di Cala Tramontana presso Pantelleria un consistente tesoro di monete puniche (testa femminile/ protome equina di largo modulo) (LA ROCCA, MAMMINA [229]), letto come probabile invio di valuta da Cartagine durante la prima guerra punica (FREY-KUPPER [117]; MANFREDI [172]).

Un ripostiglio di denarii appena conati, ritrovato ben nascosto presso un muro difensivo di Cossyra, viene messo

in relazione dagli editori (BAUMANN, ZIEGERT [21]; ZIEGERT [302]) al passaggio di pirati attivi nel I sec. a.C., pur non potendosi escludere altre ipotesi.

Moneta siciliana al di fuori della Sicilia

Un caso particolare di movimento di moneta via mare al seguito di commercianti è dato dal noto relitto di Anticitera contenente, tra le altre, monete di Katane e Panormos di II-I sec. a.C., evidente segno di alcune tappe della nave (PREVITERA [208]).

Vari lavori di G. GORINI hanno riguardato la circolazione di moneta di zecca siciliana al di fuori del territorio isolano: Marche (136), Aquileia (138), Adria (139) e santuari medio-alto adriatici (135), più con valore metallico che nominale. Nella Liburnia meridionale sembra che la valuta siracusana fosse regolarmente accettata come circolante nella seconda metà del III sec. a.C. (ILKIĆ, ČELHAR [148]); sono segnalati rinvenimenti di moneta siceliota anche in Boemia (KYSSELA [155]).

L. I. MANFREDI (171) segnala invece casi isolati di moneta punica di Sicilia in altre aree dalla Spagna, alla Francia, alla Gran Bretagna, alla Germania, all'Estonia e alla Svezia.

E. ARSLAN (15) analizza il rinvenimento di un quadrante di produzione siciliana a Cremona.

Iconografia monetale

Studi generali di iconografia

Le ricerche iconografiche hanno avuto un notevole incremento nell'ultimo decennio e lo dimostrano le numerose pubblicazioni focalizzate su vari soggetti, finalizzate a una interpretazione storica delle scelte iconografiche monetali.

Indubbiamente un largo spazio hanno occupato negli Atti del XV INC, a partire dalla lectio inauguralis di L. TRAVAINI (273) che ha messo in evidenza le immagini monetali relative a luoghi e attrezzi legati alla coniazione, a cominciare dalle emissioni della zecca di Lipara.

Nell'ambito degli studi iconografici condotti dall'Università di Messina, secondo il metodo 'LIN (Lexicon Iconographicum Numismaticae)' che si pone di fronte alle immagini monetali con un approccio inter- e multi-disciplinare per recuperare il significato contestualizzato nello spazio e nel tempo, sono stati condotti diversi lavori a livello generale e metodologico (CACCAMO CALTABIANO [31] e [40]), spesso incentrati su esempi siciliani, così come parallelamente è stata sperimentata la possibilità di geolocalizzare le ricorrenze dei singoli soggetti monetali nella loro diacronia grazie all'applicazione DIANA (Digital Iconographic Atlas of Numismatics in Antiquity) (CACCAMO CALTABIANO, PUGLISI, CELESTI, SALAMONE [47], CELESTI, SALAMONE, SAPIENZA, SPINELLI, PUGLISI, CACCAMO CALTABIANO [82], CELESTI, NUCITA, SALAMONE, PUGLISI [81] e PUGLISI [220], [223], [227]).

Sono apparsi anche alcuni studi imperniati su singoli soggetti nella collana 'Semata e Signa' dedicata all'iconografia monetale, come la monografia sulle ninfe eponime - non solo siciliane - come divinità poliadiche di G. SALAMONE (240 e già 239 e ulteriori approfondimenti in funzione giuridica e politica [242]); sul Sileno ad opera di N. RUSSO (235 e già 234), che analizza il protagonista del tetradrammo di Aitna in una prospettiva ampia, rivendicandone un ruolo primario, simbolo di autorità in ambito politico, oppure il volume sulla triskeles di A. SAPIENZA (246 e già 245) dove largo spazio hanno le attestazioni di ambito siciliano per le quali è prevalsa l'interpretazione politica.

Un altro studio monografico diacronico è stato quello sulla divinità fluviale in guisa di toro a volto umano a firma di N. MOLINARI e N. SISI (179), che offre amplissima - seppure non del tutto completa - documentazione delle sue rappresentazioni monetali, soprattutto per quanto riguarda la Sicilia, essendo molto numerose le emissioni che recano queste personificazioni come rappresentazione dei fiumi locali quali filiazioni dell'archetipo Acheloo.

Larga parte hanno le teste femminili delle monete siciliane nell'ampia indagine sulle varie acconciature condotta da M. GKIKAKI (133), che utilizza l'iconografia monetale come terminus ante quem per la diffusione di certe mode, come già la stessa studiosa (GKIKAKI [132]) aveva fatto per i gioielli.

Studi iconografici su singole monetazioni o emissioni monetali

Relativamente alla Sicilia di età arcaica e classica, M. P. WAHL (287) individua un sistema fisso di motivi iconografici per i vari nominali adottato da Siracusa e dalle poleis dipendenti della Sicilia sud-orientale, analogamente a quanto appare per la dinastia emmenide di Akragas e tra Rhegion e Messina ad opera di Anassila.

Un'analisi delle iconografie di Agatocle di Siracusa è stata condotta da R. LANTERI (156) che le ha messe in relazione al suo 'messaggio ideologico' e alle sue strategie politiche. Analogamente un esame sistematico delle singole emissioni agatoclee si trova nel lavoro di Ch. DE LISLE (161), che sottolinea in generale l'influenza macedone sin dagli

inizi della esperienza monetale del sovrano, collegando in diversi casi le scelte tipologiche alla destinazione delle monete.

L'osservazione delle analogie iconografiche tra emissioni puniche di varie aree del Mediterraneo viene letta in chiave di un'identità condivisa proiettata all'esterno, oltre che ovviamente di contatti diretti tra queste aree da E. MORENO PULIDO (185), mentre J. M. PUEBLA MORÓN (212, 213 e 214), riprendendo l'orientamento interpretativo di precedenti autori, mette in relazione l'avvio delle coniazioni puniche in Sicilia e l'imitazione delle iconografie siceliote con i rapporti culturali e commerciali tra Punici e colonie greche, ipotizzando persino una forma di sincretismo tra le rispettive religioni per l'uso di analoghi elementi iconografici come l'edera (PUEBLA MORÓN [210]).

Studi su singoli soggetti o temi iconografici

a. Personaggi: divinità, eroi, personificazioni

Il tema delle figure femminili così frequenti nella monetazione siciliana ha catalizzato l'attenzione di diversi studi, che si avvalgono di confronti con altri media archeologici, con attenzione anche alla gioielleria raffigurata (PORTALE [205], MANENTI [169]).

L'Aretusa siracusana viene messa a confronto da M.P. WAHL (288) con le imitazioni tessale, a loro volta in seguito adottate da altre zecche, allargando lo sguardo anche ad altri tipi monetali siciliani e all'uso di firmare le incisioni dei conii, motivando ciò come ispirazione artistica più che come spia di rapporti 'politici'.

Un graduale passaggio nell'iconografia monetale siracusana dall'impiego di Aretusa alla rappresentazione sempre più frequente di Persefone, attraverso un momento di transizione che vede apparire nella prima attributi della seconda, viene notato da R. M. MOTTA (186) che interpreta ciò in una dimensione sempre più globale a livello regionale e meno legata alla personificazione geografica locale.

La figura femminile velificata di incerta identificazione di una tarda emissione a nome dei Siracusani (214-212 a.C.) viene letta da J. M. PUEBLA MORÓN come Clio per la presenza dell'attributo del rotolo dispiegato (207).

Nel filone femminile si colloca l'indagine di M. CACCAMO CALTABIANO (42) sulla figura alata identificabile come la 'Città/Nike' presente in diverse emissioni siciliane. La stessa studiosa, sempre prendendo spunto da serie monetali siciliane, ha analizzato con taglio iconografico altre tematiche, quali il tema della salvezza, partendo dall'emissione himerea col cavaliere apobates (CACCAMO CALTABIANO [37]), e il tema dell'identità di genere e dei modelli comportamentali offerti alla comunità cittadina dalle raffigurazioni femminili, quali le personificazioni cittadine, e maschili, come l'emblematica figura di Eracle (CACCAMO CALTABIANO [38]).

L'eroe è protagonista di vari lavori a firma di altri studiosi. Sulla possibile ispirazione di monete selinuntine e camarinesi di V secolo a.C. da una perduta statua di Eracle di Mirone, citata da Cicerone, si è soffermato KOUSOULAS (153).

Le divinità fluviali, oltre alla monografia già citata sulla raffigurazione del toro androproso (MOLINARI, SISCO [179]), hanno ricevuto una particolare attenzione negli ultimi tempi soprattutto relativamente alla Sicilia, dove tale tipologia appare molto frequente sia per quanto concerne le figure taurine sia per quanto riguarda le figure umane giovanili imberbi cornute che rappresentano una forma diversa della personificazione dei fiumi (CARROCCIO [65]).

Alfeo è stato riconosciuto nella testa frontale barbata con orecchie e corna raffigurata nel tetradrammo unico di Siracusa attribuito all'età di Gelone e collegato, nell'opinione di V. LEWIS (160), all'intenzione autocelebrativa dei Dinomenidi.

Uno studio di A. WAHL (289) riporta correttamente alla zecca caria di Hyllarima una emissione con toro a volto umano a volte attribuita a Mylai in Sicilia.

Le iconografie 'sportive', passate in rassegna da L. BROUSSEAU (28) a partire da quelle utilizzate dai tiranni siciliani, sono viste come un modo di commemorare le proprie imprese ai giochi.

Zeus e i suoi attributi di aquila e fulmine nelle emissioni delle poleis siciliane in età classica sono oggetto di uno studio che ne riscontra la prevalenza tra le colonie di origine dorica, come manifestazione della propria identità politica (DE ANGELO LAKY [10]).

Le emissioni 'dionisiache' siciliane sono state il focus della ricerca di E. PIZZILLI (204), che ha spaziato anche in ambito magno greco, e che ha messo in relazione la repressione dei Bacchanalia da parte di Roma quale contrasto al tentativo di affermazione del potere tolemaico in alternativa a quello romano.

Le attestazioni di iconografie isiache vengono messe in relazione a circostanze che vanno al di là dei centri

emittenti e vengono studiate con un approccio contestuale da L. BRICAULT (27).

Le figure dei Pii Fratres sono state analizzate da L. AMELA VALVERDE (9) nelle attestazioni monetali catanee della fine del II sec. a.C., in quelle repubblicane di M. Herennio e nella serie di Sesto Pompeo, mettendole a confronto con varie fonti storiche, storiografiche e archeologiche.

L'identificazione con l'immagine dell'eroe omerico Patron nella monetazione di Alontion è stata ribadita da L. DI MASI (174).

L'iconografia di Zeus Peloros è stata approfondita grazie a uno studio sulla decorazione pittorica di un sacello siracusano di età ellenistica, studio che ha indotto l'autore (CARUSO [74]) a identificare questa particolare epiclesi di Zeus nella statua che appare sulle raffigurazioni dello Stretto di una serie di denari di Sesto Pompeo, interpretata invece da D. CASTRIZIO (78) come statua di Poseidon in virtù degli attributi visibili.

Vari altri temi iconografici già indagati nella letteratura numismatica da altri studiosi sono riproposti da J. M. PUEBLA MORÓN (208, 211, 216, 217).

b. Animali

Riguardo alle immagini monetali tratte dal mondo animale M. PUGLISI si è occupata in diverse occasioni della fauna acquatica rappresentata sulle monete siciliane, ora a livello generale (PUGLISI 222), ora soffermandosi su un soggetto in particolare - la conchiglia, il pesce (PUGLISI [220], [226]) - ora analizzando il rapporto fra animali acquatici e ninfe eponime e divinità fluviali, a cui spesso si accompagnano come attributi connotativi, per ricavarne l'interpretazione simbolica spesso ricollegata alla rinascita e alla fecondità.

Sempre in ambito zoologico, C. ARNOLD BIUCCHI e K. VAN SCHAIK (14) hanno motivato la presenza del granchio sulle monete di Akragas in relazione al potere guaritore di Apollo e Asclepio, i cui culti sono attestati in città.

W. FISCHER-BOSSERT (113) ritorna sul significato del granchio acragantino nelle emissioni teroniane di Himera e in generale si sottrae dal trarre significati politici dall'iconografia in mancanza di fonti scritte a sostegno, adducendo come motivazione al proprio scetticismo la 'notoria ambiguità' delle immagini presenti sulle monete greche.

c. Flora

Un'ampia disamina delle numerose raffigurazioni della palma sulla moneta, ha raggiunto l'obiettivo dell'individuazione delle ricorrenze della Phoenix dactylifera L., grazie all'estrema precisione dell'incisione che differenzia le specie botaniche presenti su varie emissioni di zecca siciliana (RIVERA, OBÓN, ALCARAZ, LAGUNA, JOHNSON 228).

d. Oggetti

Anche il tema della guerra attraverso lo studio di armi ed eroi ha richiamato l'attenzione di diversi studiosi.

D. CASTRIZIO (77) ha raccolto varie sue indagini iconografiche in questo campo, riaffermando alcune sue ipotesi interpretative su specifici eroi, grazie alle osservazioni sugli elmi (CASTRIZIO [75]).

M. PUGLISI (225) ha fornito un panorama variegato dei soggetti 'militari' di ambito siciliano legando le scelte iconografiche ai fatti storici e mettendo in rilievo, oltre alle figure degli eroi locali, anche il tipo del soldato che appare in molte zecche siciliane dopo l'arrivo dei Romani, soggetto preso in considerazione anche da C. ROWAN (231) che indaga i due filoni iconografici della prima esperienza monetale romana in Sicilia, l'uno locale e l'altro propriamente 'romano'.

L'emissione aurea siciliana di Pirro, in virtù della presenza di un trofeo d'armi, è letta da C. LUALDI (166) in chiave propagandistica e celebrativa della vittoria dell'epirota a Heraclea ricordata a Dodona tramite il suo donario attestato epigraficamente.

Dello strumento musicale della lira sulla monetazione, in primis siciliana, si è occupato A. MARTINO (173) che ha offerto delle precisazioni sulle differenti denominazioni in base alle forme diverse e alla simbologia correlata all'ideologia dei concetti di Harmonia ed Eunomia.

Una certa attenzione ha suscitato il simbolo della triskeles, emblematico richiamo alla Sicilia: M. VITALE (285) vede un parallelo tra la comparsa della triskeles e l'utilizzo della personificazione di Sikelia sulle coniazioni della federazione di città siceliote guidata da Timoleonte; F. DE CALLATAÿ (57), nella recensione alla già citata monografia sul soggetto della triskeles (SAPIENZA [246]), propende invece per una simbologia che si lega al movimento degli eserciti. Su questa linea interpretativa si colloca il contributo di ambito repubblicano di K. KOPIJ (151) che sottolinea la consapevolezza da parte dell'autorità emittente romana di venire incontro ai recettori locali nella scelte iconografiche,

come per il caso dei denari del 49 a.C. dove appaiono la triskeles e altri soggetti legati alla Sicilia in prospettiva di un possibile reclutamento di nuove truppe in loco.

Il quadrato quadripartito delle iniziali monete di Siracusa viene interpretato, presupponendo specifiche conoscenze matematico-geometriche e filosofico-politiche, come simbolica ripartizione dello spazio nel momento della fondazione della polis, come pure quello diviso in nove scomparti nelle prime coniazioni di Zankle (MASTELLONI 175).

L'astragalo di una infrequente emissione himerea è ricollegato al controllo acragantino esercitato sulla città da Terone e al culto oracolare di Hermes da J. M. PUEBLA MORÓN (209), il quale in un altro studio (PUEBLA MORÓN [215]) prende in considerazione emissioni recanti il simbolo della luna in Sicilia (e anche al di fuori della Sicilia: a Rhegion) in chiave simbolica.

Il simbolismo cosmico della corsa con i carri e il significato astronomico delle quadrighe siciliane è sottolineato dalla studio di D. CASTRIZIO (77), che nota come i simboli presenti in esergo rappresentino altrettante costellazioni come 'riferimento temporale'.

Il mare è il Leitmotif del contributo di M. CACCAMO CALTABIANO (33) nel volume 'Mirabilia Maris' in cui la studiosa illustra varie tipologie siciliane legate all'elemento acquatico, mentre le raffigurazioni monetali dei porti sono argomento di indagine da parte di D. CASTRIZIO (77), il quale si sofferma soprattutto sullo Stretto di Messina e la sua identificazione nella moneta.

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MAINLAND GREECE, CRETE AND THE ISLANDS OF THE AEGEAN AND IONIAN
SEAS FROM ARCHAIC TO LATE HELLENISTIC PERIOD (2013-2021)

Selene E. Psoma

To Ioannis Touratsoglou, mnemes chain, with love and respect

Handbooks and Publication of collections

Three more volumes on the Greek coinages of Thrace, Macedon, Illyria, and Epirus, Achaea Phthiotis, Ainis, Magnesia, Malis, Oeta, Perrhaebia, Thessaly, Acarnania, Aetolia, Locris, Boeotia, Euboea, Attica, Megaris and Corinthia (158, 159, 160) were added to those on coins of Coins of the Islands: Adriatic, Ionian, Thracian, Aegean, and Carpathian Seas, and the Peloponnese (156, 157). For coins of the BCD collection in Alpha Bank see (343). For the collection of bronze coins of KIKPE see (263). A number of volumes of acts of numismatic meetings and colloquia, conferences on history and economy with contributions about Greek numismatics, and *Festschriften* as well (20, 26, 30, 67, 83, 94, 98, 99, 103, 105, 117, 135, 142, 148, 153, 162, 168, 195, 207, 208, 217, 247, 256, 319, 334, 335, 357, 363, 364, 375) as the acts of the previous *INC* (49) and catalogues of exhibitions have been published during these last six years. For the *SNG* Greece 6 see (146). For a review of *Nomisma* see (318). See also the two volumes on coinages of Greek colonies (342, 2).

Varia

For the invention of coinage see (155, 228, 295, 365). For excavation coins and their publication see (103) and under the different geographic areas. For methodology and excavation coins see (53). For a cartography of excavation coins see (107). For the site Web SIG of the excavation coins of Delos (106). The results of this study can be epitomized as follows: hoards are buried in the urban sector (houses), thus involving everyday transactions rather than thesaurisation. In the area of the port, we have foreign coins. See also (47, 101, 144, 197). For problems in the classification of coins of a single mint see (273). For overstrikes, a rather limited phenomenon see (38, 56, 60, 63, 68, 372). For restriking and sources of metal see (115). For striking and restriking on folded flans see also (198). For a survey of monetary workshops: (332). For countermarks see (258, 333, 355). For the decree of precision for weight of coins (62): always high for gold and high when requested for silver (Persian sigloi, Athenian owls, Philip II and Alexander III). For an effort to estimate the proportion of non-coined gold during the Hellenistic period see (58). For coin finds in sanctuaries (Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia and Nemea), mainly bronzes from neighboring cities and areas, see (169). For regionalism and coinage see (297). For coin-types that also function as emblems of a city see (177), and for coin types as amphora stamps see (325). For the end of the myth of coins as Charon's fee see (99 and 76, 80, 171, 172, 181, 182, 238). For the destruction of cities in Macedonia and Thrace and numismatic evidence see (129). For the metal composition of Greek bronze coinage see (64). Cf. (110). For small coins used in everyday life see (149).

Weight Standards

From 2017 dates the publication of a volume that concentrates on weight standards (98) with a number of contributions that will be mentioned in the relevant places. For the history of research about weight standards see (55). Choosing a monetary standard by issuing authorities in the vicinity or not of the city credited with the invention of this standard, as well as a change of the monetary standard under special circumstances are examined in a paper that offers an overview of the most significant standards during the Archaic and the Classical periods and those deriving from these (287). The reasons for the adoption of a weight standard are the following: (a) to facilitate transactions; (b) to serve military obligations; (c) to adopt one of the metropolis' *nomima*; (d) political control of a city by another. For the link between the adoption of a monetary standard and policy with political survival (Cyrene and the Attic weight standard) see (360). For the weight standard of the islands see *infra* (355). For *metoikesis* and Abdera and Teos see (358).

For the so-called Thraco-Macedonian Standard, a *terminus technicus* to define the very much complicated

metrological system of the silver coinages of the Greek cities of Aegean Thrace, a number of local tribes and the kings of Macedonia during the Archaic and the Classical periods (286). Following hoard evidence, the system of denominations and all other relevant evidence PSOMA identified three standards: (a) the old Milesian (earliest silver coinages of cities of the Chalcidic peninsula, Alexander I and Perdiccas II, Olynthus, the Chalcidians of Thrace, Acanthus and Amphipolis), (b) the reduced Aeginetan of Thasos, her colonies and local tribes between the Strymon and the Nestos rivers, and (c) the Chian standard of Abdera and Maroneia, a colony of Chios. For Thasos see also (220). For the Persian standard of the silver coins of the Thracian Chersonese mistakenly attributed to Miltiades II and a date between 478 and 466 BC see (136). Cf. also (362): publication of *IGCH* 738.

For the so-called *symmachikon* coinage of the 2nd c. BC see (280, 292). See also for Thessaly (154). For the Aeginetan standard see (366). For the Greek and Roman bronze coin system see (367). Cf. for the standard of the bronze coinages of cities, tribes, kings, the *symmachia* and the *koinon* of Epirus and other issuing authorities in the same area (248) and for Crete (72). For the *tetartemorion*, the smallest silver coin see (84).

Coin hoards

A significant number of hoards have been published these last years and will be mentioned in the relevant places. For Archaic coin hoards and maritime connectivity see (253). For coin hoards and types see (266). For coin hoards containing coins of the same weight standard see (286, 287). For coin hoards that entered the Numismatic Museum of Athens between 1964 and 2015 (Myrine/ Myrina of Karditsa 1970: *CH* I 25, III 2, V 11; Karditsa 1973: *CH* VIII 271, X 55; Trikala 1979: *CH* IX 189; Hellespont 1970-1971: *IGCH* 1161, *CH* I 2, III 1; Sitochoro: *IGCH* 237, *CH* IX 247; "Itea" bef. 1982: *CH* VIII 254, X 39; Hierissos 1934 with staters of Acanthus) see (11).

Metal analysis and Mints

For White-Gold see (364). For Athenian coins see DAVIS (90). For coins of Argos see FLAMENT (111). For an imitation of Athenian coins see (312).

Coins and Inscriptions

Between the late 4th c. and the early imperial period gold and silver coins issued with the names and types of Alexander III are to be found in (a) inventories of temples, (b) *epidoseis* (c) to calculate the weight of silver objects and gold crowns, (d) to calculate the price of statues, *stelai*, sacrificial animals, *aparchai* and other religious obligations, (e) as money given to *theoroi* and embassies (*poreion/ xenion*), (f) penalties, (g) in international treaties, (h) manumissions, (i) to calculate the price of properties and religious officies, (j) to pay daily allowances and wages to soldiers as well as for payment of reparations of fortifications and ransom for hostages and also (k) for donations, foundations and loans (293). There is also discussion about other mentions of money in Hellenistic inscriptions and an Appendix of the meaning of *philippeios* in Roman comedy (= coin of Philip V). Cf. (52). For the *symmachikon* coinage see (280, 292). For the *leukolleion* see (27). See also the excellent contribution of BERGER (32), who, based on epigraphic evidence, comes back to the crucial question of the division of the obol into twelve or eight *chalkoi* and the equivalence of bronze and silver fractions of the obol. She clearly distinguishes the two different systems of the twelve *chalkoi* referring to the heavy obol (Aeginetan) and the eight *chalkoi* referring to the low weight obol (Attic). The denominations in the twelve *chalkoi* system are the following: *chalkous*, *tetartemorion* (three *chalkoi*), and hemiobol (six *chalkoi*). To the list of cities with evidence about the twelve *chalkoi* system, she adds Corcyra and Delos.

Philosophers and coinage

For Athens, Athena and the owl see (108). Cf. also (43).

Iconography

Various contribution in (162). For the institutional character of coin types see (272). For a history of the discipline as well as contemporary tendencies including interpretations related to religion, quantification, reception, the public, main streams, connection with gems see (59). For the Lexicon iconographicum numismaticae (*LIN*), the history of the coin type or its stratigraphic representation and its aim to create a highly educational opportunity to promote the valorization and integration of numismatics with the knowledge of coin documents as part of a common cultural heritage see (48). See also (130) and (189) for Heracles on Greek coinages. For the depiction of earrings and necklaces on Greek coins from the Archaic to the early Hellenistic period and a chronological and geographic distribution see (249). For jugate representations of divine (Serapis and Isis from Egypt, Zeus and Dione from Epirus, the Dioscuri from Lemnos) and royal couples (the Ptolemies) see (276). For the iconographic type of Aphrodite Pandemos of Scopas

from Elis and its depiction on coins see (187). For the influence of sculpture on monetary iconography of cities of Hellenistic Crete see (218). For the cow and calf see (265). For *karkinos* (crab), a reference to cancer, in cities that were centers of the cult of Asclepius and healing see (22). For the cult of Asclepius and coinage see (368). For the lyre in numismatic iconography see (222). For Silenus and a plausible non relation to Dionysus see (302). For female heads see (303), for *triskeles* see (306), for horses (33), and for federal identity and coin types see (93, 147, 152, 279, 291, 304). Cf. (109, 224). For coin types and the Romans see (28). For Apollo and numismatic iconography see (288) and (339-340). For Thessaly and its links with Magna Grecia see (232).

Between Hebros and Nestos

The Odrysians and other Thracians

For early electrum in hoards from Macedonia (sic) and Thrace minted on the Phocaic standard, full and reduced, their circulation outside the area of their minting authority, their use in transactions and the gradual introduction of silver see (373). The localization of the Odrysian Sparadocus and his silver coinage not in the Chalcidic peninsula but along the Hebros river on the basis of monetary standard and circulation patterns of coinage involved the reconsideration of his numismatic iconography (289). For the Odrysians see also (301). For Rhoemetalces I see (21 and 259). For Mostis see (260). For the impact of the sea-battle of Actium in the area see (261).

The Greek Cities

For the mint of Zone and the excavation coins from its site see (122). For the excavation coins from the peninsula of Molyvoti that support the identification of the site with Archaic and Classical Maroneia (23 and 129). For the coinage of Abdera see (75), and for its iconography see (79). For silver coins of Abdera in a hoard from Gaza and with a burial date c. 475 BC see (209). For a silver 'tetradrachm' of Abdera that depicts Europa and the bull on the reverse see (77). For the identification of the mint 'magistrate' Nymphodorus of Abdera Period IV with the Abderitan statesman and brother-in-law of king Sitalces who obtained an alliance between Athens, the Odrysian king and Perdiccas II see (308). The dates proposed by CHRYSSANTHAKI-NAGLE (75) for Period IV (450-430/425 BC) support this identification. For *metoikesis* and the early silver coinages of Teos and Abdera see (358).

The silver coinages of Thasos and Maroneia of the late Hellenistic period are once more discussed (128, 270). For the horses on the coins of Maroneia, a reference to Poseidon and horse-breeding, see (33).

Between Nestos and Strymon

Thasos, local tribes and Greek colonies

For the monetary unit at Thasos see (220). PICARD publishes the corpus of the Hellenistic bronze coins of Thasos (267). He also presents the contribution of the study of the excavation coins of Thasos for our understanding of evidence provided by coins from excavations (268). See also (266, 269, 270). For coin finds from Bulgaria that include fractional coinage of Thasos and other mints see (151). We need to note that what is mentioned as Aegae is considered either as Galepsus or as a mint in Western Thrace.

A reverse die link of two 'anonymous' octadrachms (triple staters) previously attributed to the Bisaltae or Alexander I, with a Bisaltic octadrachm – i.e. a triple stater with the legend on the obverse – shows that this series of 'anonymous' octadrachms and tetradrachms (staters) has to be definitely attributed to the Bisaltae (40). For a triple stater of Mosses see (166). WARTENBERG reopens the discussion about the bullion coinage issued by cities and tribes of Thrace (372). She examines triple staters of the Ichnaioi that were overstruck on Abdera period I and proposes dates between 490 and 480 for the earliest coins of the *Ichnaioi* and 465-450 BC for the second group. Other overstrikes on Abdera occurred on coins of Getas, the Bisaltae and Alexander I. She calculates the total weight of coinage struck by the Ichnaioi at 54 talents and by the Bisaltae at 191 talents. The production of the Bisaltae can only be compared with that of Athens. These coins were present in the Decadrachm hoard buried c. 465 BC and the Karkemish 1994 hoard buried slightly later. This hoard contained a significant number of Alexander I and the Bisaltae. For the introduction of denarii in Thrace (and Dacia) see (252, 255).

From the Strymon to Axios

Amphipolis

For the excavation coins of Amphipolis see (194). We need to stress the complete absence of 5th c. BC coins at Amphipolis, and the presence of few bronzes of Pausanias, Amyntas III and the Chalcidians from the first half of the 4th c. BC, and also some bronzes of Acanthus, Neapolis, Ainos and Thasos from the eastern cemetery. There was

a massive arrival of bronze coins of Philip II from 357 BC. His coins and the coins of Alexander III both lifetime and posthumous are the most numerous currencies. Regal coins continued to arrive at Amphipolis down to 168 BC. Other currencies, of Orthagoreia, Maroneia, Abdera, Thasos, Tragilos, Thessalonike, Pella, Larissa and the Thessalian League, were also present. The coins from the imperial period are provincial issues of Thessaloniki with the addition of few others, mainly those from the Roman colony of Philippi. For coins from the cemetery of Amphipolis see (183).

The Chalcidic peninsula

Excavations

For the excavation coins of Olynthus and Stageira (127). These provide evidence about the political history of a city and an area when these are combined with the historical development of this city and area. They reveal the size of the city because the use of coinage was more frequent in cities than in settlements (*komai*) and the *chora*. The large number of bronze coins and small silver fractions of a city when compared with the number of bronze coins and small silver fractions of other cities also reveals the city's monetary policy and protection of its own currency within its frontiers. This also helps us to identify sites. Royal bronzes as excavation coins indicate military presence and garrisons. Excavation coins of other cities at the site of a city offer information about movements of people for various reasons including trade. Additional evidence about federal states and the participation of cities in these might explain the presence of these at a site. All available literary and epigraphic evidence needs to be exploited. The cases of Olynthus and Stageira are very relevant. Both cities were members of the Chalcidian League and were destroyed by Philip II in 348 BC. Olynthus was the capital of the League and was never rebuilt while Stageira did some years after the destruction. Literary evidence corroborates evidence from excavation coins plenty.

Mints

For the silver tetrobols of Acanthus see (124). For silver tetradrachms (staters) of Acanthus in a hoard from Gaza and with a burial date c. 475 BC see (209). Silver coins of the early 5th c. BC with a male head wearing helmet on the obverse and a lyre on the reverse that share types with the smallest bronze denomination of the Bottiaean of the 4th c. BC are attributed to the Bottiaean (290).

For the coinage of the Chalcidian League see the short overview in (291). Numismatic iconography of Olynthus is added to the calendar, onomasticon, acrophonic system and monetary standard, that all reveal the Euboean origin of the Chalcidians of Thrace: eagle and snake for the reverse, the types of Chalcis, the metropolis, and on the reverse types referring to the metropolis' past and the legendary help provided by the colony to the mother city: horse referring to the leader of the cavalry that the Chalcidians of Thrace sent to help Chalcis and the column on his grave in the agora of Chalcis (289). After the foundation of the League in which other non-Chalcidian cities also participated, Apollo's head on the obverse, and his attributes, cithara, tripod and laurel branch on the reverse served to stress the identity of all the participants as colonists. Down to the late 5th c. BC with the exception of Delos and Delphi, Apollo and types related to Apollo are found in colonies such as Caulonia, Zakyntos, Colophon and the Chalcidians of Thrace (290). For Apollo see also TRIFIRÒ (339).

For the 5th c. BC coinage of Mende (and of Scione) see KAGAN (164) with dates for the beginning of the two-sided coinage c. 460, and c. 423 for both the Kaliandra and the Scione hoards. KAGAN also examines the two coinages between 423 and 400 and discusses iconography and offers an interesting discussion about the dates of the beginning of the silver coinage of the Chalcidian League. On the basis of a die link with coins of Mende, the letters KA are considered as the first letters of a name and not of the ethnic of Kapsa (133). In this way, the attribution to Kapsa is challenged. Two objections: 1) there is no other evidence for names on coins of Mende, and 2) coins of one city could be issued with reverse dies of another city in the mint of the second city, e.g. Corinth and colonies.¹ VAN ALFEN proposes that the earliest coinage of Chalcis (staters, third staters and *hektai*) should be attributed to a city in the western part of the Chalcidic peninsula (359).

Paionia

For coins of king Ballaeus see (82).

¹ See Kagan, J. H., Epidamnus, Anactorium, and Potidaea: Corinthian-style Pegasi at the Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, *AJN* 25 (2013), pp. 1–9.

The kingdom of Macedonia

Excavation coins

The study of the coins from the excavations at Aegae (194), the old Temenid capital of the kingdom, revealed that 92% of them were Macedonian including the regal issues down to the reign of Perseus, the bronzes in the name of Macedonians, Amphaxians and Bottiaeans, the bronzes of Pella, Amphipolis and Thessalonike as well as the Roman Provincial coins that are all Macedonian. The earliest coins were light tetrobols of Perdiccas II. We have a total number of 234 regal coins from the 4th c. BC, mainly bronzes and one gold fraction and few silver coins of Philip II and Alexander III. Among them are some drachms of Alexander that formed a hoard. The coins of the 3rd c. are more limited in number than those of the 4th, a pattern that is repeated at Amphipolis and Pella and reveals that the 4th c. coins still circulated. The foreign coins are a small percentage, 8% of the total currency and represented Thessalian cities, the Chalcidian League, the Bottiaeans, Potidaea, Neapolis and Philippi, the Acarnanians, Ambracia, the Chaones, Dyrrhachium, Histiaea, Athens and Corinth. A silver obol of Taras might be connected with the soldiers of Pyrrhus returning from the Italian campaign. Out of the 175 coins excavated at the so-called palace of Aegae, 119 were Greek coins and 10 of them belonged to Corinth, Histiaea, Larissa, Phthiotides Thebai, Acarnania and Athens. All dated before 168 BC. All others were royal with the exception of very few of the *Botteatai*, the Macedonians, Pella, Amphipolis, Thessalonike and Roman administration. This evidence confirms the construction of the palace during the 4th c. BC. The number of Gonatas' bronze coins corroborates archeological evidence about construction in the building under his reign. Excavation coins indicate that the palace was abandoned after the end of the monarchy.

At Pella (5-7, 9) we have coins from excavations south of the Classical wall, in areas of public buildings, sanctuaries and the fortified island of Phacus, and also at plots between these areas, mainly houses. From the 2400 coins, 264 very worn. A coin hoard of 307 silver coins, Rhodian and pseudo-Rhodian drachms, tetrobols in the name of Macedonians and tetrobols of Histiaea, is among them. Otherwise, silver coins are rather rare. The bronze coins are divided into three groups: regal, those minted in the name of the Macedonians, of Macedonian cities and foreign. The total number is 1279 regal coins dating from the first half of the 5th c. to 168 BC. From the time of Philip II regal bronze coins appear in greater numbers. The number of coins of Pydna and Philippi is very restricted. There are also silver and bronze coins issued in the name of the Macedonians and bronzes of the three cities of Macedonia. These date after 168 BC or 148 BC, and those of Pella constitute the majority among them. 449 foreign coins were excavated and 276 of them were Rhodian and pseudo-Rhodian drachms. As at Aegae, there are coins of cities of Thessaly, mainly Larissa, the Chalcidian League, the Bottiaeans, Potidaea, Scione, Aphytis and Tragilos. There are also very few coins from Greece, Asia Minor and Thrace. Pyrrhus and Lysimachus, both kings of Macedonia, are also present. In addition, there are a few coins of the first two rulers of the Seleucid dynasty, Ptolemy II, Philetaerus and Dropion of the Paenonians, and also a few coins of Athens, Halus, Larissa Cremaste, Locri, the Epirote Republic, the Acarnanian League and Elis that all date from the 3rd and in some cases of the 2nd c. BC. From the 2nd c. BC date the coins of the hoard of Rhodian and pseudo-Rhodian drachms and some others from Rome, Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, Thessaly, Histiaea and Delos. The latest coin is a plated denarius of MN. FONTEI C.F of 85 BC from Phacus. Pella was destroyed in the early 1st c. BC. Seven hoards were found in the excavations of Pella: 1) of bronzes of Amyntas III, Perdiccas III, Philip II and Cetriporis of Thrace (1998) with a burial date c. 350 BC; 2) of seven Athenian tetradrachms and two drachms of Alexander III (1996), late 4th c. BC; 3) bronzes of Antigonos Gonatas and Locri (2008) after 250 BC; 4) the hoard with 276 Rhodian and pseudo-Rhodian drachms, 27 tetrobols of the Macedonians and four of Histiaea (1976), dated between 175 and 168 BC; 5) of 77 bronzes of Gonatas, Gaius Publilius, Pella, Thessalonike and Amphipolis (1996) of the early 1st c. BC; 6) four bronzes of Thessalonike and Amphipolis (2007) of the second half of the 2nd c. BC; and 7) three bronzes of Amphipolis (2008) of the second half of the 2nd c. BC.

The excavation coins of Pella help us to date a number of buildings: the first public bath excavated in Macedonia from the late 5th c. BC (coin of Perdiccas II), works in this building in the late 4th c. BC (coins of Philip II and Alexander III), in the first quarter of the 3rd (coins of Cassander and Demetrius I) and later (coins of Pella and Thessaloniki). They also help us to trace the city's development from a small settlement around the Phacus to the Hellenistic capital and its abandonment after a large-scale earthquake.

Hoard of silver coins

The burial of the hoard from Pydna with silver tetrobols of Perdiccas II, the Chalcidian League, and Acanthus

dates from the 380s and is associated with the contemporary Chalcidian invasion of the Macedonian Kingdom (124). Another small hoard from the necropolis of Pydna with two lifetime bronzes of Philip II and three triobols of Argos with forepart of wolf and A in incuse square is dated to ca. 340 BC (125). The presence of the silver coins of Argos corroborates evidence deriving from the presence of other foreign coins at Pydna during the 4th c. BC and can be explained by the different campaigns of Philip II whose presence at Argos dates from 344 BC. For a hoard from Macedonia with silver coins of Alexander III, Audoleon and Lysimachus and a burial date c. 279 BC see (262).

Hoard of Bronze Coins

AKAMATIS presents a number of hoards of bronze coins from Pella: (a) Amyntas III (Heracles' head/ eagle with snake) and Perdikkas III (Heracles' head/ lion with spear overstruck on a bronze of Amyntas III), (b) Amyntas III (Heracles' head/ eagle with snake), Perdikkas III (Heracles' head/ lion with spear), Philip II (Heracles' head/ rider, young male head/ rider) and Cetriporis of the Odrysians (Dionysus' head/ cantharus and thyrsus); (c) from the vicinity of the sanctuary of Darro with Antigonos Gonatas, Pella, Thessalonike, Amphipolis and Gaius Publilius. The burial of the hoard dates from the early 1st c. BC, when the city of Pella was destroyed by an earthquake and abandoned (5, 6, 7, 9).

Mints before Philip II

For series of silver coins previously attributed to Alexander I and now to the Bisaltae see (40). For the institutional character of Macedonian coinage see (271). See also (337) for the identification of young Heracles with Heracles Kynagidas and bearded Heracles with Heracles Patroos.

Philip II

Two series, A and B, of bronzes of Philip II with young Heracles' head and the legend ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΥ date from his early reign and the late 330s respectively (8). For the hoard from Olympia: (347).

Alexander III

Two volumes with contributions about Alexander's coinage and finances have been published (142 and 195). For the *status quaestionis* see KREMYDI and MARCELLESI (195) and for the conclusions PICARD (274). KREMYDI (192) concentrates on Alexanders struck in different Peloponnesian mints and their presence in hoards. She distinguishes four groups: 1) those struck 280-250 BC that cannot be securely identified; 2) 230-215 BC, a period of continuous wars (Corinth, Sicyon, Argos, Megalopolis and Pellene); 3) 200-180 BC (Messene) and the Antiochic War, and 4) 172-168 BC (Samothrace). Macedonian Alexanders rather date between 229 and c. 217 than c. 180 BC, and can be associated to military needs. She cites literary evidence pointing to urgent needs for money and the financial support of the Achaean League to the Macedonian king. DE CALLATAÿ (61) goes through production, quantification of gold alexanders, metal analysis, literary sources, epigraphic and hoard evidence and concludes that this coinage disappeared after a generation, was concentrated in the Balkans and the Old Kingdom, and was associated mainly with military needs. TSELEKAS (350) offers an overview of hoards of Alexanders and mints of Alexanders represented in these hoards. STEFANAKI (323) examines the circulation of Alexanders issued by cities of Mainland Greece, the Black Sea, Western Asia Minor and Phoenicia. Those minted before 225 circulated widely, and were part of hoards buried from Illyria to Phoenicia. Circulation patterns changed after this date. GATZOLIS (126) presents the arrangement of the Macedonian coin production between 336 and 294/ 290 BC following Price and the modifications proposed by Troxell and Le Rider. He also offers a survey of Macedonian, later-Macedonian and non-Macedonian mints, adds new hoard evidence and proposed the following chronological arrangement for the bronze coinage minted with the name of Alexander: 1) 336-333/2 BC: 'eagles' and shields; 2) 333/2 -316 BC: Heracles' head/ hero's weapons, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ vel B-A and 'Diademed' head/ Rider, ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΥ; 3) 316-309 BC: 'Diademed' head/ horse, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. For Alexanders and Hellenistic economy see REGER (298). For the regional character of almost all other Hellenistic coinages see REGER (297). For Alexanders in written sources and inscriptions see (293).

In the second volume, there is a full description of the PELLA project (225, 242), as well as contributions about old and new bullion and coinages in Alexander's empire (241), the interesting link between "Achaemenid dynamic, including regional variation" (118), and the so-called new basis for monetization and economy created by Alexander III (45). For the iconography of Alexander III during the Hellenistic and the Roman period, and his representation by Hellenistic rulers and cities from Ptolemy and Lysimachus to the contorniates, see (86, 87).

For a preliminary study of Alexander's gold distaters produced in Macedonia with 41 obverse dies during a short

period of time and immediate hoarding see (102). For their mention in epigraphic documents from Amphipolis as *stateres megaloi* see (293). Cf. also (50): gold distaters with the portrait of Alexander III are modern forgeries. For new hoards with alexanders not in TSELEKAS (350) see (221, 211). For the end of the coinage of the Temenids see (349).

After Alexander III

For the creation of monetary zones after Alexander III see (361). For the coinage of Antigonos Gonatas see (245). PANAGOPOULOU proposes dates between 279 and 221 BC for the Pan's head tetradrachms and between 246 and 221 for the Poseidon's head tetradrachms. Alexanders in the name of Antigonos "may work an earlier incident, such as Gonatas recovery of the Macedonian throne after the death of Pyrrhus, whereas the gold stateres may celebrate a naval victory or other major event". She concludes that "the introduction of Antigonid personal issues was determined by political rather than by economic factors". She also studies Alexanders issued in Macedonian mints under the Antigonids and considers these together with the silver coins of the Antigonids as a sort of double currency (243). The problem for this interpretation is the common weight standard.

For autonomous silver and bronze coinages under the two last Antigonids see KREMYDI (190, 191). This includes a full study of three silver (*Botteatai*, Macedonians and *Amphaxioi*) and four bronze coinages (*Botteatai*, Macedonians, *Amphaxioi* and Roman *quaestores*). She refutes the dates proposed by Hugo Gaebler (between 187 and 168 BC) and the connection with significant changes introduced by Philip V on the basis of Livy 39.24.2 after the end of the Antiochic War.

On the basis of common letters and monograms in the 2nd series of Philip's silver coinage, the silver tetrobols of the *Botteatai* as well as on the series 1 and 2 of the Macedonians (Nymph's head/ prow and shield/ prow), and in Philip's 3rd series, Perseus, Macedonians (shield/ helmet) and the coinage of the *Amphaxioi*, new dates have been proposed for the so-called autonomous coinages in the names of Macedonians, *Botteatai*, and *Amphaxioi*. Series 1 and 2 of the tetrobols of the Macedonians can be dated down to 196 BC, the date that the king had to deliver his navy to the Romans. The Nymph's head derives from the coinage of Histiaea while the shield of series 2 refers to the *phalangitai* who fought in the royal navy. The types of the 3rd series shield/ helmet and of the bronze coins of the *Botteatai* are old Macedonian types and refer to the hoplites. The dates proposed for the 2nd series of the Macedonians, before 196 BC, are supported also by the comparison with the bronze coins of the Illyrian city of Lychnidos on the northeast of lake Lychnitis with the legend Λυχνιδίων. In 196 BC, the city was delivered to the Romans by Philip V. Literary sources mention the city's Macedonian garrison during the 1st Macedonian War, which was paid with these coins.

The iconographic similarity of the series A Macedonian tetrobols with those of Histiaea, whose rich numismatic production dates mainly from the 3rd c. BC can be explained in the context of the city's relations with the Antigonids. For Histiaea see (128, 191, 193). The weight standard of these two coinages was the reduced Aeginetan, while the *Botteatai* (with 3.60 for the drachms, 1.80 for their halves, and 2.80) followed the old local and the Attic standard. The third series of Macedonian tetrobols, with weights between 2.50 and 2.60 g and fractions of 1.20, follow Perseus' numismatic production on the Attic standard. The difference of weight becomes clear with the adoption of a different reverse type (helmet). The tetradrachms of the *Amphaxioi* also followed the Attic weight standard.

Hoard evidence supports the proposed dates. We have three different groups of hoards. In the first one we have tetrobols of series 1 and 2, some coins of the *Botteatai*, many coins of Histiaea and no regal coins with the exception of four coins of Antigonos III. In the second group we find series 3 tetrobols, few coins of the *Botteatai* and Philip V after 196 BC, Rhodian and pseudo-Rhodian coins and few Histiaean tetrobols. In the third group the tetrobols of Histiaea disappear and we have all others, tetrobols of Perseus, few Rhodians and many pseudo-Rhodians. Thus series 1 and 2 date from the last 2 or 3 decades of the 3rd c. BC and series 3a after 196 and 3b during the 3rd Macedonian War.

For the study of the bronze coinages of the *Botteatai*, Macedonians, *Amphaxioi* and Roman *quaestores*, the regal bronzes, the coins of the *quaestores* and those of the cities Pella, Amphipolis and Thessalonike were taken into consideration. From these, the coinages of the two *quaestores* need to be dated after 168/7 BC on the basis of iconography, hoard evidence and literary sources. The bronze coinages of the cities for which Gaebler proposed dated between 187 and 31 BC, and regal bronzes are never to be found together in hoards. The coins of the Macedonians as well as those of the *merides* are older than the coins of the cities, which continue down to 31 BC.

A close look at the iconography reveals that military types are rare but pan-Macedonian and local deities are very often depicted. Types, diameter and weight help to distinguish five denominations, what strongly recalls the bronze

coinage of Philip V. The small differences in weight and diameter between coins of the *Amphaxioi* and the *Botteatai* refer to different mints what is also suggested by the different areas of circulation. There are common monograms with bronzes of Philip V and Perseus, what points to their parallel dates. It is not the case of the coins of the Macedonians. The coins with the legends MAKEΔONΩΝ, MAKEΔONΩΝ Α(μφαξίων) and MAKEΔONΩΝ Β(οττεατῶν) date from the last years of Antigonid rule while those of *Amphaxioi* and *Botteatai* after 168 BC.

For the Macedonian *koinon* see also (244). For the drachms of Andriscus with Heracles on the reverse that are overstrikes see (38). For the coinage of Thessalonike see (186). For the coinage of Aesillas (63). For the coins and the money that the triumphs of military leaders of the Roman Republic brought to Rome see (52, 250, 292). For denarii in Macedonia see (10, 351). For Macedonian coinage see (78).

Illyria and Epirus: Local Tribes, Illyrian Kings, Greek Cities and the Kings of Epirus

A significant number of contributions are published in (207). For hoards buried in Illyria with evidence about a number of Hellenistic coinages including Corinthian drachms and tetrobols of Histiaea see (139). For the metrology of bronze coinage of Epirus see (248). For a new interpretation of the building considered to be the mint of Antigonea/Epirus as a monetary workshop, and a survey of other similar cases from Epirus see (300). For coins of Epirus in the Collection of Alpha Bank see (341), in the Web (352), and in Russia (120).

Excavation coins

For the excavation coins from the forum of Bouthrotos see (1), and from Mesogethyra in the area of Konitsa see (381). For floral decoration and excavation coins from Thesprotia see (31). See also *infra*.

Hoards

For hoards with Macedonian coins from Epirus see (185). For a hoard in the museum of Ioannina with silver coins of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium and a denarius of Marc Antony see (206). For numismatic circulation during the Hellenistic period in Epirus see (201), and for Epirus after 168 BC see (283).

Mints

Local tribes

GJONGECAJ presents the bronze coinage of the Chaones issued between the 4th c. (?) and the 2nd c. BC (137). It circulated locally and its iconography refers to the coinages of Epirus. She also offers a brief review of the history of Chaonia and its capital Phoenice, Illyria. For a plausible attribution of a bronze coin with Pallas' head and the letters AX in monogram to the Chaones see (264). For coins from walled villas of Chaonia see (85).

Kings of Illyria

For the coinage in the name of king Monounios see META (226). The bronze coinage issued with the name and types of the last Illyrian king Genthios is presented by SIONTIS (315). The portrait of the king occupies the obverse and an Illyrian *lembos* the reverse (den. A). A head of Artemis is on the obverse and a thunderbolt on the reverse of denomination C and a Macedonian shield and helmet on denomination B. This last one dates from the years of his alliance with king Perseus of Macedonia. Coins of the heaviest denomination with his types and the legend ΔΙΣΣΙΤΑΝ were struck by Lissos most probably to satisfy the needs of an Illyrian garrison.

Kings of Epirus

The gold, silver and bronze coinage of Alexander I of Epirus is presented by LIAMPI (205), who believes that it was issued entirely in Italy, the silver on the Corcyrean standard and the gold on the Attic. For a new type of his bronze coinage see (353). For the bronze coins of Pyrrhus from the mint of Syracuse see KLOSE (179). For Pyrrhus see also (305). For Epirus and the other coast of the Adriatic during the 4th and the 3rd centuries BC see (39 and 257). For Epirus and the communication network with Macedonia see (275).

Greek Cities in Illyria

The bronzes of Pharos from the earliest strata of the Parian colony of Pharos on the island of Hvar that was founded in 385/4 BC were struck with types (Demeter and goat) referring to the mother city (100). Bronzes of the mother city come also from the same strata.

The very significant complete corpus of the coinage of Dyrrhachium by META was published in 2015 (226). See also PETRÁNYI with a general outline of the coinages of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia and dates between 208 and 48 BC for the drachms at Dyrrhachium (265), and GJONGECAJ (138) for an eighth-stater (1.40 g) with the head of Hermes Parammon and forepart of Pegasus, Δ and club, and dates in the late 4th/ early 3rd c. BC. The names of mint officials

on the coins of Ambracia, Dodona, Cassope, the koinon of Epirus, Pandosia and Phoenice are studied by LESCHHORN (202). In two cases, at Dodona and Pandosia, we have the names of priests. Sometimes we can identify the mint officials with significant citizens of the respective cities who assumed other public offices. For the silver coinages of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium and the Romans see (54, 128). For the introduction of denarii in Illyria see (227).

The Corinthian Colonies in Epirus and Acarnania, and other cities

For the coinage of Leucas see (36). For Leucas' numismatic production on the Attic standard and its relation to Roman interests and presence see (54 and 128). GEORGIU (130) published a study of the Hellenistic bronze coinage of Ambracia. She distinguished three periods: 1) down to 233/32 BC; 2) 233/2-189 BC; and 3) 189-168 BC. She attributed different types to each one of them based also on excavation data. No need to take under consideration "the right to strike a coinage" given by the Romans, or "economic growth and bronze coinage", and also no need to connect Heracles with Aetolia: the hero occupied a significant position in the foundation myth of Ambracia. For coins from excavations of the city and the *chora* of Ambracia (and a hoard) see (4, 35, 174 and 246).

The numismatic iconography of Ambracia, Apollonia, Amantia and Olympe as well as of Elea, Cassope, Byllis, the Symmachia and the koinon of Epirus is studied by TZOUVARA-SOULI (356). Athena Chalinitis of Corinth is worshipped and depicted in the coins of Ambracia, Apollonia and also of Epidamnus/ Dyrrhachium. At Ambracia we also find Heracles, Gorgos (the oecist) and the *baitylos* of Apollo Aguius. The cult of Aguius and his *baitylos* occur also in Apollonia, and the *baitylos* is depicted on her coins and also on the coins of Oricus, Amantia and Olympe with representations of Apollo and Artemis. Types referring to Corinth (Pegasus) and the myths around Persephone (her head and Cerberus) we have at Elea and Thesprotia whose most significant sanctuary was the Nekomanteion on the Acheron River. For types of Thesprotian coinages connected to the Nekomanteion see also (93). Zeus and Dione, the gods of Dodona, are depicted on coins of the alliance and the *koinon* of the Epirotans. Aphrodite Aineias is to be found on the coins of Cassope. The Nymphs and their symbols occur on the coins of Apollonia and Byllis. For all previously mentioned cases, there is rich literary, epigraphic and archeological evidence for the respective cults. For Aphrodite, daughter of Zeus and Dione, on the coins of Cassope, the *cista mystica* and the snake, and the links with Cyprus see (239).

IAKOVIDOU (161) examines the depiction of Nike on coins of Corcyra and Pyrrhus (?) of Epirus during the Hellenistic period, of Dyrrhachium during the 1st c. BC, and again of Corcyra on the obverse of bronze coins with ship's prow, that she explains, following Gardner, as a reference to boat-races during the Aktia games. BELLOU presents the flora of Epirus depicted on coins: the wreath of ears on Persephone's head on the coins of Elea, the oak wreaths of the coins on the Symmachia, the laurel wreath, a reference to Apollo and Artemis on coins with the legend ΑΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ as well as on coins of Ambracia, the ivy on the coins of Corcyra, etc. (31).

Gitana

For the clay seal impressions from the official archives of the city of Gitana see (281, 282). Several coin types occur on these referring to the official seal of the city: the eagle on seals with ΜΟΛΟΣΣΩΝ, a bull with ΧΑΟΝΩΝ, head of Zeus and sometime also Dione on seals with ΕΛΕΑΙΩΝ and ΠΑΡΘΙΝΩΝ, head of Zeus on ΑΜΑΝΤΩΝ, thunderbolt in oak wreath and ΑΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ, a bearded snake of Cassope or Homolium (?), spear-head and boar's jaw or the Calydonian boar and sometime ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ, Artemis Pyrphoros of Acarnania, a seated dog of Argos *Amphilochikon*, a Macedonian shield, two goats as on the bronze coins of Thessalonike and Amphipolis, grapes as on coins of Corcyra, eagle and snake as on the coins of Chalcis and a dog as on coins of Cythnus.

Dodona and Thesprotia

KATSIKLOUDIS (176) presents the excavations coins of Dodona and chooses to present the foreign silver coins of the site and tries to explain their presence at the *hieron*: drachms of Corcyra, Dyrrhachium, Thyreion, Larissa and the Thessalian League, Boeotia, a stater of Damastion, drachms of Chalkis and tetrobols of Histiaea, an Aeginetan drachm, a triobol of Corinth, drachms of Sicyon and triobols of the Achaean League, fifths of the silver stater of Philip II and drachms of Alexander III from Abydos and Amphipolis.

For excavation coins from Elea in Thesprotia see (299).

Ionian islands

Corcyra

KAGAN (163) proposes to attribute to Corcyra two Wappennünzen-like series of staters sharing the facing cow

head with fractions that predate the cow/ calf coinage. A stater of 11.6 g with Medusa's head and an incuse square which recalls those of Corcyra's Archaic coinage was part of the Kerki hoard. He also proposed to attribute to Corcyra hemidrachms, trihemibols and hemibols with a facing cow on the obverse to Corcyra on the basis of weight standard, fabric and provenance. He further established dates for the early cow and calf series parallel to the earliest Athenian owls on the basis of new and old hoards. The Adana hoard and *IGCH* 1185 helps him to fix a date before 515 BC for a Corcyrean drachma of 5.82 g with a frontal's cow head and a floral stater. A Corcyrean weight stater with amphora/ single reverse punch and with eight rays emanating from a central point, now in Berlin, might be the brief intermediate phase. Kagan concludes that Corcyra was among the earliest Greek silver mints. The first series with very exact weights were carefully made and were of limited volume. The cow and calf staters and fractions were of very large volume, light weights and questionable silver. For the cow and calf type see (265).

The natural resources and the geographic position of Corcyra are examined together with the monetary policy of this city, that knew how to explore these resources and its function as a link between east and west, north and south (285). On its territories, i.e. the island, Corcyra imposed the use of its coinage, which was issued with the city's own types on the Corinthian standard with denominations that could be easily exchanged with silver coins on the Aeginetan and the Euboean standards.

For the silver and bronze coinage of this city during the Late Hellenistic period see BETSIU (34). On the basis of very thorough and solid stylistic comparisons with Roman coinages, she proposes firm dates for these coinages. For the monetary unit at Corcyra see DEL MONACO and PARISE (91). For the twelve *chalkoi* in the Corcyrean obol see (32). For a new hoard from Corcyra see (29).

Cephalonia

For excavation coins from Cephalonia see (37). From the total number of 113 coins that date from the 5th to the 1st c. BC and that were found in Cephalonia, 26 were local coins emanating from the four cities of the island, Crane, Pale, Same and Pronnoi. From these 13 come from Pale, 6 from Same and 5 from Crane. Their types are related to local legends (Cephalos, Procris, Laelaps), the main divinities of the island (Zeus, Poseidon, Athena, Apollo, Hermes, Demeter and Kore) as well as agricultural production and other resources as animal breeding, trade and the sea. Eighteen silver and 40 bronze coins come also from excavations in the island: Metapontium and Neapolis from the west, Ambracia and Cassope from Epirus, Leucas, Anactorium and the Acarnanian League, the Aetolian League with nineteen coins, Corinth with fifteen coins, Sicyon with six, the Achaean League and Zacynthus with two, Elis, Argos, Thebes and Eretria with one each.

A short survey of hoards including Pegasi of Corinth and colonies is offered as well as the presentation of *IGCH* 140 from Cephalonia, 1935 with three staters of Dyrrhachium, two of Corcyra and twenty nine Pegasi of Corinth, thirteen of Leucas, one of Dyrrhachium, one of Anactorium and another of Thyrrheion (?). Information is also given about a second hoard from Ithaca, 1985 with five Pegasi of Leucas, three of Anactorium, 17 of Corinth and three uncertain (240).

For forgeries of coins of Ithaca see (95).

Aetolia and Acarnania

Based on the corpus of the coinage of the Aetolian league, DAMIGOS connects coinage with history of the Hellenistic period (88). For the monetary production in Acarnania see short discussion by (119).

Thessaly

On the basis of a number of epigraphic documents from different parts of Thessaly mentioning amounts of money calculated in coinages on the Attic and the Aeginetan standards, HELLY (154) concludes that coinages on the Attic standard served the needs of payments abroad, while for payments within the frontiers of Thessaly, "on comptait en statères unités de compte du système amphictyonique calé sur le bronze". It will be simple to explain these staters always as "monnaie de compte" and silver coins of the Thessalian cities that were still in circulations. For Nymphs on Thessalian coins see (377) and for the adoption of the Arethousa of Cimon in Thessaly see (371). Cf. also KLOSE (179). For countermarks see (333). LIAMPI (204) provides the full publication of a Thessalian hoard with Aeginetan Staters and Thessalian silver coins depicting *Taurokathapsia*.

Mints

BURRER studies the two series of hemidrachms of Gyrtion (46). The first one was issued with a young male head

and trotting horse with two obverse and two reverse dies. The second one was issued with Nymph's head and a crouching horse with four obverse and eight reverse dies. The first series runs parallel to Phalanna, Philip II and Larissa II-III and dates c. 340 BC while the second, as Larissa III, dates some years later. He also offers a review of the bronze coinage of the city and studies literary and epigraphic evidence to trace the history, the legendary background and the location of Gyrtion between Phalanna and Gonnoi, close to Mourgliari.

A reverse die-link shared by Hermann groups III and IV of the silver coinage of Larissa shows that the end of series III is contemporary with the beginning of series IV (179). LORBER reopens the discussion about the early profile head silver coinage (208). She also presents the Late Facing head drachms of Larissa and shows that their beginning either preceded the 3rd Sacred War or overlapped the early years of the war and can be dated before 353 BC. Some discontinuities and breaks in obverse style may be connected with interruptions in mint activity (212).

The bronze coinage of Orthe, a small city in the southwest of the province of the modern city of Karditsa, together with literary and epigraphic evidence for this city is presented by GEORGIU (131). The obverse of the bronze coins of the first two periods of the city's numismatic production and of the silver obol that belongs to period II bears the head of Athena Promachos wearing the Attic helmet adorned with a snake. The reverse bears four letters of the ethnic OP-ΘI[EIQN], OP to right downwards, ΘI to l. upwards, trident pointing upwards in olive wreath tying down. The bronzes of period III bear the head of Athena to right wearing a crested Corinthian helmet and the reverse the forepart of a horse springing from a rock where two olive twigs sprout all within an olive wreath. The entire ethnic OPΘIEIQN is inscribed, from left to right. Based on stylistic and iconographic similarity with the coins of Pharsalos, GEORGIU proposed dates ca. 380/370 BC for the first period (denomination B), and the mid-4th c. for the second (denominations B and C). One bronze of period II was overstruck on a bronze of Amyntas III with Heracles' head/eagle devouring snake. The reverse of the bronzes of the last period (denominations C) refers to the cult of Poseidon, worshipped in Thessaly as both *Petraios* and *Hippios*. These bronzes date from the early Hellenistic period during the years of increased enmity between Cassander and Demetrius I.

MOUSTAKA presents the numismatic production of the city of Phaloria that seems to begin in the late 4th c. BC with Nymph's head and a wolf (denomination B), and continued with Bendis' head and a wolf (denomination A), and standing Bendis and a wolf (231). During the 3rd c. BC Phaloria struck bronzes with Apollo's head and Bendis (denomination A). She stresses the connection between Bendis-Artemis, the huntress, and the wolf. I believe that earlier dates can be proposed for the bronze coinage of this city: the nymphs head of the earliest *trichalka* of Phaloria recalls the 4th c. BC heads of Apollo of the Chalcidian League.

The bronze coinage of Proerna, a fortified city in northwestern Achaia Phthiotis, on the ancient road connecting Central Greece with Thessaly through Othrys (modern Neo Monastiri, Domokos, Phthiotis) is thoroughly studied by GEORGIU, who also collects the slender literary and epigraphic evidence about the city (132). The three denominations bear on the obverse the same types, a common point with the coin production of Peirasia and Pherai under Lycophron: a three quarters head of a Nymph – following the model of Larissa – and on the reverse Demeter standing holding ears and a torch. It was issued with 11 obverse dies and 29 reverse dies. The ethnic is ΠΙΟΕΡΝΙΩΝ while a monogram of three letters is equivalent to the "ethnic" ΦΘΙΩΤΩΝ, known from literary sources and inscriptions, which is identified for the first time on coins. The monogram points to the district the city belonged distinguishing it from the homonymous city of the Spercheios valley. Based on paleographical criteria as well as style, the author proposes the early Hellenistic period for this coinage, under Cassander or Demetrius Poliorcetes. For some general remarks about the coinages of Achaia Phthiotis see (144, 152).

Locris

MORINEAU HUMPHRIES and DELBRIDGE have published the corpus of the silver and bronze coinage of the Opuntian Locrians (230). The silver coinage on the Aeginetan standard began with obols and hemiobols in the beginning of the 4th c. BC and continued with staters, hemidrachms, drachms, diobols and fractions of the obol after 360 BC. From the mid-4th c. BC bronzes were also introduced. The legend is ΟΠΙΟΝ vel ΟΠΙΟΝΤΙΩΝ and after 338 BC ΛΟ, ΛΟΚΡ and ΛΟΚΡΩΝ. The legend ΟΠΙΟΥΝΤΙΩΝ was readopted for the bronze coinage during the 2nd and the 1st c. BC. The authors offered a chapter about the history of Locris, iconography, legendary background and cults. There is also a discussion about the ethnic and a presentation by denomination. Hoards and excavation coins, lists of sale catalogues are also presented. Confusion about bronze denominations – mention of *dichalka* – persist. This admirable

work needs a thorough review proposing the organization of the presentation not per denomination but by groups, series, etc.

For the excavation coins from the port of Halai of Opuntian Locris see (165). For a hoard from Livanates see (369).

Boeotia

For restriking of Boeotian staters see (198). SCHACHTER (307) offers a review and discusses several aspects and problems emanating from the Theban 4th c. magistrates' series. With dates between the late 5th c. BC and the Third Sacred War, this coinage served mainly local needs. He also proposed to attribute the first letters of names of the coins to prominent Thebans holding offices, e.g. Epameinondas. Cf. (279). For the creation of the so-called Symmachic weight standard, which is a reduced version of the Aeginetan standard, during the 3rd c. BC, in Elis and Epidaurus and the plausible influence of sanctuaries over monetary trends in the Hellenistic period see (280). The *drachmai argyriou symmachikou* from 2nd and 1st c. BC documents from Boeotia and Arcadia refer to this standard and more specifically to the pseudo-Rhodian drachms issued by a number of cities during the wars of Rome against the Macedonian kingdom and the Seleucid empire (292). Corinthian drachms mentioned in public documents of Hellenistic date from Aetolia, Corcyra and Epidamnus are drachms of Corinthian types issued down to 146 BC and present in hoards from Illyria (139, 292). Cf. also (280). DOYEN (97) mentions the end of coinages issued on this standard in 146 BC and discusses it in connection with the Amphictyonic decree about the equivalence of the Attic tetradrachm: "... la première cité concernée est celle de Delphes...". He further mentions the Roman influence and the equivalencies of Greek coinage with the denarius: the cistophorus stater with three denarii, the Thessalian stater with one and a half, and the New Style Attic tetradrachm with four and a half denarii. This was the system followed down to the years 43-31 BC.

Euboea

VAN ALFEN (359) proposes to attribute the earliest coinage of Chalcis (stators, third stators and *hektai*) to a city in the western part of the Chalcidic peninsula. The earliest Euboean silver coins were not minted by Chalcis, but by Eretria and Carystus. As in the case of Chalcis, excavation coins and occasional finds do not support this attribution. For the coinage of Chalcis see (354). For the links between Chalcis and Olynthus in terms of numismatic iconography see (288, 289, 291). For an inaccurate study of Euboean hoards see (140).

For the iconography of the *stephanephora* and the types of the 2nd c. BC silver coinages on the Attic standard of Chalcis and Eretria, as well as of Thasos and Maroneia and the great transformation that took place in the 2nd c. BC see (224). For a new interpretation of the numismatic production of Histiaea during the Hellenistic period see (128, 190, 191, 193). For Hellenistic hoards with coins of Histiaea from Illyria and Epirus see also (139).

Athens

A recently excavated electrum coin with the device of a bull has led to a re-examination of the electrum coinage of Athens (89). This comprised coins of c. 0.70 g and c. 1.40 g on the Attic- Euboean standard with a bull's head or a wheel on the obverse respectively and with reverses very similar to those of the contemporary Wappenmünzen. The equivalent value of the 0.70 g was a drachm and of the 1.40 g was a didrachm at a ratio of 1:6. Dates during the last years of the Wappenmünzen production were proposed on the basis of excavation data and a c. 500 BC date for the end of the silver wheel fractions. For the electrum production of Athens see also (311). Davis identifies factors that explain why Athens did not initially use much native silver for her coinage. He also discusses the links between silver mining, monetization of the economy and political development (90).

FISCHER-BOSSERT (108) discusses the choice of the owl as a symbol of the goddess Athena. He shows that this has nothing to do with the Homeric epithet *γλαυκῶπις* (like *βοῶπις* for Hera) because *γλαυκός* means blue, but needs to be connected with vase painting. Thus, the relation between the design and its significance as we find it in contemporary Heraclitus and later in Plato was also known beyond the borders of the elite.

The analysis of the "Attic" tetradrachm Asyut 422 with X-ray fluorescence spectrometry showed that this was not made of silver from Laureion (312). It is proposed to link it to the silver production of Aryandes, the Persian governor of Egypt, who reduced silver of high purity, according to Herodotus (4.166). For coinages in the Athenian Empire see (170).

KROLL publishes 11 bronze tokens from the Athenian Agora and concludes that as all other, these date not before the 4th c. BC, and cannot be the *kollyboi* of the late 5th c. BC Old Comedy (196). SMITH presents a collection of 232

bronzes of Eleusis – among which new varieties - and makes some detailed remarks about their iconography (318). For a hoard from Alimos/ Attica combining bronze coins of Athens (Eleusinian and Salaminian) with a bronze of Philip II (Apollo to the left/ rider to the right) see (3).

Three passages of Polyaeus's *Stratagemata* (3.10.4; 3.14.1 and 4.10.2) and another from [Aristotle] *Oeconomica* 2.2.20 mentioning the emergency bronze coinage of Timotheus during the siege of Olynthus and the tin and copper coinage of his ally Perdiccas III are discussed after an analysis by ED-XRF and ICP AES of the coins issued by Timotheus (309, 313). Most of these present a tin enrichment on their surface and a bronze composition beneath it. Thus, it is very plausible that they were offered as a substitute for good silver. These coins have the diameter and weight of the silver triobols of Perdiccas III. They shared Athena's iconography with the bronze coins of Acanthus but can be integrated neither in the established Athenian modular system nor in the system of the bronze coinages of the cities of the Chalcidic peninsula and the Macedonian kings. These bronze coins could be considered as symbola/tokens that were often used for military purposes at Athens. They might have not been officially recognized as coins by the Athenians, "but this did not prevent their circulation as coins in markets throughout Greece, even in Athens".

It was proposed to relate the large quantities of Athenian owls that arrived in southern Asia Minor and especially in Cilicia from the late 5th c. BC down to the 330s with Athenian needs in timber for the navy (284). Although Macedonia is mentioned as the place that provided Athens with timber, this was possible during very restricted periods of time and for these we have literary and epigraphic evidence: the reign of Archelaus (413-399 BC) and the last years of the reign of Amyntas III. In both cases, this is reflected in the excellent quality of the silver of their coinages. For Macedonian timber and politics under Perdiccas II, see (173). See also (65) for the arrival of significant number of Athenian silver coins in Sicily during the Sicilian expedition. For striking and restriking on folded flans at Athens see (198).

For the *stephanephora* and their relation with obligations to the Romans see (54, 128). For the Amphictyonic decree and the equivalence of the Attic tetradrachm with four drachms see (41 and 97).

Aegina

For a hoard of silver obols of Aegina see (374). For the circulation of Aeginetan currency during the Hellenistic period see NICOLET-PIERRE (236). For the Aeginetan standard see (287 and 366). For restriking of staters of Aegina see KROLL (198). For coins of Aegina at Olympia see (234). For "Olympia, 1879" with three silver staters of Philip II see (347). Cf. (204) for the Thessalian hoard with staters of Aegina.

The Peloponnese

Numismatic production and circulation

For a survey of Peloponnesian numismatics from the early 5th c. BC to the reign of Alexander III, which includes discussion of hoards and mints as well as coin finds from the sanctuaries of Nemea, Isthmus and Olympia see (233). See also the very useful contribution on the same topic and down to the years of the Achaean League by PUELINCKX (294). Peaks in production are related to military expenditure (the Persian and the Peloponnesian Wars, the campaigns of Epaminondas). For the years between 336 and 146 BC see (215, cf. 116 and 336). A full description of the financial situation in the Peloponnese between 146 and the First Mithridatic War is offered by (254). The cities had no money, issued no coinage and were obliged to turn to rich patrons to survive. With the Mithridatic War, the war against the pirates of Pompeius and the Roman civil wars that followed, the situation changed and the cities had now to pay the Romans various contributions for these wars. Epigraphic evidence, mainly from Olympia, corroborates Pausanias about the re-foundation of the League of the Achaeans, this time as an instrument of Roman policy. The silver coins of Dyme, Aigion, Aigeira, Patra and Sparta might be those mentioned by Plutarch as the coinage that Lucullus issued in the Peloponnese. A number of cities began to issue bronze coins and a smaller number (Sicyon, Messene, Lacedaemon, Argos and Megalopolis) silver coins.

For the differences in circulation patterns between *asty* and *chora* see (143). For the period between 146 and Actium see (116). This includes bronze coinages of Elis now countermarked with an eagle, bronzes of Messene issued after 180 BC countermarked in the 30s with eagle and tripod, or issued in the 40s and 30s and countermarked in the 20s (head of Augustus), of Lacedaemon issued between 35 and 31 and countermarked also in the 20s (head of Augustus), silver triobols of Elis of the 40s and 30s with a countermark of the early imperial period and mid-1st c. BC bronzes of Cythera countermarked with an Eros. There is no hoard-evidence for these coinages (336).

For the end of Peloponnesian coinages see (145). For a hoard from Libya (Euesperidae, modern Benghazi) with a burial date in 115-117 BC that includes Late Hellenistic silver coins from the Peloponnese (Achaean League, Sicyon, Patrae, Argos as well as Rhodes) see (25).

Excavation coins

For the excavation coins from the *chora* of Corinth and commercial contacts through the port of Cenchreae see (181). For coins from the excavations and the area of Tenea see (182). GRANDJEAN offers a short presentation of the Greek coins – mainly bronze - from the excavations of the French School at Argos. She presents the silver and bronze coins of Argos and based on the tablets from the sanctuary of Athena that mention the *palaion nomisma* and the *argolikon*, she identifies the *argolikon* with the coinage with Hera's head and the legend APTEIQN introduced c. 370 BC. She stresses the presence of foreign coins at Argos and other sites, especially those of Sicyon and proposes a new explanation for their massive presence based this time on dubious parallels from Medieval Europe (144). For the coins from the excavations of Stymphalus and maybe a hoard see (376).

Other

For coins of Antigonus Gonatas at Aigion see (370). Brief discussion about the presence of bronzes of Ptolemy III in the Peloponnese and the hypothesis of a garrison in (57). For a survey of coins involved in cult practices in the sanctuaries of cities of Peloponnesus, such as dedications of *obeloi*, presence of hoards as well as coins with incised inscriptions revealing a dedication, coins brought by pilgrims, *thesauroi* (collection stone boxes) mentioned in a number of epigraphic documents, that served to keep money see (12). This money included payments of penalties that are often mentioned in inscriptions from Peloponnesian sanctuaries. The sanctuaries needed donations and money to proceed to significant building programs and to payments for the construction of statues. For countermarks on early coins of Aegina and Elis see (258).

Hoards

NICOLET-PIERRE offers a very useful panorama of the presence of silver of Aegina in hoards buried after 400 BC (236). It is to be found in hoards of the 4th c., the 3rd and the 2nd c. BC but in more restricted numbers. It remains more significant in the Peloponnese and then in Thessaly during this period, especially in Arcadia and Elis. She also examines the hoards of Mageira, Elis (*IGCH* 74) for which she proposed a burial date ca. 325-320 BC and Mavriki 1962 (*IGCH* 122) with a burial date ca. 300 BC. She offers an overview of the latest series of the coinage of Aegina.

The 1981 Argos hoard with five posthumous silver Alexanders and seven tetradrachms of Demetrius I (Nike on a ship prow/ Poseidon) in a late 4th c. BC vase is the 8th known hoard with this synthesis from eastern Peloponnese. Its burial date must be placed shortly after 290 BC and the declaration by Argos of its freedom in 288 BC (214).

A hoard of silver coins from Ithome, Messenia included Athenian tetradrachms, one tetradrachm and 21 drachms of Alexander III, 6 silver staters of Ptolemy II, a drachm and 10 hemidrachms of Sicyon, and 2 Boeotian drachms. The earliest coin is the tetradrachm of Alexander, that dates from the last quarter of the 3rd c. BC. The author offers a short survey of Messenian history between 222 and 205 BC (16).

The hoard from Ougri (*IGCH* 121) in Achaia includes 2 gold staters of Philip II and Alexander III, 4 tetradrachms of Alexander and 2 of Athens. Its burial date needs to be placed in the late 4th/ early 3rd c. BC. A survey of hoards with gold coins (55) on the Attic standard as well as of hoards (20) with silver coins on the same standard followed. From these 18 hoards only 6 contained coins on the Attic standard. In all others silver coins on the Aeginetan standard from cities of the Peloponnese, Boeotia and Phocis as well as staters of Philip II were present. Corinth and Sicyon issued alexanders, and tetradrachms of Demetrius I. Corinth also struck gold staters with the name and types of Alexander III. Argos and Megalopolis struck alexanders between 270 and 260 BC. During the same period king Areus of Sparta also issued tetradrachms on the Attic standard. (348). For *IGCH* 270 from Elis see (150).

The hoard from Trapeza at a distance of 8 km from Argos with 5 bronzes of Cassander and another 5 of Antigonus Gonatas was buried ca. 260 BC. An overview of other hoards with bronze coins of Antigonus Gonatas is offered and their link with garrisons is proposed (370).

The Dyme I hoard with 15 triobols of the Aetolian League, eight Boeotian drachms, five triobols of Opus, 18 of Sicyon, 23 of Argos, two of Lacedaemon, 87 of Megalopolis, 10 of Messene, 13 of Corone, 617 of the Achaean League and three bronzes: one of Dyme as a member of the Achaean League, one of Epidaurus and another of Aegae. Based on ceramic finds from the excavation as well as on literary and epigraphic evidence and historical probability

the author proposed to date the burial of the hoard in 167 BC, the end of the 3rd Macedonian War and the deportation of 1000 Achaeans to Italy (199, cf. 200 and 201: *IGCH* 301).

The hoard from Dyme with bronze coins of Ptolemy III (five), Sicyon (13) and Dyme (four) in a small lamp was buried in the mid-1st c. BC during the years of war between Caesar and Pompeius sometime before Dyme became a Roman colony. Once again, the *tetrachalka* appear in a 12th *chalkoi* obol context! (237).

The burial of the hoard from Bozika, Nemea with silver fractions of Sicyon dates from c. 320 BC and contains significant information about the extension of the *chora* of Sicyon as well as the dramatic events following the death of Alexander III. Another hoard from excavations at Aguia in the area of Patrai mixed triobols of Megalopolis, Sicyon, Dyme as a member of the Achaean League that all date from the first half of the 1st c. BC. The two asses – one of Tiberius and one very worn - most probably did not originally belong to the hoard. The historical context might be the final confrontation of Pompeius with Julius Caesar. RALLI repeats the mistakes of the *BCD* Peloponnesus as far as the fractions of the obol are concerned and prefers to give references to the Auction catalogue instead of the scholarly articles published by Warren ET AL. (296).

TSELEKAS (346) offers brief mentions of the hoard of Sophicon, ancient Solygeia (*IGCH* 179) and the Anticythera hoard for which a date c. 60 BC is plausible, in light of coin evidence for dating shipwrecks and information regarding ship voyages derived from coins, i.e. the ship's wide sailing range. He concludes that "the existing evidence indicates that coinage was carried on board as personal cash of the crew and the passengers as well as for military and trading purposes".

Mints

For the Achaean League and also the weight of this silver coinage see LAKAKI (200, 201). See also (147, 149).

The earliest bronze coins of Alea are dated between 380 and 370 BC and depict the head of Artemis, a strung bow and the letters AA. The second series that dates from the second half of the 4th c. BC was issued with the same obverse and the letters AAEA within a laurel wreath. The last coins of Alea are bronzes issued between 191 and 146 BC with standing Zeus holding a Nike and a long scepter and a seated female figure holding wreath and scepter. The legend is AXAIQN AAEATAN (188).

Based on stylistic similarities and identities of mint marks between coins of Argos and coins of other cities of the Peloponnese of the Classical period, FLAMENT reopens the discussion about mints working for different cities in this area from the late Archaic period to the Severan era (113). He also provides us with the results of his work on 4th c. BC coinage of this city (112), as well as of the city's numismatic output during the Late Hellenistic period (114). For the silver and bronze coinage of Argos during the 2nd c. BC, as well as the latest (bronze) coinages of the Peloponnesian cities compared with coinages issued by the prefects of the fleet of Marc Antony see FLAMENT (114, 116).

MEADOWS reexamines the numismatic production of the city founded by Ptolemy II and name Arsinoe at the peninsula of Methana in the Argolid (223). The bronze coins were struck with Aphrodite's/ Arsinoe's head, Ares standing and the legend APΣI. Hoard evidence and style reveal that the coinage issued in the name of Methana with Hephaistos' head and the first letters of the ethnic in wreath postdates the coinage in the name of Arsinoe.

The coinage of Elis begins with staters depicting Zeus holding thunderbolt and bear the legend OAYNIIIQON. These date from the late 470s and the early 460s and need to be seen as the manifestation of Elis' new significant position in the Peloponnese (380). WOJAN comes back to the dates and value of the big bronzes (23-27 mm) of Elis with Hera's head/ eagle on thunderbolt that he previously related to the Ptolemies. These are obols and date from the late 4th and the first half of the 3rd c. BC (378). For the nature of the coinage of Elis see (379). For Elis and restriking of coins see (198), and for countermarks on the coinage of Elis see also (258).

For a brief and careless presentation of the silver (one triobol mistakenly presented as diobol) and bronze coinage in three denominations (mistakenly presenting two and naming the biggest denomination *dichalkon* in a heavy 12 *chalkoi* obol environment) of the Arcadian Orchomenus see GALANIS (123). He dates this coinage, following others, in the second half of the 4th c. BC. Interesting iconography that changes from local mythology (Kallisto) to a more generic one (Dionysos/ grapes). For the coinage of Phlius see (338).

Iconography

Arcadia's rich legendary background is reflected in the numismatic iconography of the Arcadian cities. Zeus, Callisto and their son Arcas, Zeus, Maea and their son Hermes, Artemis and Athena, Heracles, Auge and their son

Telephus, Heracles, the Kerynitic *elaphos* (deer), the wild boar of Erymanthus and the birds of Stymphalos, Demeter Erinnyes and Lousia, Poseidon and their children Arion and Despoina, Demeter and Persephone, and the Arcadian par excellence, Pan (344).

The development of the representation of Zeus on Greek coins and specially in Elis is presented in (13). The unnamed goddess on the obverse of the coins of the Achaean *koinon* that dates from the first half of the 4th c. BC was identified with Artemis *Triklaria* of Patra (141).

A brief survey of the representations of Apollo's head, Apollo kneeling, seated on an omphalos as well as Apollo standing on coinages of the Peloponnese is offered by (340). Few cities depicted his head with the laurel wreath (Corinth, Sicyon, Pellene, Elis, Zacynthus, Argos, Epidaurus, Halieis and Troizen) during the Classical and later in the Hellenistic period. We have a tripod and cithara sometime on their reverse. Apollo kneeling is to be found on 4th c. BC silver fractions of Sicyon, and Apollo seated on the omphalos on *tritartemoria* of the same city during the same period. On bronze coins of Epidaurus of the 4th c. BC the god is standing with his cithara. For Apollo on the coins of Zacynthus see (288). For the Dioskouroi and Sparta see (121). For the iconography of the local river Selinus in Achaia see (175). For the valuable contribution of the volume on Peloponnesian numismatics see (269).

Peloponnesian coins abroad

A small hoard from the necropolis of Pydna that included two lifetime bronzes of Philip II and three triobols of Argos with forepart of wolf and A in incuse square is dated to ca. 340 BC. The presence of the silver coins of Argos corroborates evidence deriving from the presence of other foreign coins at Pydna during the 4th c. BC and can be explained by the different campaigns of Philip II whose presence at Argos dates from 344 BC (125).

Very few Peloponnesian coins were excavated in the Thesprotian Gitana: eight Corinthian drachms, one bronze of Corinth, one of Pellene and another of Epidaurus, three of Sicyon and a silver triobol of the Arcadian League of the mint of Megalopolis. From other sites in Thesprotia drachms of Corinth were excavated in Lygia, Kommati Smertou, Doliane, Neochori, Veliani, Prodromi, Kyra Panagia, Prodromi, Aulotopos, Karteri and Dymokastro. (282)

The Peloponnese and Crete

The arrival of coins from the Peloponnese on Crete during the early Hellenistic period can be detected by their presence in hoards, overstrikes, excavation and occasional finds and countermarks. Silver coins of Argos, Corinth, Stymphalos and Sicyon are present in hoards. The shared weight standard facilitated the task. A triobol of Argos was overstruck by Gortyna, drachms and staters of Sicyon by Gortyna, Phaistos and Praisos, and coins of Elis and Zakynthos at Gortyna and Priansus. Many triobols of Argos were used for the coinages of Aptera and other cities. The triobols of Argos are also present in excavations and collections of local Museums. A countermark of Lappa is to be found on a stater of Zakynthos. The impact of the iconography of the Peloponnesian coinages on the coinages of Hellenistic Crete is very significant. Cnossus, Tylissus and Lyttus reproduced the head of Hera and types related to Argos, Chersonnesus and Praisos were inspired by Stymphalos, Olus by the ARKADIKON coinage, Aptera and Praisos by Pheneos and Elis. Different spheres of influence can be detected, and these are carefully presented by STEFANAKIS, who stresses the commercial and traditional links of the Peloponnese with Crete, as well as the presence of Cretan mercenaries in the army of Polyperchon and later of Cleonymus of Sparta in his adventures in the west (330).

The 34 Peloponnesian coins of the Museum of Chania that date between the early 4th and the 1st c. BC are presented: Argos with triobols issued between 325 and 250 BC, the Achaean League, Megalopolis, Lacedaemon, Corinth, Sicyon, Elis. These coins were brought to Crete by mercenary soldiers (316).

Crete

Many contributions occur in (67). For the influence of sculpture on monetary iconography of cities of Hellenistic Crete see (218). For the impact of the coinage of Rhodes on the coinages of Crete and Cyrenaica (19). For coins of Cyrenaica on Crete see (329). For the bronze coinages of Crete and their fractional systems see (72). For monetary and social aspects see (66). Full discussion of the meeting points between Cyprus and Crete, as far as exchanges and coinages are concerned, is provided in (219). Cf. also (251). For iconography of Cretan coins see (328). For an exhibition of Cretan coins see (320).

Two significant monographs on the coinage of Polyrrhenia (327) and Hierapytna (324) were published. Both Polyrrhenia and Hierapytna issued staters and fractions on the local Aeginetan standard during the late 4th and the early

3rd c. BC, continued with either silver coins on a reduced version of it and bronze coins (Polyrrhenia) or with only bronze coins (Hierapytna) and switched, as many other Cretan cities, to the Attic standard in the early 1st c. BC with tetradrachms and fractions of civic types as well as pseudo-Athenian silver coins.

For the dates of the earliest coinage of Cnossus see (91). The study of the Hellenistic coinage of this city (70, 71) also discusses Rhodian influence on the Cretan coinages. The numismatic output of Cnossus in silver and bronze can be linked to military expenditure, which is also suggested by foreign coins excavated in the city and its area (70). Cf. (92). From 109 to 67 BC, the mints of Cnossus and Gortyna cooperated, while seven Cretan cities struck Attic tetradrachms of reduced weight with Athenian types (*stephanephora*): (81). Rhythms of production of the coinages of Phaestus and Gortyna during the 3rd and the 2nd centuries BC are the focus of (69). For overstrikes at Phaestus see (68).

The coinage of Itanus dates from the Classical and the Hellenistic periods. The same study presents the excavation coins from this site (278). Forms of regional convergences (types and weight standard) can be detected in coinages of the cities of Crete during the Hellenistic period. The activity of the *Koinon* – payment of penalties etc. – was facilitated by the *Kretikoi stateres* on the reduced Aeginetan standard. For the absence of a federal type currency in Hellenistic Crete see (81). Monetary activity of the Cretan cities during the first three decades of the 1st c. BC is described in (326). We note the introduction of a new denomination, the tetradrachm, and types combining local and foreign traditions, that both reveal the impact of Mithridates VI and Rome on the island.

For the publication of 182 coins from the so-called hoard of Chania, from ancient Cydonia see (167). Foreign coins are also present in this hoard: Macedonian and Histiaeian tetrobols. On the basis of Macedonian tetrobols, dates between 180 and 168 BC are proposed for the burial of the hoard. A number of Cretan hoards are presented by SIDIROPOULOS (314), who also discusses the presence of non-Cretan coins in these. Cf. also (73). For coins from the excavations of the cemetery of Apollonia see (180). The few coins from Hellenistic burials from Sphakaki – all foreign – are presented by (345).

Aegean Islands

For the bronze coinage and the monetary history of the two cities of Lemnos (277). For the excavation coins from Myrina/ Lemnos see (184). For the iconography of the coinage of Tenedos see (178). For Delos see (74, 106).

Drachms of Chios on the local standard can be associated with money paid to the Spartan Callicratidas in summer 406 BC (five drachmas for each of the sailors) silver double staters (tetradrachms) with payments of Chians to Eteonikos in winter 406 BC and the electrum staters of Mytilene, Chios and Lampsakos on the Chian standard with Lysander and the needs of the fleet (spring 405 BC: 104). For the ΣΥΝ coinages on the Persian or Chian standard issued by a number of cities of Western Asia Minor and the islands (Samos and Rhodes), which dates between 396 and 394 and a connection with the construction of the Spartan fleet see (235). The letters ΣΥΝ were explained as the first letters of *synteleia*. Against the attribution of pseudo-Rhodian drachms to Chios see LORBER (213).

The corpus of the silver and bronze coinage of Classical, Hellenistic and Roman Paros was prepared by (355). After a discussion of iconography, there is a very thorough metrological study and quantification of the volume of production. Hoard and archeological evidence are discussed separately. Comparisons with the monetary production of Naxos are followed by the catalogue of coins, its commentary and four Appendices (non-Parian issues, ancient imitations, modern forgeries, weight and frequency distribution and *comparanda* between Naxos and Paros). The iconography includes goats during the Classical period and human heads during the Hellenistic period. Dionysos is depicted on tetradrachms (staters) and *tetrachalka* of the Hellenistic period. “Demeter” and “Core”, “Artemis” and “Archilochus” and a “Bacchante” are also discussed. The rose and the star of bronze coins need not be related with Rhodes and the Macedonian kingdom. Countermarks are also discussed. Paros passed from a small production of drachms, hemidrachms and diobols during the 5th and the 4th c. BC to a sporadic production during the 4th c. BC that also included *chalkoi* and *dichalka*, and to staters, half-staters, drachms and three bronze denominations (*chalkoi*, *dichalka* and *tetrachalka*) during the Hellenistic period. There is no hoard evidence for the Classical period. There is a discussion about the weight standard and its plausible connection with the Chian. The weight of the drachm passed from 3.9 to 3.4 g – 3.6 for Naxos - during the second half of the 4th c. BC. Tenos and Andros issued their early Hellenistic silver on the Attic standard and after 250 BC they reduced the weight of the drachm to 3.6 g. This was also the weight of the drachm at Euboea and Rhodes. TULLY concludes that as far as Paros is concerned “the ability to maintain such

a system of overvaluation and restricted circulation suggests economic prosperity". The weight standard of the two cities, Paros and Naxos, was the Nesiotic mentioned in Anonymus Alexandrinus *De talento et denario*.

For the early numismatic production of Cythnos and Seriphos (?) see (310).

STEFANAKI (322) studies the early 5th c. BC silver coinage of Posideion/ Potidaion of Carpathus with 2 or 3 dolphins on the obverse and 2 rectangles on the reverse. These followed the Milesian standard. We have staters, thirds, sixths, twelves and twenty-fourths. She also offers a very interesting discussion about the location of Posideion and its status. For a presentation of the excavation coins of Cos see (321).

For the destruction of Rhodes in 227 BC see (44). Rhodian *plinthophoroi* of the early 1st c. BC, ca. 90 BC, served the needs of the city against Mithridates VI. From the denominations struck, the hemidrachms of 1 g had the weight of the sestertius. The First Mithridatic War had an impact on Rhodes' monetary production (huge number of *plinthophoroi*), while the end of Rhodes' silver coinage is connected with the destruction of the city by Cassius (14, 15, 17). Two bronze coins, one of Crassus and another of Cnossus, excavated on Rhodes are discussed by APOSTOULOU, who puts them in the historical context of the years preceding Actium, and explains their size and the size of some others of the same period as a result of the impact of Marc Antony's numismatic production on local coinages. APOSTOULOU also studied the coinage of Rhodes and its impact on the coinages of Crete and Cyrenaica (19). For the bronze coins of Rhodes with Dionysus' head and their date in the second half of the 1st c. BC see APOSTOULOU (18). For pseudo-Rhodian coins see also (24, 213, 292). For hoards with pseudo-Rhodian coins see (24, 190, 193, 292, and 213). For regionalism see REGER (297).

And the Romans

The Attic *stephanephora* with monograms that can be analyzed as Μάρκου ταμίου are considered to be the coinage minted by Lucullus that Plutarch mentions (Luc. 2.1-2). These are also mentioned in a Delphic manumission record, that dates from the late 1st c. BC. ASSENMAKER strictly rejects the identification of the *leukolleion* proposed by WARREN (27). For coinages minted to serve Roman interests see also (54, 128). For a new discussion and approach of the *oktobolos eisphora* see (42, 96). For the coinage of Eurycles of Sparta see (134). For the arrival of the denarius in the different parts of Mainland Greece and neighboring areas see AMANDRY AND KREMYDI (10), MARCHETTI (216, 217), PAPAGEORGIADOU (252), TSELEKAS (351), META (227), and for hoards of denarii see (255).

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Addenda

KAGAN, J. H., Epidamnus, Anactorium, and Potidaea: Corinthian-style Pegasi at the Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, *AJN* 25 (2013), pp. 1–9.

BALKANRAUM UND NÖRDLICHES SCHWARZMEERGEBIET¹

Ulrike Peter und Vladimir F. Stolba

In den numismatischen Studien zum Balkanraum und der nördlichen Schwarzmeerregion lässt sich eine Reihe von Merkmalen feststellen, die den hier betrachteten Zeitraum von 2014–2021 qualitativ von früheren unterscheiden. Während auf dem Gebiet der Theorie die Entwicklung meist in traditioneller Richtung fortgesetzt und weitgehend durch das Auftauchen neuer Funde stimuliert wurde, kann man hinsichtlich des empirischen Materials eher neuartige analytische Ansätze festmachen sowie für die Region die Entwicklung neuer wissenschaftlicher Themen und die Herausbildung neuer Foren für die wissenschaftliche Diskussion beobachten.

Webportale und Diskussionsforen

Als neues Webportal für die thrakischen und moesischen Münzen hat sich das Berliner Corpus Nummorum-Portal etabliert (482–483, 487) (www.corpus-nummorum.de). Auch die Datenbank zu den Argeadenmünzen konnte fortlaufend durch Bestände aus weiteren online gegangenen Sammlungen ergänzt werden (<http://numismatics.org/pella/>).

Die Publikation der Akten einer 2015 vom Corpus Nummorum veranstalteten internationalen Tagung „Thrace – local coinage and regional identity: Numismatic research in the digital age“ bedingte eine Reihe von Aufsätzen, die die thrakischen Münzen in Hinblick auf das Thema der Identität auswerteten (486). Auch die Publikationen zu den in Antalya veranstalteten Kongressen zur Numismatik im Mittelmeerraum (214b, 678) sowie mehrere Festschriften versammelten ebenfalls zahlreiche einschlägige Aufsätze (103–104, 211). In Vorbereitung befinden sich auch die Materialien der 2021 veranstalteten internationalen Tagung „Bulgarian Numismatic Readings“, die als neue Konferenz- und Publikationsreihe (Bulgarian Numismatic Journal) etabliert werden soll. Seit 2016 versammelt die bulgarische Zeitschrift „Revers“ Miscellen zur Numismatik.

Das jährliche numismatische Krim-Symposium „Pripontijskij Menjala“ hat sich zu einem der wichtigsten regionalen Foren entwickelt, das sich den Problemen der Schwarzmeer-Numismatik von der Antike bis zum Mittelalter widmet (46–51). Unter den einschlägigen, in Russland veranstalteten numismatischen Konferenzen haben in den letzten Jahren die numismatischen Lesungen im Staatlichen Historischen Museum Moskau besondere Bedeutung erlangt (Moskau; (827–833)). Ferner sind in diesem Zusammenhang auch die regelmäßig stattfindenden Tagungen zu nennen, die aktuellen Problemen der Numismatik und des Geldumlaufs in der Ukraine gewidmet sind und in Perejaslav Chmel'nizkij, Medzybiż, Kropywnyzykij und anderen Städten stattfanden (152, 305–307, 435). Die antike Numismatik der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste war auch in den Beiträgen der regelmäßig veranstalteten Konferenzen mit breiterem Profil stets präsent, darunter sind vornehmlich die „Bosporanischen Lesungen“ (Kertsch; (840–847)), „Antike Relikte von Chersonesos“ (Sewastopol; (321–322, 834) und „Bosporanisches Phänomen“ (St. Petersburg; (138, 849)) hervorzuheben. Die 2017 gegründete Open-Access-Publikation „The Ukrainian Numismatic Annual“ hat sich zu einer weiteren neuen Plattform für Diskussionen entwickelt, unter anderem auch über antike Münzen und den Geldumlauf in der Region (<https://numismatic-journal.com>).

1 Für Hilfe bei der Literaturbeschaffung danken wir M. G. Abramzon (Magnitogorsk), N. A. Alekseenko (Sewastopol), O. A. Bakalec' (Bar); N. E. Berlizov (Krasnodar), I. V. Brujako (Odessa), V. Cojocar (Iași), M. Dana (Lyon), O. K. Dovelman (Noworossijsk), N. Dzeladze (Batumi), W. Fischer Bossert (Wien), A. V. Gavrilov (Feodosija), S. A. Kovalenko (Moskau), M. Manov (Sofia), St. Marin (Bukarest), M. Mielczarek (Łódź), N. I. Nikolaev (Mykolajiw), V. M. Orlyk (Kropywnyzykij), E. Paunov (Wien), E. Petac (Bukarest), V. S. Sinika (Tiraspol), I. A. Snytko (Mykolajiw), G. M. Talmaçhi (Constanța), M. I. Tjurin (Sewastopol), E. Ja. Turovskij (Sewastopol), I. V. Šonov (Simferopol), A. Vilcu (Bukarest), O. Yağız (Tekirdağ), E. V. Zacharov (Moskau).

Die bulgarische Zeitschrift *Numizmatika, sfragistika i epigrafika* ist mit „NumSfraEpi“; die russische Zeitschrift *Problemy istorii, filologii, kul'tury* mit „PrIsFiKu“ abgekürzt. NAIM-BAN ist das Nationale Archäologische Institut mit Museum – Bulgarische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Sofia.

Wenn die Aufsätze Zusammenfassungen in vornehmlich westeuropäischen Sprachen enthalten, sind diese ausschließlich wie im Original (entsprechend teilweise fehlerhaft) nach einem „/“ wiedergegeben.

Bestimmungskataloge

Auf dem Gebiet des thrakischen Münzwesens erweist sich das Corpus Nummorum-Portal als ein wichtiges Forschungs- und Bestimmungswerkzeug. Corpus Nummorum definiert die Typen sehr kleinteilig – auch Monogramme und Beizeichen sind typbestimmend (484). Die Typologien der einzelnen Prägestätten, der Dynasten und Stämme werden online publiziert (<https://www.corpus-nummorum.eu/resources/typology>). In Buchform sind die Typenkataloge der von der *Classical Numismatic Group* herausgegebenen Reihe zu den griechischen Münztypen, die HOOVER als Autor verantwortet, erschienen, die sowohl Illyrien, Thrakien als auch den nordpontischen Raum umfassen (271–272). Seine Typologie ist weniger feinteilig. Im Vergleich zu den Katalogen einzelner Münzstätten aber auch dem Katalog zum nördlichen Schwarzmeergebiet von Anochin beispielsweise ist das Material wesentlich unvollständiger. V. A. ANOCHINS Katalog aus dem Jahr 2011, dessen Ergänzungen der Autor in seinem letzten, fünf Jahre später erschienenen Buch vorstellte (62), bleibt immer noch wichtigstes Bestimmungshandbuch der antiken Münzen der Region.

Bibliographien

Die von COJOCARU minutiös zusammengestellte *Bibliographia Classica Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini*, deren zwei erste Bände sich der antiken Epigraphik und Numismatik sowie der Archäologie der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste widmen und die Literatur bis 2014 bzw. 2018 erfassen, beinhalten neben den Prägestätten der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste auch die Publikationen zu Istros (141–142). Die Publikationen bulgarischer Wissenschaftler:innen zur Numismatik 2015–2018 listete DOTKOVA auf (210).

Metrologie

Einen verdienstvollen Überblick über die in klassischer Zeit verwendeten Münzfüße bietet PSOMA (519). Sie hinterfragt auch einen für das ägäische Thrakien spezifischen Münzfuß, den thrako-makedonischen und prüft die Gewichtsnormen der Prägungen, die diesem Münzfuß zugewiesen wurden, und sucht nach besseren Erklärungen. Sie folgert, dass es keinen gemeinsamen thrako-makedonischen Münzfuß gab, sondern unterscheidet: 1. der reduzierten älteren milesischen Standard der frühesten Münzprägungen der chalkidischen Halbinsel und Alexanders I. (Stater von 14,2 g); 2. den reduzierten äginetischen Münzfuß der parischen Kolonien zwischen Strymon und Nestos sowie der thrakischen Stämme in dem Gebiet (Stater von weniger als 10 g; Nominale im Duodezimalsystem); 3. den reduzierten chiischen Standard von Abdera und von Dikaia bei Abdera und Maroneia im frühen 5. Jh. v. Chr. (518).

In seiner Studie zu den Gewichtsadjustierungen berücksichtigte MACDONALD auch Tetradrachmen des Alexandertyps aus Odessos und thasische Nachahmungen (351).

In Anbetracht der Bedeutung der Gewichte für die Erforschung der Münzfüße des hier behandelten geographischen Raums ist es notwendig, auch auf diese Veröffentlichungen hinzuweisen, in denen sowohl bisher bekannte als auch neue Exemplare vorgestellt werden. Die Untersuchungen zu den Gewichten in Thrakien nehmen einen zunehmend größeren Raum in der Forschung ein. Die Gewichte von Thasos, Ainos, Maroneia und Lysimacheia sind naturgemäß in dem Handbuch zu den klassischen und hellenistischen Gewichten aus dem Ägäisraum von TEKIN aufgeführt (675). Als Datenbank ist das Projekt „Pondera online“ (<https://pondera.uclouvain.be/>) zu erwähnen. Eine Reihe von Städten in Thrakien und an der westlichen Schwarzmeerküste etablierte Parasema und bildete diese sowohl auf den Münzen als auch auf den Gewichten ab. Sie sind in der einschlägigen Monographie von KILLEN zu den Parasema mit aufgeführt (302) bzw. in einem speziell Thrakien gewidmeten Aufsatz behandelt (303). Explizit hat KILLEN auch die Marktgewichte von Lysimacheia untersucht (301). Diesen widmeten sich auch LAZARENKO (343) und TEKIN (673, 676). Auf die Weise konnten 72 Gewichte – die meisten aus Blei, nur einige aus Bronze, die zwischen 309 und der Mitte des 3. Jh. v. Chr. hergestellt wurden, – zusammenfassend publiziert werden (676). TEKIN hat zudem die Parasema von Lysimacheia und von Ainos auf Münzen und Gewichten vorgestellt (677). Während im ersten Fall das Wappen mit dem Löwen stabil blieb, nutzte Ainos verschiedene Symbole, die Identität auszudrücken. Die Gewichte unter den archäologischen Grabungsfunden von Seuthopolis publizierte NANKOV (408).

Vier hellenistische Bleigewichte aus Odessos, von denen eines aus einer unveröffentlichten Privatsammlung stammt, zeigen mit der Abbildung des Großen Gottes mit Füllhorn und einer umgedrehten Amphore den Einfluss der städtischen Münztraditionen auf die Herstellung von Bleigewichten (88). Das neue Gewicht wird in das 2. Jh. v. Chr. datiert und beträgt $\frac{1}{4}$ der attischen Mina. In dem Monogramm API (auf dem bereits von LAZARENKO publizierten Gewicht aus dem Museum von Dalgopol) vermutet BEKOV die Zuständigkeit desselben Beamten sowohl für die Münz- als auch für die Gewichtsherstellung.

Vom archäologischen Survey in Istros präsentieren DABÎÇA und ANGELESCU fünf antike Gewichte, von denen zwei herzförmige mit Sicherheit aus vorrömischer Zeit stammen (177). GRAMATICU (= MARIN) beschreibt ein im Handel bekannt gewordenes Bronzegewicht von einem Achtel einer Mine (66,5 g) aus Istros. Es scheint in der gleichen Form hergestellt worden zu sein wie ein Gewicht aus der Sammlung des Ashmolean Museums. Beide Stücke fallen in den Gewichtsstandard von 580 g, der in Istros zwischen 330 und 300 v. Chr. verwendet wurde (256). Sie stellt auch ein Corpus von 37 Gewichten zusammen (von denen fünf in Tomis benutzt worden sein sollen) und bietet einen Forschungsüberblick zum Studium der Gewichte von Istros, deren Standard sie mit der Entwicklung des Münzfußes vergleicht und schlägt eine neue Chronologie vor (257). Gewichte von Tomis publizierte AVRAM (72).

Über parallele Abbildungen von Kerykeion und Keule auf Bleigewichten der Chersonesos und Kallatis versucht MARIN eine ökonomische Verbindung zwischen beiden Polis im Kampf gegen Lysimachos 310/309 v. Chr. aufzuzeigen. Sie stellte außerdem Gewichte von Dionysopolis vor (362). DRAGANOV verbindet einen Münzmagistraten, der mit den Buchstaben EY auf den Münzen des Akrosas abgekürzt ist mit demselben Magistraten Eukles auf den städtischen Münzen von Dionysopolis und identifiziert diesen auch als Vorsitzenden der Agoranomoi wie ein rundes Bleigewicht einer halben attischen Mina ausweist, das den Apollonkopf mit dem Kürzel EY auf der Vorderseite und eine Lyra auf der Rückseite mit dem abgekürzten Stadtnamen sowie einen weiteren Beamtenamen zeigt (218, S. 145).

Hinsichtlich des nördlichen Pontosraumes stammen die meisten neuen Funde, die im hier betrachteten Zeitraum in den wissenschaftlichen Verkehr gebracht wurden, aus dem Gebiet von Olbia (62, 150, 441).

Bleitesserae

Außer den Münzen selbst demonstriert eine Reihe von Veröffentlichungen das anhaltende Interesse an münzähnlichen Gegenständen aus Blei, über deren Zweck lange Zeit heftig diskutiert wurde und in denen die meisten Forscher heute eher Tesserae als Geldzeichen sehen (62). Neuen Varianten dieser Tesserae von der taurischen Chersonesos ist die Veröffentlichung von СЕРКОВ gewidmet (134). Bleihaltige Tesserae dieser Polis aus der Sammlung des Staatlichen Historischen Museums Moskau sind im Katalog von FROLOVA und ABRAMZON (241) sowie im 2019 erschienenen SNG-Band (15) enthalten. Funde von Bleitesserae sind ferner aus Phanagoria bekannt (16). Aus Dionysopolis wird ebenfalls ein Probeschlag oder eine Tessera vorgestellt (209).

Münzlegierungen und Herstellungstechnologie

In der Numismatik der hier betrachteten Regionen ist ein bisher nicht gekanntes starkes Interesse an der Zusammensetzung der Münzlegierungen zu beobachten, die meist mit XRF-Verfahren an einer Reihe von Münzstätten, Emissionen oder einzelnen Fundgruppen durchgeführt wurden. Die bekannten Einschränkungen dieser Methode werden zum Teil durch die große Menge des untersuchten Materials kompensiert, das die Möglichkeit bietet, wichtige Trends zu erkennen.

Im Rahmen der Unterbindung des Antikenschmuggels wurden aus einer Gruppe von 83 kleinasiatischen Elektronmünzen einige mit Hilfe der Röntgenfluoreszenzanalyse auf ihre Metallzusammensetzung untersucht (848). Ebenfalls mit einer XRF-Analyse bestätigt PETAC (472) frühere Ergebnisse der Zuweisung von Lysimachostypstateren und Tetradrachmen von Tomis zu einem Fund aus der Dobrudja. Auch die silbernen und goldenen Koson-Münzen werden mit Hilfe dieser Methode analysiert, um eine mögliche Emissionsabfolge zu erarbeiten (148).

XRF und MICRO-PIXE wurden von rumänischen Kollegen für die Untersuchung verschiedener Funde von Pfeilgeld in der Dobrudja eingesetzt (147, 149). Auf Analysen mittels pXRF beruht der Vergleich der Metallzusammensetzung von 42 istrischen Münzen aus den Grabungskampagnen von 2013–2016 mit älteren Grabungsmünzen durch ȚÂRLEA et al. (672). Anhand schlecht erhaltener Bronzemünzen u.a. von Maroneia und Abdera hat hingegen Hourmouziadis seine zerstörungsfreie Methode vorgestellt, bei der die nur die Patina der Münzen betreffende XRF-Analyse und die Wirbelstrommessung der elektrischen Leitfähigkeit mit Hilfe künstlicher neuronaler Netze korreliert werden, um auch die Zusammensetzung des Münzkerns eruieren zu können (275).

Zahlreiche Untersuchungen betreffen die Münzen des kimmerischen Bosphorus aus verschiedenen Prägeperioden (76, 567–568, 575–578, 582), aber auch für die klassischen und hellenistischen Emissionen der Chersonesos und von Kerkinitis wurden interessante Ergebnisse erzielt (334–336, 579–581). Im Rahmen eines gemeinsamen archäologischen Projekts der Universität Frankfurt am Main und der Ukrainischen Akademie der Wissenschaften konnte auch die Zusammensetzung der Münzlegierungen von Olbia erforscht werden (304). In einer kurzen Notiz kommt SUCHANOV auf die seit langem geführte Diskussion über die Ausgabe sogenannter Eisenmünzen in den bosporanischen Städten

Pantikapaion und Phanagoria zurück (613). Weitere technologische Aspekte der Münzherstellung, insbesondere die Möglichkeit der Verwendung von Bronzestempeln bei der Prägung, werden in dem Artikel von STUPKO behandelt (609).

Fälschungen

Neue Publikationen zu den jüngsten Münzfälschungen in Bulgarien hat PROKOPOV wieder vorgelegt (506, 510) und den entsprechenden Umgang mit historischen und archäologischen Werten eingefordert (503). Maßnahmen gegen den Handel mit zeitgenössischen Fälschungen schlägt auch TOPALOV (724) vor. Dem Thema der Münzfälschungen widmet sich ein neues internationales Netzwerk „Ancient Coins Counterfeits Scientific Network“ (<https://accs-network.com/network/>).

Vormünzliches Geld im Pontosraum, Münzen im interkulturellen Austausch

Die Ursprünge der Geldwirtschaft in der Region, einschließlich des Phänomens des Bronzegusses in Form von Pfeilspitzen und Delphinen, sind in den Arbeiten zahlreicher Forscher nach wie vor ein wichtiges Thema. Die grundlegende Frage nach ihrer Funktion erörterte umfassend DE CALLATAÿ (128). Als lokale Identitätssymbole interpretiert sie TALMAŤHI (665). Er stellt ihre Funde in der Dobrudja zusammen und legt neue Theorien zu dem Phänomen an sich vor: Sie waren Tauschmittel, besaßen aber nicht alle Eigenschaften des Münzgeldes (645, 664). Neben weiteren Veröffentlichungen, die das Phänomen im Allgemeinen betreffen (143–144, 300, 344, 401–402) wurden auch Fragen des Herkunftsortes (423) und der Chronologie thematisiert (647). Besonders interessant ist der in ČISTOVs Artikel unternommene Versuch, die Datierung verschiedener Ausgaben pfeil- und delphinförmiger Münzen auf der Grundlage der stratigraphischen Beobachtungen zu klären, die bei den Ausgrabungen der Siedlung auf der Insel Berezan' gemacht wurden (136).

Das frühe Auftreten von Bronzemünzen ist eine der Besonderheiten der nördlichen und westlichen Schwarzmeerküste. Ein Versuch, die frühe Bronzeprägung im Zusammenhang mit der ionischen Kolonisierung der Region zu betrachten, wurde von KOVALENKO unternommen (327). Im Gegensatz zu den geprägten Münzen wurden die frühen Formen der gegossenen Geldzeichen in gewisser Weise als ein Derivat der kulturellen und wirtschaftlichen Kontakte zwischen den griechischen Kolonisten und der einheimischen Bevölkerung betrachtet, sei es an der thrakischen oder der nordpontischen Küste (600, 663). Ob es sich bei den von MINKOV publizierten Triskels aus archäologischen Kontexten wirklich um vormünzliche Geldzeichen handelte, die er in das 7./6. Jh. v. Chr. datiert, bleibt zu diskutieren (389).

Seit der bekannten Monographie von Mielczarek (1989) stand die Frage nach der Rolle des Geldes in der lokalen barbarischen Bevölkerung nicht mehr im Fokus der Diskussion, da es an Daten über Funde griechischer Münzen im skythischen Hinterland, insbesondere in der ukrainischen Waldsteppe, mangelte. Während des Berichtszeitraums hat sich die Situation hier erheblich verändert, die Zahl der bekannten Funde steigt nun sehr schnell an (75, 316–317, 346, 387, 407, 427–428, 431–434, 504, 634, 636, 743). Der Grund dafür ist nicht nur die anhaltende unkontrollierte Suche mit Metalldetektoren in der gesamten Ukraine, sondern auch die deutlich gestiegene Aufmerksamkeit für dieses Thema seitens der professionellen Numismatiker und Archäologen, deren Arbeiten die Frage nach den Ware-Geld-Beziehungen unter der Bevölkerung der osteuropäischen Waldsteppe in der skythischen Epoche sehr deutlich aufwerfen (32, 425, 429, 573, 597, 635).

Balkanraum

Thrakien

Einen konzisen Überblick über die Münzprägung in Thrakien gibt PAUNOV (444). Der Übergang von der hellenistischen zur römischen Prägung ist Gegenstand der erweiterten Publikation seiner Dissertation (452). Diese gründliche und umfassende Untersuchung der hellenistischen Prägungen und jener der thrakischen Könige ist eingebettet in eine Analyse der geographischen Gegebenheiten, der archäologischen Quellen und der historischen Entwicklung. Die auswertenden Kapitel bilden den ersten Band, während der zweite einen umfassenden Katalog aller Funde enthält. PAUNOV zeigt auf, wie stark die thrakischen Prägungen seit 42/1 v. Chr. von Rom beeinflusst waren (s. auch 445, 448). Dieser Übergangsphase zum römischen Wirtschaftssystem ist auch ein Aufsatz von PAPAGEORGIADOU gewidmet (439). Während PROKOPOV den Wandel vom hellenistischen zum römischen Wirtschaftssystem anhand der thasischen Tetradrachmen, der Tetradrachmen des thasischen Typs und der Nachahmungen sowie der Tetradrachmen der makedonischen Gebiete und der anderen sich im Umlauf befindlichen Münzen in einer bulgarischsprachigen Monographie

erörtert (507, s. auch 505).

Publikation von Sammlungen, Ausstellungen

Unter den Sammlungspublikationen sei nach der Publikation der Elektron- und Goldmünzen der größten öffentlichen Sammlung in Bulgarien, jener des Nationalen Archäologischen Institutes mit Museum in Sofia (NAIM-BAN) nun der zweite Band erwähnt, der die Erschließung dieser bedeutenden Sammlung vollständig bebildert fortsetzt (212). In diesem wurden u.a. die griechischen Prägungen von Kallatis, Dionysopolis, Istros und den skythischen Königen erfasst. Aus Bulgarien ist zudem die Fortsetzung der verdienten Reihe „Coin Collections and Coin Hoards“ (CCCHBulg) hervorzuheben, die zahlreiche Sammlungen vollständig bebildert und beschrieben erschließt. Im Berichtszeitraum sind dies im Einzelnen die Sammlungen der Regionalen Historischen Museen von Blagoevgrad (56, s. auch 264–265) (CCCHBulg IV), Pazardžik (277) (CCCHBulg V), Stara Zagora (392) (CCCHBulg VIII), Haskovo (574) (CCCHBulg VII), Sofia (214) (CCCHBulg IX) und der Museen von Sandanski (s. auch 488), Petrich und Goce Delčev (234) (CCCHBulg VI), die jeweils auch für das Studium des Münzumschlages wichtig sind. Eine besondere Publikation ist der Band CCCHBulg X, der der gestohlenen Sammlung des Regionalen Historischen Museums von Vraca gewidmet ist (409). Der Verlust der ursprünglich fast 8.000 Münzen wurde 2003 bemerkt. Ziel des Bandes ist es, aufgrund von Fotografien für ältere Forschungsprojekte und Publikationen sowie auf Basis der Inventarbücher die Zusammensetzung der gestohlenen Sammlung teilweise zu rekonstruieren. Abgebildet werden können vor allem Münzen des 2.–1. Jh. v. Chr. (Thasos, Erste Makedonische Meris, Dyrrhachium, Apollonia, römische republikanische Denare). Auch die Rekonstruktion einzelner Funde wird versucht (511).

Einen kurzen Einblick in die Sammlungsgeschichte des Regionalen Historischen Museums von Sofia gibt DOYCHINOVA (213). In der Reihe der SNG Bulgarien publizierte DRAGANOV die Münzen von Apollonia Pontike aus dem Museum von Ruse und legte somit 550 Münzen vom Pfeilgeld bis zur römischen Provinzialprägung vor. Dem Katalog vorangestellt ist eine Einführung zu den einzelnen Prägeperioden und zur Problematik der Münzfüße (220). Unter den von KOVALENKO publizierten Münzen des Schwarzmeerraumes in der SNG des Staatlichen Puschkin-Museums für Bildende Kunst in Moskau sind auch vorrömische Prägungen von Byzantion, Apollonia Pontike, Istros, Mesembria, Odessos und Tomis aufgeführt (324). In der SNG-Reihe der Tschechischen Republik sind mit Teil 3 des Nationalmuseums von Prag die paionischen Münzen mit publiziert worden (388). In der Reihe des Griechischen Münzwerkes konnten über 1.500 Münzen Thrakiens und Moesiens aus öffentlichen und privaten Sammlungen der Türkei erschlossen werden, darunter eine Reihe neuer Typen und Varianten (68). Die meisten Münzen von Lysimacheia bzw. die der thrakischen Dynasten aus dem Museum von Tekirdağ hatte bereits YAĞIZ publiziert (801, 803). Die Münzen thrakischer Herrscher aus dem Museum Burgas veröffentlichte GYUZELEV (263), die aus dem Museum von Pomorie KOJČEV (310).

Einschlägiges Material wurde auch im Rahmen der Publikation von privaten Sammlungen vorgelegt (ein großer Teil bspw. aus einer alten westfälischen Privatsammlung 238, 84, 91). Das betrifft auch die Publikation einzelner Typen aus diversen privaten Sammlungen (80), die auch in Museen überführt worden sein können (361). Von der Maria und Dr. George Severeanu Sammlung publizierten VILCU und PÎRVULESCU 13 Goldstatere des Lysimachostyps mit einer ausführlichen numismatischen und historischen Interpretation (788). Zu den numismatischen Raritäten der KIKPE-Sammlung zählt auch eine Münze mit der Legende ΜΕΛΣΑ und eine Münze der Dantheletai (458), wie schon in der Festschrift für I. Prokopov hervorgehoben wurde. Münzen der Poleis an der nördlichen und westlichen Schwarzmeerküste sowie an der illyrischen Küste bebildern auch den Ausstellungskatalog der Alpha Bank Collection (738).

Eine der Münzprägung Thrakiens gewidmete Ausstellung fand 2015 im Bode-Museum Berlin statt (94). Auch im Rahmen der großen, in Paris gezeigten Ausstellung zu den archäologischen Funden in Thrakien des 5.–3. Jh. v. Chr. wurden Münzen präsentiert (492).

Münzen im breiteren historischen Kontext

Mit dem zu beobachtenden Anwachsen der Münzforschungen korreliert auch eine zunehmende Auseinandersetzung mit den numismatischen Quellen in historischen Abhandlungen, die hier nicht weiter aufgeführt werden können.

Die Entstehung der Münzprägung in Thrakien vergleicht RUFIN-SOLAS mit jener in Lydien (540). Explizit hervorzuheben ist die sehr verdienstvolle, neue Untersuchung der Funde IGCH 354 und IGCH 1165 hinsichtlich

der Verbreitung der Elektronprägungen im 6. Jh. im nordägäischen thrako-makedonischen Raum. WARTENBERG ruft zu einer systematischen Analyse des Phänomens auf. Eine kleine in Stageira gefundene Elektronmünze mit einem Pferdervorderteil kann sie Maroneia zuweisen. Die Münzen wurden mit dem phokaischen Münzfuß geprägt. WARTENBERG unterstreicht, dass die meisten Typen identische Bilder in Elektron und Silber haben. Die Funde illustrieren ferner, wie umfangreich die kleineren Münzstückelungen außerhalb ihrer Prägegebiete zirkulierten (797).

Einen knappen Überblick zu den Möglichkeiten der Auswertung der Münzen als Quelle für die Geschichte des Odrysenreiches bis zur makedonischen Eroberung liefert DIMITROV (196). Auf der Basis auch der überlieferten Münzfunde untersucht ARCHIBALD das antike Transportnetz von den Küsten ins Landesinnere und wählt als ein Beispiel die Verbindung Thasos–Pistiros (66). Anhand von Zahlungen der Städte Olbia, Istros, Byzantion und Poleis der Chersonesos an Dynasten im Hinterland untersucht RUFIN-SOLAS die Unterschiede zwischen informellen, nicht-monetären (*dôra*) und institutionalisierten, in Münzen gezahlten (*phoroi*) Verbindlichkeiten bei den Thrakern (538). Sie widmet sich ebenfalls dem wertvollen Edelmetallgeschirr, das für den Gabentausch bestimmt war (536). Die Inschriften, die vermutlich den Wert der Gefäße von Seuthes III. in Tetradrachmen und Drachmen angeben, erklärt TZOCHEV (770). Auf ein besonderes Phänomen weist PEŠECHONOV hin: entlang der Struma und der Mesta wurde eine viel größere Zahl von gelochten Münzen (häufig kleine Münzhorte) des 5. bis 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. gefunden, als aus anderen Regionen bekannt ist. Es wird gefragt, ob das Metall jeweils einer bestimmten Menge eines Nennwertes oder Gewichtes entsprach (459).

Zunehmend werden Münzfunde auch für historische Fragestellungen berücksichtigt. So werden die Funde von insgesamt drei lydischen Silbersigloi an der bulgarischen Schwarzmeerküste als Zeugnis des Zuges von Dareios I. gegen die Skythen 513/512 v. Chr. gewertet (355). RUFIN-SOLAS kommt über die Finanzpolitik von Philipp II. immer wieder auf die Münzprägung und den Münzumschlag in Thrakien zu sprechen (537). Der in Serbien gemachte Fund eines in Korinth von Demetrios Poliorketes geprägten Alexanderstaters wird als Zahlungsmittel für die in den Konflikt zwischen Kassandros und Demetrios verwickelten Söldner interpretiert, durch die er in die Banatregion gelangte (474). Anhand von Münzfunden versucht RUFIN-SOLAS zu eruieren, in welche kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen die Bessen verwickelt waren (541).

Dem Thema der lokalen und regionalen Identitäten widmet sich eine Reihe von Aufsätzen in dem von PETER und STOLBA herausgegebenen Band zur Numismatik von Thrakien (486). Neben einer allgemeinen Einführung (485) lieferte HOFMANN (270) die theoretischen Grundlagen, WARTENBERG (798) fasste die frühen Prägungen – insbesondere die der Stämme und Dynasten – zusammen und DE CALLATAÏ gab einen Überblick zu den hellenistischen Prägungen (129). Wie das Thema Raum – sowohl der physische als auch der virtuelle mythische Raum – auf Münzen Identität spiegeln konnte, erläuterte BERTHOLD unter anderem anhand von Prägungen der Propontis und der thrakischen Chersonesos (93). An Beispielen der Münzen (und Gewichte) von Thasos, Abdera, Odessos und Lysimacheia wurden auch Gründe für die Wahl bestimmter Symbole, die die Funktion von *Parasema* erfüllten, und deren mögliche Verbindung mit lokalen thrakischen Motiven untersucht (303, 677).

Onomastik

Zentral für die Namensforschung ist der Band von DAN DANA, der natürlich auch die Namen auf thrakischen Münzen mit berücksichtigt (179). LESCHHORN hat den Beamtenamen auf den Münzen Thrakiens in vorrömischer Zeit eine Studie gewidmet (345).

Ikonographie

Ikonographische Parallelen in den Prägungen des Pontosraumes zeigt KARAYOTOV auf (298). Als einem besonderen Element der Münzikonographie widmete sich TZVETKOVA den Abbildungen von Schmuck auf vorrömischen Münzen aus Thrakien (772), wobei sie als Materialgrundlage das Webportal *Corpus Nummorum* nutzt. Sie beobachtet eine Konzentration solcher Abbildungen in den Hellespont nahen Regionen, insbesondere auf der Chersonesos und postuliert eine mögliche Schmuckwerkstadt in Kardina und verweist auf die notwendigen ähnlichen technischen Fertigkeiten von Stempelschneidern und Juwelieren.

Als Teil eines Dissertationsprojektes, das alle Quellen einbezieht, untersucht NEDYALKOVA den Dionysos-Kult in der Propontis und am Thrakischen Bosphoros auf Basis der Abbildung der Gottheit auf den autonomen Münzen. Sie stellt die verschiedenen Typen auch unter Berücksichtigung einzelner Symbole nach Zeit und Prägestätten zusammen (410). Auch NOLLÉ (419–421) widmet ikonographischen Aspekten mehrere Studien. Ihm geht es vor allem um

Gründungsmythen und um Fragen nach indigenen Elementen, die häufig eher in der Provinzialprägung ihren Ausdruck fanden, aber teilweise auf Anklänge in vorrömischer Zeit zurückgehen. Nach Gründen für die Abbildung des Pferdes auf den Münzen von Maroneia sucht BERTHOLD (92). Den Kult der Kabiren, auch in Münzbildern, betrachten ŞAHIN und GÜVEN (617).

Ägäisküste und Hinterland

Für die Prägungen an der nördlichen Ägäisküste sollte auf die ersten Ergebnisse des groß angelegten Survey-Projektes der griechischen Ephorien verwiesen werden (296).

Neue Impulse für das Verständnis von *Metokesis* und Koordinierung der archaischen Prägung zwischen **Abdera** und Teos, die zwar gleiche Typen aufweisen, aber ausweislich der Funde und der unterschiedlichen Münzfüße nicht für einen gemeinsamen Umlauf bestimmt waren, gibt VAN ALFEN (778).

Das griechisch-amerikanische Grabungsprojekt von Molyvoti untersucht die mögliche antike Siedlung Strume und publizierte in dem vorläufigen Bericht für das Jahr 2013 auch die gefundenen Münzen, darunter zahlreiche Münzen des 4. Jh. v. Chr. von **Maroneia** (67).

Einen Überblick über die Typologie der Münzprägung von **Zone** inklusive einer Chronologie, Nominalbestimmungen, Funden sowie einen Katalog der Exemplare gruppiert in 53 Typen legen GALANĒ-KRIKOU, TASAKLAKĒ und TSELEKAS vor und erweitern damit beträchtlich unsere Kenntnis der Prägung, die seiner Zeit von Schönert-Geiss vorgestellt wurde (243).

Einen Überblick zur städtischen Prägung von **Kypsela** und den hier ihre Münzen emittierenden Dynasten gibt LYUBENOVA (350). Zu einem neuen Nominal äußert sich ferner TOPALOV (712).

Propontis und thrakische Chersonesos

RUSEVA bringt ein Beispiel für eine von **Byzantion** gegengestempelte Münze des Ptolemaios Philadelphos (552).

Die der **Chersonesos** zugeschriebenen archaischen Münzen geben immer noch hinsichtlich der Prägeverantwortlichen und des Zwecks ihrer Prägung Fragen auf. VAN ALFEN hat die Emissionen in einem Stempelkatalog zusammengetragen und umfassend interpretiert und insbesondere die Zweideutigkeit der monetären Autorität der athenischen Tyrannen, die zu der Zeit die nominelle Kontrolle über die Chersonesos ausübten, untersucht (780). Nur die Stateren haben DAVIS und SHEEDY studiert. Sie nehmen an, dass sie nach dem persischen Münzfuß geprägt wurden und entsprechend keine Symbole der athenischen Kontrolle sind, sondern zwischen 478–466 v. Chr. unter persischer Hoheit in Kardia geprägt wurden (182).

In Auswertung von Chronologie, Ikonographie und Nominalsystem legt PSOMA eine Neubewertung der Bronzeprägung von Kardia vor, die sie um die Mitte des 4. Jh. v. Chr. datiert (521). VAN ALFEN publiziert die in der ANS befindlichen Münzen des Fundes IGCH 738: 103 Hemidrachmen der Chersonesos, 16 von Parion, eine von Ainos, eine von Tarsos. Dabei bedarf die Zuweisung der chersonesischen Münzen zu Kardia nach Ansicht VAN ALFENS immer noch weiterer Beweise. Er vergleicht den Fund mit den 18 ähnlichen Horten, die ebenfalls überwiegend Prägungen von Kardia und Parion-Münzen enthielten (779).

Den Beginn der Münzprägung in **Bisanthe** diskutiert TOPALOV (712).

Inseln

Die umfangreichen Prägungen der Insel **Thasos** stehen immer wieder im Fokus von Untersuchungen. So zieht PICARD, der beste Kenner der thasischen Prägungen (495), diese auch im Rahmen der Diskussion zum griechischen Prägesystem zur Darstellung heran (496). Einen konsizien Überblick über die thasisch-thrakischen Beziehungen insbesondere mit Blick auf die Prägertätigkeit bietet sein Beitrag für die Festschrift Draganov (494). Anschaulich unterstreicht PICARD die enge ikonografische und technische Verwandtschaft zwischen den thasischen Stateren der 1. Gruppe und den Stateren mit der Entführung der Mänade durch einen Kentauren. Auch die thasischen Münzen der 2. Gruppe wurden auf dem Festland nachgeahmt. Odrysische Dynasten griffen thasische Typen der 3. Gruppe auf. Nach 390 v. Chr. zirkulierte die neue thasische Münzprägung nicht mehr auf dem Kontinent (497). Hinsichtlich der Beziehungen der Insel mit dem thrakischen Hinterland unterstreichen auch GRIGOROVA-GENCHEVA und PROKOPOV, dass die Funde thasischer Münzen in Bulgarien belegen, dass die Insel Thasos und das von den Tälern der Flüsse Struma und Mesta flankierte Territorium bis hin zum Sredna Gora Gebirge ein Gebiet bildeten, dessen Bevölkerung gemeinsame wirtschaftliche und politische Interessen hatte. Sie sprechen von der Ausdifferenzierung eines spezifischen Kultur- und Wirtschaftsraums, der sich im Münzumlauf der vielen Silbermünzen mit kleinem Nennwert spiegelte. Auf der Basis

einer Stempelanalyse schlagen GRIGOROVA-GENCHEVA und PROKOPOV eine neue Datierung für einige Münztypen von der Insel Thasos vor (259–260). Der Umlauf der Hemihekten des Typs Silen/Krater wird auch von PEŠEČONOV skizziert (462).

PICARD legt zudem für die hellenistischen Bronzemünzen eine Klassifizierung vor (489). Speziell den Gegenstempeln auf thasischen Bronzemünzen ist ein Aufsatz von PEŠEČONOV gewidmet. Er teilt die Gegenstempel in zwei zeitliche Gruppen: die erste datiert an das Ende des 5. Jh. v. Chr., die zweite in das 2. –1. Jh. v. Chr. (461). Ferner untersucht der Autor die Nachahmungen der kleinen Silbermünzen des 5. Jh. v. Chr. – Silen/Krater (und auch Silenkopf/Zwei Delphine) –, allerdings liegen nicht genug Daten vor, um zu bestimmen, ob das Umlaufgebiet der imitierten Münzen identisch mit dem der originalen Prägungen war, eindeutig lässt sich das für den Mittellauf des Nestos sagen (464).

In einer bulgarischsprachigen Monographie, die den ersten Band einer neuen Reihe „Coin Collections and Coin Hoards from Bulgaria (CCCHBulg.M 1)“ markiert, legt PROKOPOV die Prägung der thasischen Tetradrachmen und ihrer Imitationen umfassend dar (507). Immer wieder werden Funde publiziert, die neben weiteren hellenistischen Prägungen vornehmlich thasische Tetradrachmen bzw. Imitationen enthalten (515, 517, 364). Basierend auf seinen vielen Vorarbeiten definiert PROKOPOV den Charakter der großen Gruppe der nach 70 v. Chr. geprägten Tetradrachmen des thasischen Typs im „schlechten Stil“ und der Nachahmungen (509).

PROKOPOV rekonstruiert die Münzpräge- und Umlaufsituation vor und während des Auftretens der Nachahmungen der thasischen Tetradrachmen im heutigen Bulgarien. Darüber hinaus analysiert er die Ähnlichkeiten, die Unterschiede und die territoriale und chronologische Reichweite der thasischen Nachahmungen im Vergleich zu den als keltisch anerkannten Imitationen. Bei der Untersuchung der Münzfunde unterscheidet er folgende Münztypen: frühe Imitationen; grobe Imitationen; Münzen „schlechten Stils“; durch aktiven Umlauf abgenutzte Münzen sowie mit kopierten und gegossenen Stempeln geprägte Münzen. Er stellt Folgendes fest: eine gravierende Lücke zwischen den keltischen Münzimitationen des 3. und 2. Jh. v. Chr. und den Tetradrachmen des Typs „Dionysos Soter“ aus Thasos; Unterschiede in der Prägetechnik zwischen den keltischen Münzimitationen des 3. und 2. Jh. v. Chr. und den Tetradrachmen aus Thasos; eine Diskrepanz zwischen den Verbreitungsgebieten der groben Thasos-Imitationen aus der zweiten Hälfte des 1. Jh. v. Chr. und den bekannten keltischen Imitationen aus dem 3. und 2. Jh. v. Chr.; einen Unterschied in der Stückelung der thasischen Tetradrachmen-Imitationen und der keltischen Imitationen. Erstere vom Typ „Dionysos Soter“ weisen keine Gemeinsamkeiten mit bekannten Emissionen der weiter nördlich und nordwestlich verorteten keltischen Gemeinschaften auf (514).

POŁOSA gibt einen Überblick über die Prägung von Hephaistia vor dem Hintergrund der Geschichte der Insel **Lemnos**, ferner listet sie die von der Italienischen Archäologischen Schule in Athen hier gefundenen Münzen auf (500).

Westliche Schwarzmeerküste

Den Münzprägungen an der Westküste des Schwarzen Meeres ist eine Vielzahl neuer Studien gewidmet. Immer wieder stehen die Beziehungen zwischen den griechischen Städten an der Schwarzmeerküste und der lokalen „barbarischen“ Bevölkerung im Hinterland im Fokus von Untersuchungen, so bei MUNTEANU bzw. TALMAȚCHI auf der Basis hellenistischer Münzfunde (403, 649). Neben den stets zahlreichen Fundpublikationen (s. u.) und den Abhandlungen zu den einzelnen Prägestätten, gibt es auch übergreifende Darstellungen gerade zur Dobrudja, wobei ein beträchtlicher Teil ikonographischen Fragen gewidmet ist (644, 669). So schlägt PANAIT BÎRZESCU eine neue Interpretation zu den bereits zahlreichen Erklärungen der beiden antithetischen Köpfe auf den Silbermünzen von Istros vor und bringt sie mit einer lokalen Gründungslegende in Zusammenhang (438).

Istros

Für Istros (Histria) ist an erster Stelle der Band zur Silberprägung von DIMA zu nennen (187), der eine neue Datierung für die Gruppe IV der Münzen mit den antithetischen Köpfen vorschlägt. Dem Band vorausgegangen war eine rumänischsprachige Publikation (186). Funde von Münzen der ersten beiden Gruppen der Silbermünzen von der Donau bis zum Dnejr dokumentieren eine bestimmte Richtung der Zirkulation dieser frühen Münzen (188, 192–193). DIMA befasst sich auch mit den Bronzemünzen vom Apollon-Fedești-Typ, die er 339–330 v. Chr. datiert und die ebenfalls nach Norden und Nordosten streuten und die Obole ersetzen sollten (189). Dem Fund dieser Münzen (s. dazu auch 668) weisen MUNTEANU und OANCA auch eine posthume Bronzemünze Philipp II. zu und interpretieren damit die

Ausdehnung der makedonischen Herrschaft bis an die Schwarzmeerküste (404). Zu den Funden der Bronze- (190) als auch der späteren Silbermünzen an der nordwestlichen Schwarzmeerküste publizierte DIMA jeweils separate Aufsätze (191). Zu den Funden und der Rekonstruktion des Münzumschlages tragen auch TALMAȚCHI (650, 661, s. auch 657) sowie VÎLCU und NICOLAE (784) bei. Eine spezielle Abhandlung widmet TALMAȚCHI den wenigen bronzenen Exemplaren, die die Stadtlegende ΙΣΤΡΙΑ sowohl beim Apollon- als auch beim Demeter-Typ auf der Rückseite im Dativ zeigen. Er interpretiert sie als spezielle Emissionen aus Anlass bestimmter Ereignisse oder lokaler religiöser Feste (652). In hellenistischer Zeit sind die in Istros geprägten Münzen mit Helios zahlreicher als jene mit Dionysos, Athena, Demeter und Hermes; TALMAȚCHI vermutet eine entsprechende Helios-Verehrung in der Stadt (659). VÎLCU widmet sich den zwölf Tetradrachmen, die unter Antiochos II. und Antiochos Hierax ausweislich des Kürzels ΙΣ auf der Rückseite in Istros geprägt wurden. Die Prägung von Tetradrachmen des seleukidischen Typs ist für Städte an der Westküste des Schwarzen Meeres ungewöhnlich und deutet seiner Ansicht nach auf eine besondere Beziehung zwischen Istros und dem Seleukidenreich hin, die auch bei den Goldprägungen beobachtet werden kann (783).

TOPALOV schlägt eine neue Interpretation einer bekannten Überprägung vor und bestimmt den Untertyp von Tomis jetzt als Kopf des Zeus/zwei Pferdeprotome mit Sternen und die Überprägung nicht als eine von Mesembria, sondern von Istros nach dem Sieg Roms über Mithridates VI. (720). MARIN und IONIȚĂ finden für einen Gegenstempel in Form einer Leier auf Münzen von Istros eine Parallele auf Prägungen des Prusias I. (365).

Tomis

Zu den vorrömischen Bronzeprägungen von Tomis ist im Berichtszeitraum ein Aufsatz von MIRCEA erschienen (393). SAPRYKIN widmete sich der Bronzeserie "Lorbeerkopf des Zeus/zwei Pferdeprotome und Sterne" aus Tomis, die von Istros gegengestempelt wurden. Er datiert sie neu in das zweite Viertel des 3. Jh. v. Chr. und verbindet sie mit dem Expansionsstreben von Istros, das zu einem Krieg zwischen der Polis sowie Byzantion und Kallatis um die Vorherrschaft in Tomis führte (564). Mehrere Abhandlungen wurden von den rumänischen Kollegen zur hellenistischen Gold- und Silberprägung der Stadt vorgelegt (479, 788). PETAC publizierte einen neuen Stater des Lysimachostyps aus Tomis mit einem neuen Monogramm AP im Abschnitt aus der Mitte des 3. Jh. v. Chr. (467) und konnte durch XRF-Analysen an Stateren des Lysimachostyps frühere Untersuchungen der westpontischen Prägungen bestätigen (472).

Für Tomis zugewiesene Alexandertypen (Price 1211–1213) wird der Versuch unternommen, sie Dioskurias in der Kolchis zuzuweisen (480).

Kallatis

Die hellenistische Prägung von Kallatis wird von TALMAȚCHI analysiert. Dabei schlägt er mit Verweis auf stilistische Details, Legende und Monogramme eine relative Chronologie der Münztypen vor, für die auch die Münzfunde und Grabkontexte herangezogen werden (646, 662, zu den Typen Dionysos/Kranz und Apollo/Dreifuß s. auch 649). Ferner ist die Publikation eines 1985 im Rahmen der archäologischen Ausgrabungen in der geto-dakischen Zitadelle von Poiana, Kreis Galați, gefundenen Schatzes von 32 Bronzemünzen des Typs Apollo/Dreifuß zu erwähnen. Die Münzen tragen auf den Rückseiten die Namen von zehn Münzmagistraten und haben alle Gegenstempel (363).

Die von Wartenberg und Kagan 1999 Kalchedon zugeordneten Münzen der Alexandertypen Price 891–911, 913–916 und 927 werden aufgrund der Konzentration der Fundorte an der unteren Donau und metallurgischer Analysen von VÎLCU und PETAC wieder Kallatis zugewiesen. Die Styli in Form eines Dreizacks, die Nike auf den Rückseiten einiger Münzen hält, verbinden sie mit dem Krieg Byzantions als Verbündeten der Ptolemäer gegen die Westpontischen Städte unter Antiochos II. 255 v. Chr. (787).

Dionysopolis

Die Prägung von Dionysopolis wurde neu von TAČEV umfassend analysiert und ein Stempelkatalog mit einer Reihe von bislang nicht bekannten Typen, Varianten und Stempeln vorgelegt (638). Hervorzuheben ist die Aufnahme zahlreicher Exemplare aus den lokalen Museen im Ostteil Bulgariens. Zusätzlich wurde ein kleinerer Typenkatalog (643) und mehrere Aufsätze im Zusammenhang mit der Prägung publiziert (639–642). Zwei vorrömische Typen von Dionysopolis werden auch von DIMOV vorgestellt (207). Im Zusammenhang mit den Prägungen der skythischen Könige weist DRAGANOV den Typ Pankopf/Traube der städtischen Prägung zu, den Typ Kantharos/Weinrebe hingegen Korkyra und nicht Dionysopolis (223). Auch den Alexandertypen von Dionysopolis wurde Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt (545, 707).

Odessos

Überlegungen zu mehreren Aspekten der Prägung von Odessos spricht BEKOV an, so verschiedene ikonographische Themen, chronologische Korrekturen von Typen und eine Chronologie der Gegenstempel (83, 86). Immer wieder sind die in Odessos geprägten Tetradrachmen des Alexandertyps Forschungsgegenstand (87, 545). BEKOV publiziert ferner Münzen der Polis aus Privatsammlungen (84, 91) als auch Funde, die in der Region von Varna, dem antiken Odessos, geborgen wurden (85, 89) bzw. aus dem Bezirk Sliven stammen (90). Für seine Untersuchungen zu den Gewichtskorrekturen verwendet MACDONALD auch Beispiele der Alexandertypen von Odessos (351). Ein kleiner Fund von drei autonomen odessitischen Bronzemünzen bei Hârşova (Kreis Constanța) wird von TALMAŢCHI publiziert (655).

Mesembria

Das Corpus der Münzen von Mesembria wird durch neue Stücke bereichert (199–200, 204–205, 323, 735) – einschließlich der Lysimachostypen (466). Neues Licht auf eine Tetradrachme vom Typ Helm von vorn/Rad, die bereits erstmalig im Katalog der Brüder Egger 1912 publiziert wurde, wirft PAUNOV (449), indem er mit dem Namen Anthesterios auf der Münze weitere Zeugnisse verbindet und sie um 400–380 v. Chr. datiert.

Das von CALLATAÏ untersuchte Phänomen der **Überprägungen**, die er in einer Datenbank zusammengestellt hat, betrifft auch eine Reihe thrakischer Münzen (126, 124, 131), herausgestellt werden die in Mesembria emittierten Tetradrachmen des Alexandertyps (127) bzw. generell die Tetradrachmen, die an der Wende vom 2. zum 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. in Thrakien hergestellt wurden oder im thrakischen Gebiet in Umlauf waren und alle stark überprägt waren, so dass DE CALLATAÏ nach den Gründen fragt (130).

Apollonia Pontike

Die Untersuchungen zur Prägung von Apollonia Pontike haben sich sehr intensiviert. Mit der SNG Ruse hat DRAGANOV eine große Materialsammlung vorgelegt – allein 483 Münzen der vorrömischen Zeit zu Apollonia Pontike (220). Das wachsende Interesse erklärt sich sicher auch durch die andauernden bulgarisch-französischen Ausgrabungen von Apollonia Pontike (81). Die Grabungsmünzen werden u.a. im Ausstellungskatalog (82) erwähnt, in dem auch die verschiedenen Formen der städtischen Prägung vorstellt (813) und 37 Münzen aus einer archäologischen Schicht aus der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jh. v. Chr. publiziert werden (262). Mit dem Fund von Glumče (Gebiet Burgas) konnten DRAGANOV und PAUNOV einen einmaligen Hort von 22 Tetradrachmen Apollonias publizieren und neue Beamtennamen (ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ und ΛΕΟΝΤΙΣΚΟΣ) nachweisen (225). Dies nimmt PAUNOV zum Anlass, eine Stempelstudie der Tetradrachmen vorzulegen und kann von dieser ursprünglich seltenen Serie 125 Exemplare zusammentragen (Topalov kannte 2007 nur 48 Münzen) (447). Parallel dazu hat sich im Rahmen der Vorbereitung ihrer Dissertation zur Prägung von Apollonia Pontike auch IVANOVA mit diesen Tetradrachmen in einer Studie zum Apollonbild auf den Münzen der Polis beschäftigt (284). Der Silberprägung des 5.–4. Jh. v. Chr. hat sich zudem KARAYOTOV noch einmal zugewandt (297). Mit der Chronologie der Silbermünzen des Typs Gorgoneion/Anker anhand der Überprägungen setzt sich PEŠECHOV auseinander (463). Ein zweites bekanntes Exemplar mit der Legende ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ - ΙΑΤΡΟΥ und einem neuen Magistratsnamen aus einer Auktion greift Paunov auf und interpretiert diese Emission als Prägung des Apollon-Heiligtums in Apollonia Pontike im 2. Jh. v. Chr. (450; zu dem Typ auch 712). Ein neues kleines Silbernominal vom Typ Anker/stilisiertes Sonnensymbol im konkaven Quadrat beschreibt TOPALOV (722). Über die autonome Prägung von Apollonia Pontike hat YORDANOVA 2017 promoviert (810) und liefert einen zusammenfassenden Überblick zur Typologie und Chronologie (815). Neben einer Fundpublikation von Silbermünzen der Polis (812) hat sie auch eine Übersicht über die Fundmünzen in vorrömischer Zeit im Gebiet von Apollonia Pontike gegeben und ist insbesondere auf die Rolle der Münzen bei den Bestattungspraktiken und den Glaubensvorstellungen der antiken Bewohner eingegangen (811), die sie auch im Vergleich zu den Praktiken in Mesembria untersucht (814). IVANOVA hat drei Funde (Varna, Medovets und Vratarite) von Drachmen und Diobolen Apollonia Pontikes aus dem Museum Varna umfassend publiziert (285).

Die mehr als 50 Namen von Magistraten – vollständig oder abgekürzt – auf den Silber- und Bronzemünzen von Apollonia Pontike haben D. und M. DANA jetzt als Corpus erschlossen und analysiert. Nicht berücksichtigt wurden lediglich die bereits untersuchten Tetradrachmen. Es konnten sowohl Korrekturen von Lesungen und als auch neue Namen veröffentlicht werden (180).

Münzen des Alexander- und des Lysimachostyps

Bis vor kurzem war lediglich eine einzige in Istros geprägte Tetrdrachme vom Typ Alexander des Großen bekannt, die vermutlich in die zweite Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. einzuordnen ist. Der Titel ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ und die Form des Throns mit Rückenlehne weisen Ähnlichkeiten zu posthumen Alexander-Tetrdrachmen von Kallatis, Mesembria und Odessos auf. VILCU argumentiert, dass auch eine bislang nicht zugewiesene Tetrdrachme vom Alexandertyp mit den links galoppierenden Dioskuren und ΙΣ auf dem Thron auf dem Revers aus dem 1956 in Mektepini in Phrygien entdeckten Schatzfund Istros zugewiesen werden müsste und möglicherweise mit einem Konflikt 260–230 v. Chr. zu verbinden ist, in dem Istros und Apollonia als Verbündete erscheinen (782). Einzelne Fragen zu den in den diversen Städten an der Westküste des Schwarzen Meeres geprägten Tetrdrachmen sind immer wieder Thema von Aufsätzen (545). Neue Varianten des Alexandertyps aus Dionysopolis und Kallatis stellt WAHL vor (791).

In den letzten Jahren sind auf dem Markt viele Goldstatere des Alexander- bzw. Lysimachostyps aufgetaucht, die ein besseres Bild der großen monetären Veränderungen vermitteln, die die westpontischen griechischen Städte betrafen (s. auch unten insbesondere den Abschnitt zu den Funden). Beispielsweise konnte für Istros ein Münzmeister auch für einen Goldstater des Lysimachostyps belegt werden, der vorher nur von Silberprägungen her bekannt war (475). PETAC versucht auch Beamte auf den späten Lysimachostypen von Istros zu identifizieren und mit historischen Ereignissen in mithridatischer Zeit zu verknüpfen (470).

Im August 1998 wurde in den Orăștie-Bergen, in der Nähe der dakischen Festung Sarmizegetusa Regia ein großer Hort gefunden. Er enthielt etwa 3.600 westpontische Statere vom Lysimachostyp sowie einige Statere von Pharnakes II. sowie mehrere von Asander als Archon. Leider ist der Hort seither über Westeuropa und die USA verstreut worden. Das Auftauchen eines solchen Fundes, der ausschließlich Münzen enthielt, die spezifisch für das westliche Pontosgebiet waren, der aber mehr als 600 km westlich des Schwarzen Meeres gefunden wurde, bietet PETAC Gelegenheit, die Chronologie des Feldzuges des Dakerkönigs Burebista von Olbia nach Apollonia sowie die Chronologie von Asanders Zeit als Archon (47–43 v. Chr.) und König erneut zu diskutieren. Burebistas Feldzug 46 v. Chr. erlaubt die einzig mögliche historische Erklärung für das Vorkommen des Hortes im Orăștie-Gebirge, wo auch mehrere Istros-Bronzemünzen gefunden wurden (469).

Stammesprägungen

Einen Stempelkatalog von 14 Tristateren der **Ichnai** legt WARTENBERG vor und kann bei sechs Münzen feststellen, dass es sich um Überprägungen handelte, was sie ebenfalls bei anderen frühen Prägungen der Region beobachtet. Wie die Münzen der Bisalten und Orreskier wurden auch die der Ichnai mit dem reduzierten aeginetischen Münzfuß (wie ihn unter anderem Abdera verwendete) geprägt. WARTENBERG unterscheidet stilistisch zwei Serien, die sich entsprechend des Asyut bzw. Elmalı Fundes datieren lassen, und ordnet die Münzen und ihre Rolle in das Gesamtbild der Region, deren weitere Untersuchung noch aussteht, berechnet sie doch das Gesamtgewicht der von den Ichnai geprägten Münzen auf 54 attische Talente (796).

BRACKMANN ordnet „anonyme“ Okta- und Tetrdrachmen eindeutig den **Bisalten** zu und schließt eine ursprüngliche Zuschreibung auch an Alexander I. aus (107).

TOPALOV fasst in seiner sechsteiligen Reihe aus dem Jahr 2019 über die Prägungen des Odrysenreiches vom Ende des 6. bis zum dritten Viertel des 4. Jh. v. Chr. auch wieder die Stammesprägungen zusammen (725, 729). Während die Texte ausschließlich bulgarisch sind, ist die Zusammenstellung der 96 Typen bilingual und schließt das Englische ein; der Katalog wird im Band 6 der Reihe dupliziert (730). Die Publikation von 2017 zu den frühen anepigraphischen Münzen im südwestlichen Thrakien listete nur 89 Typen, wobei die Anordnungen variieren (732). Die Prägungen mit dem **Typ Silen und Nymphe** wurden bereits in einer Monographie 2015 wieder aufgegriffen (717 und immer wieder in Aufsätzen 712–713)). Ein in der Nähe von Tryavna im Bezirk Gabrovo entdeckter Münzhort von Silberstatern vom Typ Silenus und Nymphe ist der bislang nördlichste Beleg für diese Münzen. GRIGOROVA-GENCHEVA und PROKOPOV heben hervor, dass ihr Verbreitungsgebiet wesentlich größer war als das der kleinen Nominele, die Thasos zugeschrieben werden (261).

Die Münzen mit der Legende ΟΔΡΟΣΩΝ betrachtet erneut LOZANOV und weist sie den **Odrysen** als Verbündete der Makedonen am Vorabend des 3. Krieges mit Rom zu (348). Untersucht werden auch die Stammesprägungen der **Krobizen** bei Odessos und der **Nipseener** bei Mesembria (721) sowie Tauschmittel bei den **Bessen** (541).

Neue archäologische Informationen erlauben es ΠΡΟΚΟΡΟΥ, die Münzen der in Thrakien selten zu findenden stilisierten Typen Herakleskopf mit Löwenfell/sitzender Zeus (15 bekannte Exemplare), die als keltisch oder thrako-getisch bezeichnet werden, den **Bastarnern** zuzuordnen (512).

Dynasten und Könige in Thrakien

Die Funktion der Münzprägungen im 5.–4. Jh. v. Chr. im Odrysenreich untersucht erhellend mit Blick auf Münzumsatz, Identifizierung der Prägestätten und Beziehungen zwischen Dynasten und Griechenstädten RUFIN-SOLAS. Sie unterstreicht, dass wenn die von den odrysischen Königen zur Bezahlung der Truppen verwendeten Münzen zunächst eher außerhalb ihres “Königreichs” zirkulierten, sich die Verwendung von Münzfunden als systematischer Indikator für die Grenzen ihrer Herrschaft verbietet (539).

Zu den odrysischen Dynasten wurde erneut eine Reihe von Untersuchungen vorgelegt. Vor allem widmet sich TOPALOV seit Jahrzehnten dieser Thematik und publiziert seine Münzen und deren Auswertung immer wieder mit ergänzenden Exemplaren, Typen und Bemerkungen. Im Teil 2 der Beiträge von 2014 (Teil 1 zu den odrysischen Königen und den Städten an der südlichen Küste war bereits 2006 erschienen) zur Geschichte der Herausbildung des Odrysenreiches bis zur makedonischen Eroberung ist wieder eine Vielzahl von Studien vor allem auf Basis der Münzen versammelt. Als Anhang wird abermals ein typologischer Überblick aller Stammes- und der Herrscherprägungen bis einschließlich der Münzen Seuthes III. gegeben (713). Die Stammes- und Herrscherprägungen des 6.–1. Jh. v. Chr. sind auch Thema eines weiteren Sammelbandes von 2014 (712, wo unter anderem auch wieder die beiden dynastischen Linien aufgezeigt werden, bei denen die eine die Doppelaxt auf ihren Münzen abbildet, während die andere das zweihenklige Gefäß gewählt hatte). Die von PAUNOV aufgezeigte Übersicht zu den Dynasten basiert in groben Zügen auf diesen Vorarbeiten von TOPALOV (444). In seiner Reihe von 2019 zum Odrysenreich fasst TOPALOV im Teil 2 die Untersuchungen zu Teres I., Sparadokos (s. auch 713) und Sitalkes zusammen (726), in Band 3 die Prägungen von Seuthes I. (s. auch 713), Metokos (s. auch 713), Hebrzyelmis (s. auch 713) und Kotys I. (s. auch 713) (727), Band 4 untersucht Amatokos (s. auch 713), Kersobleptes (s. auch 712–713), Teres II. (s. auch 713), Bergaios (s. auch 713), Ketriporis (s. auch 713) sowie die Münzen die mit den Buchstaben ΦΙ, ΦΙΑ, ΦΙΑΗ bzw. einem Monogramm aus Φ, Ι, Λ und Η geprägt wurden und jene mit der Legende ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (s. auch 713) (728). Im Band 5 werden einige spezielle Probleme dieser Prägungen aufgegriffen: wie bspw. die nach dem Hermes kult (s. auch 713), die zu den Verbindungen, die sich aus der Abbildung des zweihenkligen Gefäßes bzw. der Doppelaxt ergeben, die Diskussion um Abbildungen von realistischen Herrscherporträts von Saratokos bis zu Bronzemünzen des Lysimachos. Erneut stellt TOPALOV die Bronzeprägung eines kleinen Nominals mit dem zweihenkligen Gefäß auf der Rückseite vor, die von mehreren kleinen Städten (Kypsela, Bisanthe, Herain Teichos (?), Selymbria (?)/Sajutaba (?) oder Sale(?), Athyras (?), Bizye (?), Philis/Phileas(?) sowie einer weiteren unbestimmten Stadt in Südostthrakien) herausgegeben wurde, die sich in unmittelbarer Nähe der Herrscherresidenzen oder thrakischer Heiligtümer befanden. Aus dem Vergleich mit den Münzbildern folgert TOPALOV, dass der Ring mit der Inschrift ΤΗΡΗΤΟΣ ΣΗΥΣΑ einem Nachkommen Teres I. gehört haben muss. Als Katalog werden alle städtischen Münztypen des 5. und der ersten Hälfte des 4. Jh. v. Chr. abgebildet, die gemeinsame Typen oder Symbole mit den Herrscherprägungen aufweisen (729). Band 6 (730) bildet den Katalog zu Band 1–4. Dabei ist der erste Katalogteil zu den Stämmen in Band 6 identisch mit dem in Band 1. Katalog 2 sind die 92 Herrscherprägungen von Teres I. bis Rhoigos. Der abschließende Katalog 3 führt die 151 Münzen der Sammlung von STAVRI TOPALOV selbst auf, von denen fast die Hälfte hier erstmalig publiziert wird. Aktualisierungen seiner Ausführungen zu den Prägungen im Odrysenreich vom Ende des 6. bis zum dritten Viertel des 4. Jh. v. Chr. liefert TOPALOV auch 2021 (731).

YAĞIZ hat die 13 Münzen der thrakischen Dynasten im Museum von Tekirdağ publiziert und einen Überblick zu ihrer jeweiligen Herrschaft und zu den genealogischen Verbindungen gegeben. Es sind vornehmlich die im Osten des Odrysenreiches regierenden Herrscher: Hebrzyelmis, Kotys I., Kersobleptes, Lysimachos, der ca. 178–168 v. Chr. regierende Kotys, Mostis, Sadalas, Rhoimetalkes I. und Rhoimetalkes II., die in die Museumssammlung gelangten (803). Auch aus den Museen von Pomorie und von Burgas wurden die Herrscherprägungen publiziert (310, 263).

Die anhand der Münzfüße und der Funde ermittelte Lokalisierung des Herrschaftsbereiches des **Sparadokos** im unteren und mittleren Hebrostal erlaubt es jetzt PSOMA, die Abbildung des Adlers auf den Rückseiten seiner Münzen zu erklären: der Östliche Kaiseradler (*Aquila heliaca*) ist einer der beeindruckendsten Vögel überhaupt und lebt noch heute in den Wäldern und dem Naturpark Dadia im Hebrostal (520). In der Festschrift für Margarita Tacheva publiziert

RUSEVA die drei Drachmen und sechs Diobole des Sparadokos aus der Sammlung des NAIM-BAN (551). Weitere 11 Diobole aus dem Museumsbesitz sowie weitere 11 aus dem Museum der Nationalbank von Sofia, die Teil eines verstreuten Schatzfundes von 2003 sind, veröffentlicht sie in der Festschrift für JORDANKA JURUKOVA. Der Fund enthielt neben den Münzen des Odrysen, auch einen Diobol von Ainos (556). Für die Diobole des Sparadokos bestimmt sie auch Ainos als Münzstätte und datiert sie 440–430 v. Chr.

Münzen **Seuthes I.** wurden aus einer privaten Sammlung publiziert (80). RUSEVA nimmt zwei neue Exemplare von Didrachmen im Handel zum Anlass, um erneut die Frage zu stellen, wem die Silbermünzen mit der Legende ΣΕΥΘΑ ΑΡΓΥΡΙΑ oder ΣΕΥΘΑ ΚΟΜΜΑ zugewiesen werden müssen – Seuthes I. oder Seuthes II. – und trägt vor dem Hintergrund der beim Emporion Pistiros gefundenen frühen Dynastenprägungen noch einmal die Argumente zusammen (547). Ein silbernes Tetartemorion mit den Darstellungen Pferdekopf/Rad aus den Grabungen von Vetren (Emporion Pistiros) wird von RUSEVA publiziert und **Seuthes II.** zugeschrieben, dem sie auch die Bronzeprägungen in diesem Komplex zuweist (546 = 557). Es lassen sich auch Argumente finden, diesem Seuthes ebenfalls den neuen von TOPALOV publizierten Typ Pferd mit einem Sonnensymbol darüber/Kypsele und der Legende Σ-E / B-I zuzuweisen (553). RUSEVA erörtert umfassend eine kleine Bronzemünze, die einen neuen Typ Rundschild/Kypsele und Θ im linken Feld darstellt und 1996 bei den Ausgrabungen in Pistiros gefunden wurde. In Abwägung aller Argumente schreibt sie den Typ am ehesten Seuthes II. zu (554).

Eine Übersicht über die Prägung des **Saratokos** gibt PEŠEČONOV mit ausführlicher Darstellung der Forschungsgeschichte und der Münzfunde und vergleicht insbesondere den Typ Silen/Krater mit jenem von Thasos (460). Die Konzentration der Münzen des Saratokos am Ober- und Mittellauf des Hebros wird durch die Publikation eines weiteren Fundes belegt (457).

Kotys I. wird ein bislang unbekannter Typ eines größeren Bronzenominals zugewiesen. Er zeigt das reife Porträt des Herrschers (718, 736).

PAUNOV interpretiert einen neuen Münztyp Apollonkopf/Speerspitze des **Ketriporis**, der 2017 bei CNG publiziert wurde. Die Speerspitze, die später auch auf Prägungen von Kassander, Lysimachos und Adaios abgebildet wurde, taucht hier erstmalig auf und passt zu dem Ketriporis-Typ mit dem Schild. Da es auch nicht mehr der Dionysoskopf auf der Vorderseite ist, regt er an, die Münzstätte für seine Prägungen eher in Krenidis als auf Thasos zu suchen (446). TOPALOV publiziert alle vier bekannten Typen des Dynasten, aber geht nicht die Überlegungen von PAUNOV ein (728).

HOUMOUZIADIS und ILIEFF erarbeiten einen umfassenden Überblick über die Prägung von **Teres III.** inklusive der Materialzusammensetzung seiner Münzen. Sie fassen sie in drei Hauptgruppen zusammen und unterteilen sie in 21 Typen (276).

Der Fund des bronzenen Kopfes aus dem vermutlichen Grab von **Seuthes III.** wird zum Anlass der Untersuchung der Porträt Darstellungen auf den Münzen genommen (559). Den Porträtkopf und die Münzen Seuthes III., die auch bei der großen Thraker-Ausstellung gezeigt wurden, bietet TOPALOV Gelegenheit für eine Miszelle (719, zu Seuthes auch 721). Münzen von Seuthes III. wurden auch im Gebiet von Stara Zagora in Mittelbulgarien gefunden (390–391).

Die seit den 1990er Jahren entdeckten Münzen mit der Legende ΜΕΛΛΙΑ wurden umfassend von STOYAS beleuchtet (601, siehe auch kurz 458). Es wird diskutiert, ob es sich um eine städtische oder dynastische Prägung oder um eine Emission eines Heiligtums handeln könnte, welche Datierungen sich aus den Überprägungen ergeben etc. Das von TOPALOV und STOJANOV publizierte Material wird berücksichtigt (734, s. auch 712). Unabhängig von der Publikation von STOYAS hat weniger umfassend TOPALOV die Problematik dieser Prägung dargestellt (711). Er nimmt an, dass es sich um einen noch unbekanntem thrakischen Dynasten handelt, in dessen Gebiet das mesambische Polichnion Bizone gegründet wurde.

TOPALOV macht immer wieder auf mögliche neue Typen oder Varianten von dynastischen Prägungen in Thrakien aufmerksam (715, 716, 733). Eine Münze aus dem NAIM-BAN, die bislang dem 171–167 v. Chr. regierenden Kotys zugewiesen wurde, wird Kyme zugeordnet (308).

In Auswertung der Münzpolitik des **Lysimachos** kommt HOCHARD zur Schlussfolgerung, dass er ein wenig talentierter Politiker war (269). MARINESCU legt einen Stempelkatalog und eine umfassende Analyse für die von Kios geprägten Münzen im Namen des Lysimachos vor. Die umfangreiche Prägung, die einen beachtlichen Teil der Lysimachos-Emissionen ausmacht, beginnt nach 289 v. Chr. für rund 40 Jahre und wird hier in vorbildlicher Weise erschlossen (367). MARINESCU greift auch noch einmal die Lysimachos-Prägung von Byzantion auf und beleuchtet den

Beginn der Prägung näher, den er jetzt bereits für ca. 270 v. Chr. annimmt und weist einige der Pella zugeordneten Münzen Byzantion zu (366). Im Rahmen der Rekonstruktion der Fundgeschichte, -zusammensetzung und -datierung von IGCH 1450 publiziert MARINESCU auch 28 Tetradrachmen des Lysimachos, die Eingang in die Sammlung der ANS gefunden haben (368).

Bei einer begrenzten Anzahl von frühen posthumeren Lysimachos-Statere der westpontischen Griechenstädte, Tomis, Odessos und Mesembria, sowie Byzantion aus der Mitte des 3. Jh. v. Chr. beobachtet PETAC ein ikonographisches Detail: das Fehlen des Speers in der Liste der Attribute der Athena (471, s. auch 466). Das gilt auch für die Lysimachostypen mit einem Stern als Symbol auf der Rückseite, die Uranopolis oder Lampsakos zugeordnet werden (473). PETAC sieht hierin bestimmte politische Kontexte und eine Allianz zwischen Byzantion und den westpontischen griechischen Städten zu Beginn des Dritten Syrischen Krieges.

Zwei Lysimachos-Statere (einer von einer unsicheren Prägestätte, eventuell Alexandria Troas und ein posthumer von Lampsakos) können von einem Fund in der Dobrudja publiziert und interpretiert werden (477). (Zu den Lysimachostypen siehe auch oben den Abschnitt zur Schwarzmeerküste und unten die Anmerkungen bei den Funden.) TEKIN greift erneut die Diskussion um die Münzen mit der Legende ΑΓ, ΑΓΑ, ΑΓΑΘ, ΑΓΑΘΟ auf, die dem Sohn des Lysimachos, **Agathokles**, zugeschrieben werden, deren Münzstätte aber umstritten ist. Als Prägeort für die Serie mit dem Monogramm hält TEKIN ebenfalls Maroneia für plausibel, die fünf hier behandelten Serien mit dem Herrscherporträt, für deren Münzen er einen Stempelkatalog erstellt und die Fundorte angibt, weist er Adramyttion zu. Die Stadt änderte ihren Namen in Agathoklea 290–282 v. Chr. (674).

Erneut wird der Fund IGCH 869, von dem sich 52 (von ursprünglich rund 200) Exemplare im NAIM-BAN Sofia befinden und der aufgrund der darin enthaltenen Tetradrachmen des **Skostokos** bislang einzigartig ist, interpretiert. RUSEVA schließt sich der Meinung von Dimitrov (1984) an, datiert die Skostokos Münzen aber früher und kritisiert stellenweise die Vorschläge von Fischer-Bossert (2005) (548).

Die Münzen des **Adaïos** sind immer wieder Forschungsgegenstand. BALABANOV hat erstmalig die vier Exemplare aus dem mehr als 5.000 Münzen umfassenden Fundes von Aïtos aus dem Jahr 1906, die sich im NAIM-BAN befinden, publiziert und diskutiert die Probleme der Definition dieses Herrschers im Zusammenhang mit den anderen Funden seiner Münzen (77). TOPALOV hat noch einmal die Typen des Adaïos zusammengestellt und zusammen mit den gegengestempelten Münzen des 3. Jh. v. Chr. vom südöstlichen Thrakien untersucht (721, S. 181–219; vgl. auch 712).

Die Prägung des Dynasten **Mostis** erhielt besondere Aufmerksamkeit durch die Publikation des Bandes zur Residenz dieses thrakischen Herrschers in der Nähe des Dorfes Sinemorec, Gemeinde Carevo, im Süden der bulgarischen Schwarzmeerküste. Der 2012 entdeckte Fund von 199 silbernen Tetradrachmen, der 36 Tetradrachmen des Mostis enthielt, wurde von YORDANOV und AGRE zunächst als Vorabpublikation (41) und dann ausführlich (809) vorgestellt, allerdings mit einer umstrittenen Interpretation zum Herrscher selbst (122). Zeitgleich hat PAUNOV eine Typologie der von ihm zusammengestellten 109 Bronzemünzen des Mostis vorgelegt und die Stempelstudie der Tetradrachmen von DE CALLATAÏ aktualisiert (443). Dabei konnte er sich nur auf die Vorabpublikationen des Fundes von Sinemorec durch Karayotov von 2012 und AGRE und YORDANOV 2014 (41) berufen. Seiner Ansicht nach ist Mostis in die zweite Hälfte des 2. Jh. v. Chr. zu datieren und regierte im südöstlichen küstennahen Thrakien, wie die Zusammenstellung der Münzfunde vermuten lässt. Als Prägestätte für die Bronzemünzen nimmt er die Gegend von Heraion Teichos an, möglicherweise Bisanthe/Panion; die Silbermünzen wurden in dem für die Lysimachos-Nachahmungen bekannten Byzantion hergestellt. Dass PAUNOV in Mostis einen Vasallen Mithridates VI. sieht, unterstreicht er auch in seiner Monographie zur Ausbreitung der römischen Herrschaft in Thrakien, in der diesem Herrscher ein eigenes Kapitel gewidmet ist (452, S. 204–215).

Die Entstehung des Klientelkönigreiches Thrakien in der zweiten Hälfte des 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. bedeutete einen Wendepunkt im Umgang Roms mit den thrakischen Angelegenheiten. Vor dem Hintergrund der Münzfunde stellen PAPAGEORGIADOU und PARISSAKI den propagandistischen Charakter der Prägung des **Rhoimetalkes I.** heraus, der sein Porträt zusammen mit dem des Kaisers auf den Münzen abbildete (440). Umfänglich legt PAUNOV die Prägung von Rhoimetalkes I. dar (448). Er wertete rund 3.100 Münzen der Könige aus, die Thrakien vom 1. Jh. v. Chr. bis zur Provinzgründung 45/46 n. Chr. regierten. Seiner Ansicht nach handelte es sich vornehmlich um sporadische Prestigeprägungen, mit Ausnahme jener von Rhoimetalkes I. (452).

Von insgesamt 229 Dynastenprägungen von Amadokos/Kersobleptes bis Rhoimetalkes III., die zu Beginn des 20.

Jh. in Aquae Calidae gefunden wurden, gelangten 79 Exemplare von Rhoimetalkes I. (die mit 181 die Mehrheit bilden) ins Nationale Archäologische Institut mit Museum in Sofia (NAIM-BAS) und wurden 2020 von YORDANOV erstmalig publiziert (808). Auf die Notwendigkeit der Veröffentlichung dieser Funde hatte bereits PAUNOV 2015 verwiesen (445). Problematisch ist die Interpretation der fünf Münzen der Gruppe VI mit der Legende ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ/ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΡΟΙΜΗΤΑΚΟΥ und der Abbildung des Tiberius, die sowohl als Emissionen des Rhoimetalkes I. (so RPC I, Paunov) als auch des Rhoimetalkes II. (Jurukova) interpretiert werden können. Es scheint aber, dass aus diesem Fund sicher keine Münze Rhoimetalkes II. zugewiesen werden kann (siehe auch 806, 808). YORDANOV wertet auch den Fund von Gruevo aus den 50er Jahren des 20. Jh. historisch aus, der über 600 Bronzemünzen enthielt und somit bislang der Fund mit den meisten Münzen des Rhoimetalkes ist (807). Rhoimetalkes I. prägte 16 Typen von Bronzemünzen sowie silberne Drachmen, Didrachmen und Tetradrachmen. Aus dem Fund stammen 103 Münzen des Typs RPC I 1718; 253 Münzen des Typs RPC I 1711; 30 Münzen der erwähnten Gruppe VI, die laut Inschrift zu Rhoimetalkes I. gehören, ikonographisch aber ähnlich den Prägungen des Rhoimetalkes II. sind; fünf Münzen Rhoimetalkes II. vom kleinen Nominal und 17 eines größeren (RPC I 1721). YORDANOV listet auch die nicht identifizierbaren Münzen sowie eine Münze von Mytilene und zwei Münzen mit unverständlichen Legenden, die als lokale Nachahmungen (448) angesehen werden, aus dem Fund auf. Ferner gibt er einen Überblick über die 11 bekannten Funde mit Münzen der Könige mit Namen Rhoimetalkes; den Fund von 2015 aus dem Gebiet von Smolyan hatte er bereits separat publiziert (806). Zu den Funden der Münzen von Rhoimetalkes I. siehe auch (64). YORDANOV präsentiert ferner eine Drachme von Augustus und Rhoimetalkes I. aus der Sammlung des Nationalen Historischen Museums in Sofia und bündelt die Informationen in eine umfassende Historiographie dieser in Byzanz geprägten Stücke ein (804). Die Prägung des **Rhoimetalkes II.** wird 2017 in einem Aufsatz vorgestellt (805) und für die Münzen dieses Herrschers im Fund von Gruevo werden Stempel angegeben (807). Die Dissertation von YORDANOV 2017 zu den späthellenistischen Königsprägungen in Thrakien 183 v.–45/46 n. Chr. ist noch unpubliziert.

Skythen

Die Interpretation der skythischen Königsmünzen erfuhr besondere Aufmerksamkeit (273). So ist zu den skythischen Königen an der westlichen Pontosküste 2015 die grundlegende Monographie von DRAGANOV erschienen, der auf Basis einer Stempelstudie von über 1.084 Münzen zu einer Reihe neuer Erkenntnisse gelangt (215). Vom ersten skythischen Königreich in der Dobrudja sind die Prägungen des Ataias überliefert (dazu auch 216), der 342–339 v. Chr. zur Zeit Philipp II. herrschte. Die Prägung des ersten Ataiastyps Herakleskopf/skythischer Reiter verortet Draganov 345 v. Chr. in Herakleia Pontike. Sie wurden nie in der Dobrudja gefunden. Die anderen Münzen wurden wahrscheinlich in Dionysopolis geprägt. So wird der Typ Dionysoskopf/Skythischer Reiter des Ataias, der auf Münzen von Philipp II. Apollokopf/Reiter überprägt wurde, mit einem möglichen Besuch von Ataias in Dionysopolis in Verbindung gebracht (223). Das zweite Skythische Königreich in der Dobrudja wurde seiner Ansicht nach um 218 v. Chr. von Tanousas begründet (s. auch die spezielle Studie von DRAGANOV mit einem Überblick über die Historiographie zur Abfolge der skythischen Könige (217)) und dauerte bis um 168/7 v. Chr. (Eine detaillierte Chronologie des Skythenreiches legt er auch in (219) dar.) Durch Münzen sind als weitere Könige Kanites, Akrosas, Charaspes, Ailios und Sariakes belegt. Eine spezielle Publikation ist dem letzten König Sariakes gewidmet, der auch silberne Drachmen des chiisch-rhodischen Münzfusses prägte und im Kampf gegen die Bastarnen fiel (224). Als Residenz und Prägestätte der skythischen Könige des zweiten Reiches bestimmt DRAGANOV ausweislich der Funde Aphrodisias zwischen Dionysopolis und Bizone und belegt diese Interpretation mit weiteren Argumenten über den Charakter der Prägungen – als ein eigenes Münzsystem mit vier Nominalen, eigenen Magistraten, eigenen Münztypen, eigenen Gegenstempeln und eigenen Überprägungen fremder Münzen – in (221). Die früheren Zuweisungen der griechischen Städte an der Schwarzmeerküste als Prägeorte lehnt er ab. Die Dioskuren bilden das Parasemon der Prägungen. Im selben Jahr 2015 wie DRAGANOV (215) schlägt auch MANOV dieselbe zeitliche Bestimmung für die Herrschaft dieser sechs skythischen Könige vor (353). Die Ausdehnung des Herrschaftsterritoriums sieht er auf einen Streifen von 50–60 km von der Küste beschränkt. Er vermutet in Kanites den ersten dieser Könige, der 19 Bronzetypen prägte, gefolgt dann von Tanousas und den anderen. Seiner Ansicht nach wurden die Münzen der Könige in Istros, Tomis und Kallatis sowie in Dionysopolis geprägt. Aufgrund eines identischen Monogramms auf Stateren des Lysimachostyps und Tetradrachmen des Alexandertyps aus Tomis und auf Münzen von Ailios und Charaspes sehen PETAC und VILCU die Stadt zumindest als Prägestätte für einen Teil der Münzen des Ailios und für alle Prägungen des Charaspes an,

die beide um 250 v. Chr. geherrscht haben müssen (478). Am Beispiel von Akrosas und Moskon zeigt DIMITROVA die Schwierigkeit der historischen Einordnung und Interpretation dieser Herrscher auf, die uns nur durch die Münzen überliefert sind (197; zu Moskon s. auch 721). Alle Quellen – vor allem auch die nicht numismatischen – zu diesen Königen hat LAZARENKO in seiner Monographie zusammengetragen (342). Einen Überblick zur Überlieferung zu diesen Herrschern verfasste ferner STOLYARIK in der Festschrift für Draganov (599). Dass auch die umfassende Publikation von DRAGANOV nicht alle Probleme lösen konnte, aber das Material für weitere Diskussionen bereitstellte, zeigen die weiteren Abhandlungen. Die ausführliche Rezension des Buches durch F. DE CALLATAÏ wirft eine Reihe zu überdenkender Postulate auf (123). MANOV analysiert die Gegenstempel der skythischen Münzen um ein besseres Bild der Zirkulation dieser Prägungen zu gewinnen (354). Auch er schlussfolgert, dass einige Gegenstempel von den jeweils nachfolgenden Königen selbst stammten. Die Städte an der Westküste des Pontos von Odessos bis Istros sieht er nicht als unabhängig, sondern als Teil des Skythenreiches an und spricht sich gegen die von DRAGANOV geäußerte Ansicht von Aphrodisias als Hauptstadt aus. Speziell die Funde skythischer Königsprägungen, von denen nur drei aus regulären archäologischen Grabungen stammen, betrachtet DRAGANOV. Mehr als 90% aller bekannten Exemplare stammen vom Küstenstreifen zwischen Balchik (Dionysopolis) und dem Kap Kaliakra (Tirzis) bzw. bis Shabla (Karon Limen) (222). Fünf Bronzemünzen des Kanites, Ailios, Charaspes und Akrosas mit Fundangaben in der Dobrudja stellt TALMAŢCHI vor (648).

Kelten

Die Literatur zu den auch in Bulgarien zu findenden keltischen Münzen werden in einem anderen Abschnitt des Surveys versammelt, hier sei lediglich die Monographie von MANOV hervorgehoben (357), der im Zusammenhang mit dem keltisch-gallischen Königreich in Thrakien eine Reihe von Münzprägungen – u. a. von Kersibaulos, Kauaros, Skostokos, Seuthes und damit verbundene ikonographische, typologische und chronologische Fragen diskutiert. MANOV gelangt zu einer Neubewertung des keltischen Königreiches. Dessen Hauptstadt verlegt er nach Apre – an die Stelle der antiken thrakischen Siedlung Apros – nördlich von Lysimacheia. Das wird auch durch den Fund eines neuen Typs bei Svilengrad, Region Haskovo, untermauert. Die Münze zeigt ein Herrscherbild auf der Vorderseite und auf der Rückseite eine Kombination aus dem Namen der Hauptstadt Apre und einem Personennamen eines bisher unbekannt keltischen Herrschers (358). Die Bronzemünzen von **Kauaros** wurden nach Ansicht von MANOV in verschiedenen Münzstätten geprägt (s. auch 356), seine Gold- und Silbermünzen mit dem Namen Alexanders oder Lysmachos‘ in den Poleis am Schwarzen Meer oder an der Propontis (358). Eine mit dem Metalldetektor 2020 in der Nähe von Lipnița (Kreis Constanța) entdeckte Bronzemünze für Kauaros vom Typ Apollo/Nike geprägt in Mesembria zwischen 239–218 v. Chr. dient weiteren Überlegungen zur möglichen nördlichen Grenze des keltischen Königreiches am südlichen Donauufer (666).

Koson

Nach wie vor ziehen die Koson-Münzen Aufmerksamkeit auf sich (133, 148). Einen umfassenden Forschungsüberblick über das nun schon ein halbes Jahrtausend andauernde Interesse gibt MITTHOF (395). STROBEL nutzt sie als Beispiel für ethnische Etikettierung (602). Seit 2005 sind auch zwei Drachmenemissionen des Koson bekannt, von denen jeweils 40–50 Exemplare auf dem Auktionsmarkt auftauchten und aus einem Hortfund aus der Gegend von Sarmizegetusa stammen sollen. FISCHER-BOSSERT (235) hält die Zweifel an der Echtheit dieser Münzen noch nicht für ausgeräumt.

Illyrien

Einen Typenkatalog zu Illyrien legt HOOVER vor (271). GJONGEČAJ-VANGJELI stellt die Funde im Gebiet des heutigen Albanien zusammen (247), auf deren Basis sie fünf Zirkulationsgebiete ausmacht und drei chronologische Schichten. Die Materialvorlage bietet auch einen Überblick über die Münzproduktion des 5.–1. Jh. v. Chr. von **Dyrrhachion** und **Apollonia** und schließt ebenfalls die Dynastenprägung des Monounios ein (249). Die Autorin berücksichtigt allerdings nicht die im ersten Band der Reihe 2015 erschienene vorbildliche Stempelstudie von META zu Dyrrhachion (379), die die Prägung umfassend vorstellt. Korrekturen zur Interpretation der Funde liefert die Rezension von MEADOWS (374). 2015 publizierte GJONGEČAJ (248) einen neuen kleinen silbernen Münztyp Kopf des Hermes Parammon/Pegasosprotome von Dyrrhachion (Δ und Keule), den sie Ende 4./Anfang 3. Jh. v. Chr. datiert. Eine kleine Studie widmete MAŠEK den nach der römischen Eroberung mit Magistratsnamen geprägten Drachmen von Dyrrhachion (372). Die Ausbreitung der Denare in Illyrien untersucht META (380).

Die Prägungen der illyrischen Städte nimmt auch PICARD für die Definition von Serien als Beispiel (496).

Den Münzumsatz im nordwestlichen Kroatien untersuchte BILIĆ – sowohl die vorrömischen Einzelfundmünzen als auch die Hortfunde. Die meisten Fundmünzen stammen aus Segestica/Siscia, dem heutigen Sisak. Aus archäologischen Ausgrabungen kommen nur wenige Exemplare. Die größte Anzahl machen römisch-republikanische Münzen aus, aber auch keltische Münzen, insbesondere die der Taurischer (95, 100). Rund 140 vorrömische Münzen aus der Gegend des heutigen Sisak legte BILIĆ in einer weiteren Studie vor (96). Die Zusammensetzung entspricht dem generellen Bild der Region. Die wenigen stratigraphisch belegten Münzen aus archäologischen Grabungen dienen als Korrektiv zur Kategorie der Münzversorgung (Münzen, die im Gebiet von Sisak außerhalb der archäologischen Stratigraphie gefunden wurden) (97). Schatzfunde mit Münzen von Dyrrhachion aus dem Gebiet von Sibiu publizierte auch PURECE (522, 528). Ferner stellen PURECE und MUNTEANU zwei fragmentarische Funde mit Drachmen von Apollonia und *Dyrrhachion vor (527) bzw. einen Fund mit Dyrrhachion-Münzen ebenfalls aus dem Brukenthal-Museum (528)*. Funde mit Münzen von Dyrrhachion sind häufig (258, 524–527, 530). *Die thrakischen Nachahmungen der Typen von Dyrrhachion und Apollonia studierte* TOPALOV (714).

BILIĆ bietet einen Überblick über die neuesten Forschungen zur sogenannten griechisch-illyrischen Münzprägung und rekonstruiert für das 4.–2. Jh. v.Chr. in der zentralen Adriaregion ein ausgeprägtes regionales Geldsystem, das in der lokalen und regionalen Wirtschaftsgeschichte eine wichtige Rolle spielte. Die Münzen wurden von den griechischen Poleis Pharos, Issa, Herakleia und Korkyra sowie vom illyrischen Herrscher Ballaios ausgegeben (98). Die Funde des **Ballaios** hat CIOLEK zusammengestellt. Bei den Risan-Grabungen 2001–2018 traten 1.661 Münzen des Herrschers zu Tage sowie zwei Funde mit 4.655 bzw. 102 Münzen. Rhizon ist Hauptstadt und Prägestätte des Ballaios (140). Diese 6.500 Münzen des Ballaios aus Risan behandelt auch DYCZEK (230) und datiert den Herrscher ca. 250–230 v. Chr., er vermutet in ihm einen Anführer eines Piratenstaates bzw. Handelsbundes.

Der Name des illyrischen Königs **Mytilos** erscheint zusammen mit einem Königstitel auf den frühesten dyrrhachischen Bronzemünzen mit dem Kopf des Herakles auf der Vorderseite und den Attributen des Helden sowie der Inschrift ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΥΤΙΑΟΥ auf der Rückseite. Insgesamt sind fünf Münzen mit dem Namen des Königs bekannt, darunter das Exemplar im Archäologischen Museum in Zagreb, das sich als Nachahmung herausstellte (99).

Paionien

Der Prägung des **Patraos** hat SEKUNDA einen Aufsatz gewidmet (570). Die Prägung diente – ebenso wie die Münzen von **Damastion** – auch FISCHER-BOSSERT als Beispiel für Überlegungen zum Geldtransfer in der Antike (236).

Nördliches Schwarzmeergebiet

Forschungsgeschichte, Geschichte der Sammlungen, Personalien

Wie aus dem Artikel von DE CALLATAÏ zu den antiquarischen Studien des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts über die königliche Münzprägung des Bosphoros (121) hervorgeht, hat das Interesse an den antiken Münzen der Region weit zurückreichende Wurzeln. Ein wichtiger Meilenstein in der Erforschung dieses Materials war das leider nicht vollendete Projekt von M.I. Rostovtsev zur Erstellung eines „Corpus der bosphoranischen Münzen“, auf das sich TUNKINA und ABRAMZON in ihrem Artikel (741) beziehen. Die Geschichte der antiken Numismatik des nördlichen Schwarzmeerraumes ist eng mit der Entstehung der regionalen numismatischen Sammlungen verbunden, die zum größten Teil aus lokalen Münzen bestehen. An dieser Stelle sei zunächst eine Reihe von Artikeln erwähnt, die sich mit verschiedenen Sammlungen befassen, die in die Sammlung des Archäologischen Museums von Odessa Eingang gefunden haben (Münzen aus dem Universitätsmuseum von Odessa (113), die Sammlung von Blaramberg (318)), aber gelegentlich auch Zugänge aus Funden in der Region, darunter Funde von der Insel Leuke, behandelten (116–117). Zu den bedeutendsten Privatsammlungen des späten 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts gehörte die Sammlung von E. E. Ljučenko, deren Geschichte und Biographie ihres Besitzers von IZBAŠ-GOCKAN erörtert wurde (287). Das Schicksal einer weiteren bedeutenden Sammlung, der von I. Terleckij, die in Kertsch entstand und von der ein Teil später in polnische Museen gelangte, wurde gleich in mehreren Artikeln behandelt (101, 288, 792). Weit weniger repräsentativ, aber nicht ohne wissenschaftliches Interesse ist eine Auswahl antiker Münzen der Region aus der Sammlung des berühmten Numismatikers V. A. Anochin, die nach seinem Tod in das Geldmuseum der Nationalbank der Ukraine gelangte (102). Über das Schicksal des schöpferischen Erbes eines anderen herausragenden ukrainischen Forschers, Peter Karyškovskij, und zwar seiner Sammlung von Gipsabgüssen von Münzen der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste, berichten IZBAŠ-GOCKAN und KOLESNIČENKO (289–290). Der Beitrag des Wissenschaftlers zur Numismatik von

Nikonion wurde anlässlich des 60. Jahrestages der Ausgrabungen in Nikonion durch BULATOVIČ analysiert (114).

Publikation von Museumsbeständen

Trotz des intensiven Prozesses der Digitalisierung numismatischer Ressourcen und Sammlungen im Untersuchungszeitraum behalten die traditionellen Formen der Veröffentlichung von Museumssammlungen ihre Bedeutung. Vom nördlichen Schwarzmeergebiet wurden in der Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum-Reihe Münzen aus dem Ashmolean Museum (Bosporos) (70), dem Archäologischen und Ethnographischen Museum in Łódź (384) sowie aus den für unsere Region herausragenden Sammlungen des Nationalmuseums in Warschau (Sarmatien, Chersonesos, Bosporos) (793–794) und des Staatlichen Historischen Museums in Moskau (4.270 Exemplare von Münzen aus Tyras, Olbia, Kerkinitis und Chersonesos) (15) publiziert. Außerhalb dieser Reihe sind die Kataloge der Museen von Sofia (212), Kertsch (9) und Batumi (781) zu erwähnen.

Veröffentlichungen aus den Sammlungen anderer Museen (Rom (400), Athen (738), Plovdiv (465), Odessa (115, 117), Kiew (178, 775), Jaroslawl (352), Krasnodar (498), Eupatoria (227–229) und weiterer (293)) trugen selektiven Charakter, in dem sie Münzen ausgewählter Prägestätten oder Emissionen präsentierten.

Münzikonographie und visuelle Kommunikation

Ein weiteres wichtiges Thema, das sowohl die Region als Ganzes als auch ihre einzelnen Teile betraf, war die Frage der numismatischen Ikonographie. Dabei wurden Aspekte wie Münzporträts, denen eine Studie von KOVALENKO (325–326) sowohl in englischer als auch in russischer Sprache gewidmet ist, oder die Entwicklung von Bildern bestimmter Gottheiten, insbesondere das Bild der Athene auf den Münzen von Tyras, Olbia, Chersonesos, Theodosia und Pantikapaion (694), und auch spezifische Themen und Motive, wie z. B. die Abbildungen von Getreide (701) oder Tierkampfszenen (705), die sich auf Münzen mehrerer Zentren finden lassen, untersucht.

Es ist seit langem bekannt, dass sich einige Themen der griechisch-skythischen Toreutik mit der Typologie der lokalen griechischen Münzen überschneiden. Die Artikel von BABENKO (73), POLIN (499) und TEREŠČENKO (696), die sich mit der Analyse der gestempelten Goldplättchen aus den Gräbern des skythischen Adels befassen, kommen auf dieses Problem zurück. Bereits in der frühhellenistischen Periode spiegeln sich in der lokalen Münzsymbolik spezielle militär-politische Ereignisse der Region. Wie STOLBA zeigte, feiert eine der Emissionen von Olbia die Befreiung der Stadt von der Belagerung durch makedonische Truppen unter der Führung des Zopyrion, die zuvor nur durch eine kurze Erwähnung bei Macrobius (Sat. 1.11.33) bekannt war (595).

Das Beispiel der olbischen “Borysthener” illustriert auch die Bedeutung der Münztypen der Stadt als wichtiges visuelles Kommunikations- und Propagandamittel im Rahmen der wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen der Polis mit der lokalen barbarischen Bevölkerung der Steppen- und Waldsteppenzone (597). Einen besonderen Schwerpunkt der ikonographischen Forschung bildeten die Analyse und Interpretation der Münzbilder des Bosporus, einschließlich der städtischen Emissionen von Pantikapion, Phanagoria und Theodosia (108, 619–622, 698–700, 702–704, 706), sowie der östlich angrenzenden Kolchis (109), wo Themen wie die dionysische, solar- und landwirtschaftliche Symbolik, die Identifizierung bestimmter Personen und andere diskutiert wurden. Im Zusammenhang mit dem sensationellen Fund der Keilinschrift von Phanagoria stellt sich erneut die Frage nach dem achämenidischen Einfluss in der Typologie der bosporanischen Münzen (78–79).

Neue Typen und Varianten, prosopographische Studien

Für praktisch jeden Teil der nordpontischen Küste gab es im Untersuchungszeitraum nicht wenige numismatische Neuheiten, darunter sowohl neue Varianten bereits bekannter Typen als auch völlig neue Typen (44–45, 52–53, 62, 135, 175, 246, 312, 320, 430, 565, 598). Leider haben die meisten von ihnen keinen verlässlichen archäologischen Kontext und stammen aus privaten Sammlungen und zufälligen Funden. Gleichzeitig geht die Bedeutung des neuen Materials oft über rein numismatische Fragen hinaus, was besonders bei einer Reihe von prosopographischen Studien deutlich wird. Darunter sind Versuche, sowohl neue als auch seit langem bekannte Münzmonogramme zu entziffern, sowie eine vergleichende Untersuchung über die Namen von Münzmagistraten und von Beamten auf Amphorenstempeln (42–43, 165, 411–412, 415, 749).

Nichtmonetäre Verwendung von Münzen, Rezeption

Eine weitere Besonderheit des nordpontischen Materials, die Beachtung verdient, ist das Vorhandensein von sogenannten beschnittenen Münzen in den Funden. Eine Reihe von Artikeln ist diesen Funden in der Umgebung von Olbia gewidmet (151, 589–590), aber sie sind auch aus anderen Teilen der Region, einschließlich der Krim und des

gesamten Bosphoros, gut bekannt. Die meisten Forscher neigen traditionell dazu, sie als Gewichte anzusehen, aber dies ist nicht die einzige Interpretation, die angeboten wird. SUCHANOV fasst diese Diskussion in seinem Artikel zusammen (614). Unabhängig von ihrem Ursprung ist diese Gruppe von Funden eine wichtige Quelle für die Manipulation von Münzen bereits in der Antike und ihre mögliche Verwendung für andere Zwecke als ihre eigentliche Bestimmung. Für das Thema der Verwendung von Münzen außerhalb des Geldmarktes sind auch die Arbeiten zu erwähnen, die sich mit der Rolle der Münze in Bestattungsriten befassen, und zwar sowohl jene Fälle, in denen die Münze direkt in das Grab gelegt wurde (692), als auch Fälle, in denen sie als Matrize oder Muster für die Herstellung von münzähnlichen Abdrücken auf dünnem Goldblech dienten (63). Graffiti auf Münzen geben Aufschluss über die antike Rezeption von Geldzeichen, obwohl solche Beispiele aus der nördlichen Schwarzmeerregion recht selten sind (1, 18).

Münzwesen und Geldumlauf einzelner Städte, Staaten und Stämme

Während Münzfunde unsere Hauptquelle für den Geldverkehr in den antiken Zentren des nördlichen Schwarzmeerraums bleiben, ist unlängst eine Reihe epigraphischer Dokumente aufgetaucht, die durch die Erwähnung von verschiedenen Währungen und Münznominalen auch zu diesem Thema beitragen. Sie bestehen hauptsächlich aus privaten Inschriften (Briefe und Geschäftsnotizen auf Blei und Keramik) und stammen aus Ausgrabungen und Zufallsfunden in Nikonion (250), Olbia (394, 418) und vom Bosphoros (618, 837). Früher bekannte Dokumente dieser Art wurden auch in den von M. DANA veröffentlichten Korpus der antiken Privatkorrespondenz aus dem nördlichen Schwarzmeergebiet aufgenommen (181). Abschließend sei ein kurzer Überblick über die Arbeiten gegeben, die sich mit verschiedenen Aspekten der Münzprägung und des Geldumlaufs einzelner Münzstätten und Unterregionen des nordpontischen Gebiets befassen.

Nordwestliches Schwarzmeergebiet: Nikonion, Tyras, Olbia

Neben den oben erwähnten Veröffentlichungen von Neufunden und Typvarianten gibt es nur wenige Arbeiten, die sich gezielt mit der Numismatik des Unteren Dnjestr-Gebietes beschäftigen. Dazu gehört eine Studie von TUROVSKIJ und KOLESNIČENKO, die eine neue Chronologie der autonomen Münzprägung von Tyras vorschlagen (768), und auch ihre Miscelle zu den Überprägungen der Münzen der Polis (314). MIELCZAREK kommt auf die Frage des Geldumlaufs im benachbarten Nikonion zurück (382). Der Numismatik von Olbia war eine wesentlich größere Anzahl von Veröffentlichungen gewidmet, die praktisch die gesamte Bandbreite der Probleme von der Zusammensetzung der Münzlegierungen, der Klassifizierung der Emissionen, den Stempelstudien, der Chronologie und der Ikonographie behandelten (304, 312–313, 319, 411, 430, 594–595, 597–598, 637, 747, 769) bis hin zu den Besonderheiten des Umlaufs und der Thesaurierung einzelner Emissionen (585–586, 593). Die sogenannten „Borysthener“ – die umfangreichsten Bronzeemissionen der frühhellenistischen Stadt, auf die sich NIKOLAEV, SNYTKO und STOLBA in einer Reihe von Werken beziehen – wurden besonders eingehend untersucht (412–417, 583–584, 597).

Westliche Krim: Kerkinitis, Chersonesos

Eines der Hauptthemen in den Studien über die Numismatik von Kerkinitis und Chersonesos auf der westlichen Krim war die Untersuchung der Zusammensetzung ihrer Münzlegierungen, die bereits oben erwähnt wurde. So sind den Münzlegierungen von Kerkinitis drei Arbeiten gewidmet, die sich jedoch weitgehend überschneiden, da sie Beobachtungen enthalten, die von demselben Team an fast derselben Materialprobe aus dem Museum von Eupatoria gemacht wurden (334–336). Für die frühen gegossenen Münzen der Stadt wird angenommen, dass sie von skythischen Handwerkern hergestellt wurden. KUTAJSOV und KOKOULIN veröffentlichen neue Funde von Kerkinitis-Münzen aus der Umgebung von Eupatoria (333). In den Arbeiten von TUROVSKIJ werden die Münzen der Stadt im Zusammenhang mit der territorialen Ausdehnung der Chersonesos und den politischen Beziehungen zwischen den Poleis in der West-Taurika betrachtet (752, 755). Die Materialien des Museumsreservats von Chersonesos wurden auch in die Untersuchung der Legierungszusammensetzung der Münzen von Chersonesos einbezogen, was es ermöglichte, eine recht große Stichprobe zu erhalten, die praktisch den gesamten Zeitraum der autonomen Münzprägung der Stadt abdeckt (579–581). Auf die Ergänzungen zu Anochins Katalog (62) haben wir schon hingewiesen. Eine große Hilfe für Archäologen und Numismatiker war das Erscheinen des derzeit umfangreichsten Katalogs der Münztypen der taurischen Chersonesos, der von TUROVSKIJ erstellt wurde und eine aktualisierte Version der Publikation von 2013 darstellt (760). In einer Reihe von Aufsätzen befasst sich dieser auch mit einer breiten Palette von Problemen der städtischen Münzprägung, darunter Fragen der Metrologie (748, 766), der relativen und absoluten Chronologie einzelner Emissionen (610, 745, 759), der Münzorganisation und -kontrolle (746, 750, 754, 761), der Münzikonographie

(751, 756, 762, 764) und andere (744, 752–753, 757–758, 765, 767). Verschiedene Aspekte der Numismatik der Chersonesos in hellenistischer Zeit werden auch in den Arbeiten von ALEKSEENKO, KOLESNIČENKO, STOLBA, ŠONOV und anderen Forschern behandelt (42–45, 135, 167, 170, 311, 598, 624–625, 628, 630). Das numismatische Material ist ferner ein wichtiges Argument in der Debatte über den Zeitraum der Gründung der Stadt (615–616) und über deren politische Struktur geblieben (763).

Kimmerischer Bosporos und angrenzende Gebiete

In den Studien zur Numismatik des Bosporos sind die gleichen Tendenzen wie in der gesamten Region zu beobachten, wobei ein großer Teil der Arbeiten der Zusammensetzung der lokalen Münzlegierungen gewidmet ist (576–578, 582). Mehrere Arbeiten haben versucht, die Geschichte der Münzprägung und des Geldumlaufs im gesamten bosporanischen Königreich zusammenzufassen (244, 274, 436, 603, 623) und sich auf numismatische Daten als Informationsquelle über die bosporanische Gesellschaft, die Institutionen der Staatsmacht (398–399) und die Entstehung der Spartokiden-Dynastie zu berufen (239). Wie gehabt stehen die Legenden der Münzen von Theodosia, Nymphaion und Pantikapaion, deren Bedeutung seit Jahrzehnten diskutiert wird, im Mittelpunkt des Interesses (154–155, 292, 604). Auf einer dieser Legenden, nämlich auf den Münzen mit der Aufschrift ΑΠΟΛ, basiert die populäre Hypothese der „Tempel“-Münzprägung in Pantikapaion. Wie STOLBA gezeigt hat, handelt es sich dabei jedoch nur um einen wissenschaftlichen Mythos, die Legende selbst ist als Abkürzung des Personennamens eines der lokalen Dynasten aus dem Geschlecht der Archaianaktiden anzusehen (596). Der Großteil der Forschung konzentriert sich jedoch auf verschiedene Aspekte der Münzprägung der Spartokiden und ihrer Nachfolger in mithridatischer und nachmithridatischer Zeit, darunter Fragen der Chronologie (378, 685), der Typologie und Ikonographie (160, 169, 563, 704), des Nominalsystems (332), der Imitationen sowie der äußerst groben Nachahmungen (59, 684, 790), des Geldumlaufs (819) und andere (158, 171, 173–174, 176, 240, 385, 605–608, 689, 693). Eine ganze Reihe von Beiträgen ist der Person und der Prägung des Archonten Hygiainon gewidmet, einem der geheimnisvollsten Herrscher des Bosporos, wobei das Interesse auch durch die Entdeckung eines neuen Typs seiner Münzen geweckt wurde (163, 377, 397, 566, 572). In mehreren Artikeln von SIDORENKO, ŠONOV und ČOREF wurde der leider nicht immer überzeugende Versuch unternommen, Monogramme auf den Münzen des Bosporos (156, 161–162, 168, 627, 629, 631), einschließlich der Monogramme auf den Münzen des Hygiainon (572) zu entziffern und historisch zu deuten. Gesondert ist der Block der Arbeiten zu den Um- und Überprägungen der lokalen Münzen zu erwähnen (71, 118, 153, 159, 166, 172, 233, 376). Auch die Münzstätten der bosporanischen Städte Theodosia (62, 632, 687–688) und Phanagoria (20–21, 686, 820, 835), wurden nicht außer Acht gelassen, aber ein beträchtlicher Teil dieses interessanten Materials wartet noch auf seine Erforschung. Die beispiellose Welle des Interesses an der sogenannten „Münzprägung der Sinder“ durch gleich mehrere Kollegen (251–252, 255, 328–329, 337–338, 571, 612) war jedoch nicht durch qualitativ neue Hypothesen und Interpretationen gekennzeichnet. Es erscheint verfrüht, die seit langem geführte Diskussion über diese Münzen als beendet zu betrachten. Die Numismatik des benachbarten Kolchis sprengt den Rahmen der hier behandelten Region, so dass wir uns hier auf eine kurze Erwähnung der Arbeiten von AMELA (54), ANOCHIN (62) und BRAUND (109) beschränken.

Münzfunde

Balkanraum

Die überwiegende Mehrheit der in dieser Übersicht berücksichtigten Arbeiten sind Veröffentlichungen von Münzfunden, für die sich eine deutliche Zunahme des Forschungsinteresses abzeichnet. Die Veröffentlichungen umfassen sowohl Münzen aus Ausgrabungen von Stätten und Nekropolen als auch Zufallsfunde und tragen wesentlich zu unserem Verständnis des Geldumlaufs in der Region bei.

An erster Stelle sei hier die sehr nützliche Zusammenstellung aller Münzfunde aus Bulgarien von TEODOSIEV erwähnt. Gegliedert nach den modernen Verwaltungseinheiten werden die Funde jeweils mit allen wesentlichen Angaben und der relevanten Literatur, aus der die Informationen stammen, präsentiert. Über umfangreiche Register sind die Funde auch nach Epochen, Münzstätten, Prägeherren und Beamten erschlossen. Bis zum Jahr 2016 konnten allein 846 Funde der hellenistischen Zeit aufgeführt werden (683). Auf deren beispiellose Konzentration im antiken Thrakien verweist DE CALLATAÏ (125).

Da – wie angemerkt – die Fundpublikationen naturgemäß die größte Anzahl in der Literaturliste bilden, sei hier nur auf ausgewählte Veröffentlichungen hingewiesen. So möchten wir die Anwendung von Geographischen

Informationssystemen im Zusammenhang mit den Funden von Bronzemünzen Philipps II. und Alexanders III. in Thrakien von TZVETKOVA hervorheben. Die Modellierungen erlauben die Sicht auf weiterführende Informationsbezüge (773).

Im Berichtszeitraum ist zudem die lang erwartete Publikation des Pistiros Fundes von 1998 erschienen, der 485 Münzen des Alexandertyps (3 Goldstatere, 73 Tetradrachmen, 409 Drachmen), fünf Tetradrachmen des Demetrios Poliorketes, 60 Typen des Lysimachos (35 Tetradrachmen, 24 Drachmen, 1 Tetrobol) sowie zwei seleukidische Tetradrachmen – aus thrakischen, makedonischen und kleinasiatischen Prägestätten – umfasst (105). Den vollständigen Katalog haben RUSEVA, TANEVA und JURUKOVA zusammengestellt, alle Münzen sind bebildert, zur Auswertung trägt RUSEVA Argumente sowohl für eine Datierung des Fundes zu Lebzeiten des Lysimachos als auch nach der Schlacht von Kurupedion vor. Der Fund spiegelt die Münzzirkulation im ersten Drittel des 3. Jh. v. Chr. in Thrakien. Die Fundumstände sind dokumentiert und erhalten und deshalb ist dies einer der wichtigsten Funde seiner Art. Der Kontext des Fundes wird dargelegt, ebenso wie eine Analyse und Interpretation des Fundes selbst, vornehmlich aus der Feder von BOUZEK und MILITKÝ.

Von dem bekannten Fundkomplex des Emporions Pistiros wurden auch weitere Funde (544) bzw. auch immer wieder einzelne Münzen genauer vorgestellt, so die von Seuthes (546=557) oder die unerwartet bei den Grabungen zu Tage getretenen drei Bronzemünzen des Seleukos I. Nikator aus Sardis bzw. Antiochos am Orontes (549).

Unter den Funden ist ferner Publikation des Hortes von Sinemorec hervorzuheben, der neben den 36 Münzen von Mostis 143 postume Tetradrachmen des Lysimachos aus Byzantion, fünf posthume Tetradrachmen des Alexandertyps aus Mesembria und Odessos, 13 Tetradrachmen des Nikomedes und eine von Prusias sowie eine Tetradrachme von Kyzikos enthielt (809). Während die archäologischen Umstände vorbildlich publiziert wurden, äußerte F. DE CALLATAÏ berechnete Kritik an der Interpretation der Münzen und entsprechend zu den Schlussfolgerungen zur Datierung des Mostis (122). Den Begleitfund an schlecht erhaltenen Bronzemünzen – sieben von Mostis, eine von Kotys ca. 105/100 bis 87 v. Chr., eine von Kotys ca. 57–49 v. Chr., eine Bronze aus Apollonia und zwei unbestimmte Typen hat KOJČEV aufgearbeitet (309).

Aus dem thrakischen Aquae Calidae (heute Burgaski Mineralni Bani in Bulgarien), einer Quelle mit Mineralbädern und einem Heiligtum der drei Nymphen, stammen rund 4.000 Münzen. Sie bilden eine der größten Münzsammlungen auf dem Balkan vom frühen 5. Jh. v. Chr. (eine spätarchaische Drachme von Apollonia) und dann vor allem mit zahlreichen Stücken aus dem 4. v. Chr. bis in das 6. Jh. n. Chr., deren Fundgeschichte PAUNOV aufzeigt. Er gibt eine neue Übersicht für die 2.914 Exemplare, die 1910 von Filow aufgelistet wurden. Hinzu kommen rund 300 Münzen aus dem Jahr 1994. Die Münzen deuten darauf hin, dass die Thermen vor allem von Menschen aus Thrakien und Moesien, aber auch aus Makedonien, dem griechischen Festland und den Inseln sowie Kleinasien benutzt wurden. Eine sehr hohe Konzentration liegt von julisch-claudischen Münzen und Emissionen der spätthrakischen Könige (12/1 v. Chr.–45/6 n. Chr.) vor (445). Von den 1910 erfassten 29 Dynastenprägungen von Amadokos/Kersobleptes bis Rhoimetlakes III. gelangten 79 Exemplare von Rhoimetalkes I. (die mit insges. 181 die Mehrheit bildeten) und Rhoimetalkes II. ins NAIM-BAN, die YORDANOV 2020 publizierte (808).

Von den Grabungen in Heraklea Sintica werden von den in verschiedenen Kampagnen zu Tage getretenen 367 Münzen 245 identifiziert und beschrieben, darunter die 71 Münzen aus der Zeit Philipps II. bis zur Einrichtung der thrakischen Provinz. Hier bilden mit 18 Münzen die Prägungen von Philippi die größte Gruppe (282). In 52 der 167 Gräber wurden in älteren Grabungen ebenfalls hellenistische und römische Münzen gefunden, die in einem separaten Artikel veröffentlicht werden. Unter den frühen Prägungen dominieren die zwischen 305–297 v. Chr. geprägten Münzen des Kassandros vom Typ "Herakleskopf/Reiter" (55). Funde von archäologischen Grabungen stammen auch aus Orgame (279), Istros (280–281, 670, 789), Tomis (667), Edirne (232a), Thasos (493) bzw. von Surveys auf der Thrakischen Chersones (800) oder vom archäologischen Survey-Projekt zu Abdera und Xanthi (APAX) (296). Ferner fanden sich unter den Fundmünzen der spätantiken Festung von Sexaginta Prista einige vorrömische Münzen Thrakiens (543).

Mehrere Funde stammen von Heiligtümern (558, s. auch 777, wo auch die Anfänge in vorrömischer Zeit betrachtet werden) bzw. weisen einen Zusammenhang mit als heilig verehrten Quellen auf (445).

Fundmünzen von Seuthes III., Lysimachos u.a. vom Ende des 4. Jh./Anfang des 3. Jh. v. Chr. definieren Halka Bunar als thrakische Siedlung (390).

Naturgemäß wird anhand der Funde auch der Handel und der Münzumsatz thematisiert, wie es beispielsweise DIMITROV für Seuthopolis (195) oder Helis (194) praktiziert. Den Münzumsatz an Mittel- und Oberlauf von Strymon und Nestos im 6.–4. Jh. v. Chr. hat CHADŽIEVA in ihrer Dissertation untersucht (266–268). In den Blick genommen wurde auch das Rhaidestos Gebiet (802). CASTELLI analysiert die Münzfunde, um die Handelsnetze der nordwestlichen Pontosküste mit dem Hinterland und Rhodos seit dem 4. Jh. v. Chr. zu untersuchen (132).

Einige Fundpublikationen verweisen auf die historische Relevanz einiger Münzhorte aus der Dobrudja. Ein Fund von 66 Diobolen von Apollonia und Mesembria aus der südlichen Dobrudja zeigt, dass die Münzen parallel geprägt und gleichzeitig und gemeinsam zirkulierten. Sie sind ca. 375–342/1 v. Chr. zu datieren und bildeten das Kleingeld in der Region (226). Einen weiteren älteren Fund von Diobolen dieser beiden Poleis publizierten PETAC und VÎLCU (481). Die Erfassung aller ähnlichen Funde in der Dobrudja, von denen keiner mit makedonischen Münzen vermischt ist, lässt die Autoren in dem Fundhorizont eine Abbildung des Krieges zwischen dem makedonischen König Philipp II. und dem skythischen König Ataias 339 v. Chr. schlussfolgern. TALMAÇHI betrachtet auch die vorrömischen Münzen aus späteren Kontexten in der Dobrudja (649), einschließlich der durch illegale Grabungen entdeckten Funde wie beispielsweise jenen von Albești (656). Hellenistische Funde in der südwestlichen Dobrudja lassen ihn ein militärisches Machtzentrum der Geten in der Region vermuten. Für Wirtschaft und Handel in der südöstlichen Dobrudja spielte im 4.–3. Jh. v. Chr. zunächst Istros eine wichtige Rolle, die dann von Kallatis übernommen wurde (653, s. auch 654). Sechs vorrömische Bronzemünzen von Odessos und Mesembria aus Izvoarele werden als ein Ausdruck der Beziehungen zwischen den griechischen Poleis und dem Hinterland gewertet (658).

Eine Reihe von Fundpublikationen betrifft die Silbermünzen von Istros (74). Der Fund von 1965 aus Kaolinovo ist der südlichste und einer der jüngsten dieser Münzen im nordöstlichen Teil Bulgariens und wird mit allen Informationen vorgestellt (839). ZHEKOVA und DIMA arbeiten noch einen weiteren bereits 1958 entdeckten Fund auf und publizieren die 160 Silberprägungen von Istros (838). Auch aus Moldawien wird ein 2014 entdeckter Hort istriischer Silbermünzen aus dem dritten Viertel des 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. veröffentlicht. Wie ähnliche Funde wird er von den Autoren mit getischen Siedlungen in Verbindung gebracht und als Ausweis aktiver Ware-Geld-Beziehungen interpretiert (710).

Funde aus Bessarabien belegen Münzen von Olbia, Tyras, Istros sowie makedonische und thasische Nachahmungen (785). Die Verbindung Thrakiens mit der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste ist auch bei Münzfunden zu erkennen, wie MIELCZAREK anhand der Funde von Rhoimetalkes-Münzen in Tyras nachweist (386).

TALMAÇHI stellt 41 in Apollonia, Mesembria und Kallatis geprägte Silbermünzen vor, die in Tomis und Kallatis gefunden wurden und in Privatbesitz gelangten. Es sind 27 Einzel- und 14 kleinere Schatzfunde aus Grabkomplexen (651). Selbstverständlich werden Münzen in Grabkontexten im antiken Thrakien betrachtet (291). Die Funktion von Münzen in Bestattungspraktiken, bspw. als Charon-Obol, wird immer wieder thematisiert, auch wenn festgestellt wurde, dass dieser Brauch in Thrakien eher selten war (139, 291, 294–295). Die Rolle von Münzen als Opfergaben hat PAUNOV beleuchtet (445).

Eine Zusammenstellung von 38 Funden mit Aesillas-Münzen bietet TZVETKOVA und kann sich dabei auch auf mündliche Angaben von Museumskuratoren stützen, nur ein Fund stammt aus einer gesicherten Ausgrabung. Sie bezieht aber auch Einzelfunde in ihre räumliche Analyse ein (771).

Ergänzend sei angeführt, dass Funde von makedonischen Nachahmungen des Typs Strymon/Dreizack, die größtenteils auf makedonischen Münzen überprägt wurden, in der Region von Pazardžik zu Tage traten (513). Auch über einen weiteren Fund mit vorwiegend makedonischen Prägungen auf bulgarischem Territorium informiert PROKOPOV (504). Publiziert werden zudem rumänische Funde von Tetradrachmen des “thasischen Typs” und Imitationen (529).

Sehr zahlreich sind die hellenistischen Funde (137, 455–456) bzw. jene Funde mit Münzen des Alexandertyps von verschiedenen Prägestätten (468, 476, 786). Im Lichte der jüngsten Forschungen analysiert RUSEVA noch einmal den Tetradrachmen-Fund IGCH 468 von Čapaevo, dessen Vergrabung sie um 280 v. Chr. annimmt (550).

Auch Funde von mehr oder weniger fremden Münzen sind keine Seltenheit, so eine Prägung Mithridates VI. vom westlichen Schwarzmeergebiet (451); Münzen der Ersten Makedonischen Meris (453, 508) oder ein Fund mit Münzen der Argeadenkönige aus dem heutigen Nordmazedonien (454).

Nördliches Schwarzmeergebiet

Der Artikel von BRUJAKO et al. präsentiert die Funde aus der Siedlung Kartal an der Donaumündung (111). SEKERSKAJA kehrt zu den gegossenen Kupfermünzen aus den Ausgrabungen in Nikonion zurück (569). In einer Reihe von Arbeiten werden Funde aus dem Gebiet von Olbia und der ländlichen Umgebung vorgestellt, die sowohl durch einzelne Exemplare als auch durch Horte vertreten sind (112, 286, 330–331, 347, 424, 442, 532, 593, 742). Von besonderem Interesse sind die Funde vom Unteren Dnepr, darunter die von SNYTKO publizierten Münzen aus dem Gebiet, das mit dem von Herodot erwähnten Hylaia identifiziert wird (588, 592), sowie die Funde in der Umgebung der skythischen Siedlung Kamenka (61). Funde von der Westlichen Krim vervollständigen das Bild des Geldumlaufs im Gebiet des Chersonesischen Staates, das sowohl die entferntere Chora außerhalb der Halbinsel Herakleia (333, 340–341, 375) als auch die unmittelbare Umgebung der Stadt umfasste (69, 184–185, 708). Ein wichtiges Ereignis war 2020 bei Ausgrabungen am Westufer der Bucht Kazach'ja die Entdeckung eines einzigartigen Hortfundes von 51 Münzen aus der Chersonesos vom 4. Jh. v. Chr., der mehrere neue Typen der städtischen Silberprägung enthielt (611). Über die Funde der späthellenistischen Münzen des Bosporos im Krimvorgebirge berichtet ŠONOV (633). Funde aus dem Gebiet des Bosporanischen Königreichs sind in den Veröffentlichungen am meisten vertreten. Der östliche Teil des bosporanischen Königreichs wird durch die Münzkomplexe repräsentiert, die bei Ausgrabungen der antiken Siedlung Kytaia (396) entdeckt wurden, sowie aus ländlichen Siedlungen stammen, darunter Manitra (13–14), Poljanka (371) und einige andere Denkmäler des Asowschen Küstengebietes der Krim (369–370). Funde von der Taman-Halbinsel und den südöstlichen Ausläufern des Bosporos bis nach Anapa (dem antiken Gorgippia) sind sowohl durch einzelne Exemplare als auch durch Hortfunde vertreten (2, 8, 11, 17, 22, 24, 30, 33–34, 39, 65, 253–254, 299, 422, 690–691, 695, 697, 821). Der größte Fund des 3. Jh. v. Chr. stammt aus Usatova Balka von der Chora Gorgippias und enthielt 21.000 Münzen (10, 23). Mehrere Hortfunde aus den 1980er Jahren aus dem Museum von Anapa wurden erstmals vollständig veröffentlicht (25–27). Der berühmte Hort bosporanischer Didrachmen aus der Mithridatischen Zeit von Staniza Fontalovskaja (IGCH 1143) wurde ebenfalls mit hochwertigen Abbildungen, Stempelanalysen und Daten zur Zusammensetzung der Münzlegierung neu veröffentlicht (28–29). Gesondert zu erwähnen sind die Funde aus Phanagoria, der zweitwichtigsten Polis des Bosporos, wo die umfangreichsten archäologischen Forschungen in Südrussland fortgesetzt werden, sowie aus den Siedlungen ihrer Chora (3–4, 19, 31, 37–38, 339).

In einer Reihe von Veröffentlichungen wird den Funden fremder griechischer Münzen im nordpontischen Raum besondere Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet, wobei nicht nur die Gebiete der antiken Gemeinwesen, sondern auch Lokalisierungen antiker Flussübergänge und vermuteter Heiligtümer einbezogen werden. Obwohl die Münzfunde auf der Insel Leuke (die heutige Schlangeninsel), auf der sich das berühmte Heiligtum des Achilles befand, bereits mehrfach thematisiert wurden (z. B. in den bekannten Artikeln von Zograf und Bulatovič), wurden bislang keine Abbildungen veröffentlicht. In ihrem Artikel, der sowohl auf Russisch als auch auf Englisch erschien, publizierten TUNKINA und ABRAMZON erstmalig die Tabellen des Sekretärs der Odessaer Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertümer, N. N. Murzakevič (1806–1883), mit den Zeichnungen von 241 antiken Münzen aus den Ausgrabungen auf der Insel in den 1840er- und frühen 1850er-Jahren (35–36). Ein weiterer alter Fund, der berühmte Hort, der 1895 am Rande des Dorfes Anadol (heute Dolinskoje, Region Odessa) entdeckt wurde und etwa 1.000 goldene Statere von Philipp II. bis Lysimachos (IGCH 866) enthält, ist Gegenstand einer akribischen Studie von SAPOŽNIKOV und KAŠUBA. Auf der Grundlage von Archivdokumenten rekonstruieren sie detailliert die Umstände der Entdeckung und des späteren Erwerbs durch die Kaiserliche Eremitage (561–562). Unter den Funden im Südosten der benachbarten Republik Moldau, die man ebenfalls im Zusammenhang mit der Geschichte der nordpontischen Region betrachten muss, sind der Fund einer makedonischen Kupfermünze im Gebiet des Dorfes Tudora (Bezirk Ștefan Vodă) (373) sowie der Hort istrischer Silbermünzen aus dem Dorf Rezeni (Bezirk Ialoveni) zu nennen, der von den Herausgebern in das dritte Viertel des 3. vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts datiert wurde (710).

Es ist bekannt, dass die Münzen von Histria sehr aktiv in die Gebiete östlich der Donau eindringen und in den Funden der sogenannten "schwarzen Archäologen", die im Süden der Ukraine operieren, in beträchtlicher Zahl vertreten sind. Einen Teil dieses offensichtlich lokalen, wenn auch topografisch nicht zuverlässigen Materials, das in ukrainischen Internetauktionen und -foren kursiert, hat DIMA zusammengefasst (188, 192). Unter den Münzen mit zuverlässiger Referenz sind die Funde von kyzikenischen Hekten in Olbia zu erwähnen (112, 426) sowie der Fund makedonischer Münzen in der Chora von Olbia (587, 591).

In den letzten fünf Jahren haben ČOREF und ANDRIEVSKIJ einzeln und als Co-Autoren eine beträchtliche Anzahl von nicht-lokal geprägten Münzen veröffentlicht, die angeblich aus Funden in der südwestlichen (Dorf Partizanskoe) (57–58, 60) und der zentralen Krim (in der Nähe des skythischen Neapolis) (157, 164) stammen. Auch wenn nicht alle von ihnen publizierten Münzen korrekt identifiziert sind, lassen die exotische Menge und der sehr heterogene Erhaltungsgrad Zweifel an der Zuverlässigkeit der vorgelegten Informationen aufkommen und erfordern zumindest einen vorsichtigen Umgang mit ihnen. Eine stattliche Anzahl von Artikeln ist den Funden nicht-lokal geprägter Münzen vom 5. Jh. bis zur Mithridatischen Ära gewidmet, die aus der östlichen Krim und dem Gebiet von Krasnodar stammen, einschließlich des Küstenabschnitts bis zur Stadt Sotschi (3–7, 12, 245, 283, 531, 533–535). Hinsichtlich dieser Thematik sei noch auf mehrere Arbeiten hingewiesen, die sich mit der Verbreitung der Elektronmünzen von Kyzikos an der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste sowie mit den Münzen der Seleukiden befassen (534, 817–818, 822–826). Funde von Münzen der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste außerhalb der Region bleiben insgesamt eher selten (315, 383, 737, 785, 816).

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ASIA MINOR: ARCHAIC TO HELLENISTIC

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SNG and Collections

Several important collections of coins from Asia Minor in European museums have been published as SNG volumes. The two most significant are *SNG Great Britain 12: Hunterian* (Cimmerian Bosphorus to Cappadocia) (31), which replaces MACDONALD'S ancient and sparsely illustrated publication of 1901, and *SNG France 7: Paris* (Paphlagonia, Pontus, Armenia Minor) (91). In addition, smaller bodies of material in Polish museums are published in *SNG Poland 1: Łódź* (Bosphorus to Cilicia) (258) and *SNG Poland 3: Cracow* (Thrace and Pontus) (48). A handful of relevant coins are included in *SNG Italy: Verona* (all of Asia Minor) (23), but this is principally a collection of Roman provincial coinage. Beyond the SNG series, GÖKYILDIRIM (148) has published the Lydian coins in Istanbul Archaeological Museum which include early electrum, a significant collection of cistophori, and a large number of Hellenistic civic bronzes. ÖNDER (290) has catalogued the Lydian coins in Manisa Museum including 122 late Hellenistic civic bronzes. MÜSELER (264) has published a catalogue of Lycian coins from various private European collections which primarily focuses on silver coinage of the Classical period, but also includes some silver and bronze coinage from the Hellenistic period. Volume 1 of GANSCHOW'S (144) publication of the HENSELER collection begins with coins of Hellenistic Cappadocia. KURTH (204) has attempted a type corpus of all ancient coins of Lydia based on her popular website wildwinds.com. However, it should only be consulted after reading the review of BURNETT, *NC* (2021), pp. 536–544.

The publication of private collections registered to museum directorates in Turkey has continued apace. In the SNG series these include the second part of the MUHARREM KAYHAN collection (*SNG Turkey 1*) (191), all three parts of the ÖZKAN ARIKANTÜRK collection (*SNG Turkey 9*; Troas, Aeolis, Mysia) (346, 349, 350), the first part of the YAVUZ TATIŞ collection (*SNG Turkey 10*; Ionia and Lydia) (337), and the ÇETİN ERDEM collection (*SNG Turkey 11*; Lydia and Phrygia) (351). In addition, the smaller collections of KAYA SAYAR (Mysia and Troas) (20, 21) and TUNAY DEMRAN (mostly western Asia Minor) (364) have been published in other venues.

By and large, these collections consist of coins bought locally rather than on the international market and as a result they have the potential both to provide insight into regional circulation patterns and to narrow down the place of origin for unattributed issues. Unfortunately, however, these collections tend to have been formed with a pre-determined view to collecting coins from every city in a particular region, and so coins from outside the chosen region appear to have been systematically overlooked irrespective of whether they were available locally. As a result, these collections do not give us the snapshot of local circulation which they might and which numismatists of a previous generation attempted to gain from trawling the coin markets of provincial Turkish towns. At least for the moment, therefore, the numismatic importance of these registered private collections remains only partly realised. See NILSSON (279) for the value of publishing more provenance information in SNG volumes on collections in Turkish museums and ASHTON (32) and TEK, KÖKER, and TARAKAN (335) for examples of doing just this.

One of the most significant developments in recent years has been the proliferation of high-quality online museum databases which have made both published and unpublished material increasingly accessible. Of particular importance in the years under review are four new portals hosted by the American Numismatic Society which include significant bodies of evidence from Asia Minor: *PELLA* (for Alexander-type coinage) (3), *Seleucid Coinage Online* (5), *Ptolemaic Coinage Online* (4, to be used in conjunction with LORBER (228)), and *Coin Hoards* (6). *PELLA*, *SCO*, and *PCO* can also be simultaneously searched from the *Hellenistic Royal Coinage* (7) portal which will host related

¹ Material from 2021 has been included where it substantially modifies the argument of items from within the period of review, but otherwise has been left to the next survey. All dates are BC unless otherwise stated.

projects in the future. Similarly important is *Historia Numorum Online: Caria* (1), hosted by the Institut Ausonius, which provides a fully searchable database of Carian coinage c. 650-30 BC based on coins from both museum collections and commerce. Finally, the German-based *Corpus Nummorum Online* (2), which initially focused on typologies of Thracian coinage, has now been expanded to cover Mysia and the Troad.

Edited Volumes and General Accounts

The proceedings of the first and second international congresses held at Antalya in 2013 (109) and 2017 (340) are two of the more important edited volumes published on numismatics in Asia Minor in the period under review. Also of note are the proceedings of the Anatolian numismatic studies workshop edited by ÇİZMELİ ÖĞÜN (88) which brings together work by a number of Turkish scholars, above all on coins found in excavations.

In terms of other edited volumes which have the coinage of Asia Minor as their primary focus, the long-awaited *White Gold* volume (373) is of fundamental importance and is discussed in detail below in the section on electrum. For Alexander-type coinage, the papers edited by GLENN, DUYPAT, and MEADOWS (146) cover an array of topics which are of general importance for understanding this coinage both during and after Alexander the Great's lifetime. KREMYDI and MARCELLESI (199) have likewise edited an important series of papers on posthumous Alexanders. Both volumes include papers dealing specifically with Alexander-type coinage in Asia Minor which are summarized below. Finally, the *Festschrift* for RICHARD ASHTON (252) falls just outside our period of review and so has not been systematically covered in this survey, but contains many contributions on the numismatics of Asia Minor, as befits the honorand's own interests.

Several general books on Greek numismatics make extensive use of case studies drawn from the coinage of Asia Minor. These include MITTAG'S (261) general introduction to Greek numismatics, the multi-author volume on Greek and Roman coinage edited by AMANDRY (11), KALLET and KROLL'S (169) account of what coinage can tell us about the Athenian Empire in the 5th century, and THONEMANN'S (352) short book on the role of coinage in writing the history of the Hellenistic period.

Asia Minor in General

KILLEN'S (179) monograph on parasema discusses the evidence for the official symbols of Greek cities down to the end of the Hellenistic period. The catalogue in the second half of the book collects all the evidence including that provided by coins. As MACK observes in his review (*BMCR* 2019.01.45), the line between official symbol and the broader category of civic iconography is especially difficult to draw in the case of the numismatic evidence, and in attempting to do so KILLEN has often erred on the side of omitting examples which one might have expected to be included.

MEADOWS (247) examines the paradigm shift in Greek coin iconography which took place in the 2nd century. Instead of singling out individual aspects of this iconography (e.g. wreathed reverse types), he argues that we need to account for the entire package of iconographic changes which characterise these coin types (e.g. elaborate individualized obverse portraits of gods, full-figure reverse depictions of deities with distinguishing cult attributes, and so on). Viewed from this perspective, what really drives these iconographic changes are shifts in the attitudes of poleis to their communal identity which can also be observed in the contemporary epigraphic evidence. His dating of this phenomenon c. 175-140 is to some extent the result of only considering the evidence of silver coinage. Civic bronzes may instead suggest that the phenomenon had its origins at the very end of the 3rd century (see e.g. the Apollo statue bronzes of Miletos from the 200s: KINNS, *NC* (2003), pp. 12-13).

NOLLÉ (280) discusses the phenomenon of coins minted in the name of a god rather than a city, league, or ruler. PSOMA has argued (*MHR* (2007), pp. 237-255, *AJN* (2008), pp. 227-255) that such emissions are 'panegyris coinages' which were minted to be used exclusively at festival markets. NOLLÉ argues that what these coins have in common is not that they were minted for use in festival markets, but rather that they were minted from the bullion of the god, and that this is why they bear the god's name in the genitive. In particular, he emphasizes that the numismatic characteristics of these coins make them unsuited to the purpose of being festival coinages: they are either too big, too small, or too limited in their denominational offering to effectively serve the needs of a marketplace. Instead, NOLLÉ argues that these coinages have a range of very different purposes: some are high value, large denomination 'trade' coinages (e.g. Artemis Pergaia), others are low value, low denomination 'token' coinages (e.g. Eleusis), others again are one-off 'memorial' coinages (e.g. Zeus Soter at Klazomenai, Athena Nikephoros at Pergamon). For further brief comments on

problems with the concept of panegyris coinages see THONEMANN (352), pp. 82–4.

CARBONE (71) studies the disappearance of autonomous silver issues in western Asia Minor between the creation of the province of Asia and the reign of Augustus. She argues that this was a gradual process which began with the creation of the province and was then accelerated at moments of crisis for the Greek cities such as the First Mithridatic War and the Civil Wars. This chronological scheme now needs modification, not least because of CARBONE'S own subsequent scholarship on the late cistophori (72), but also because of recent work on the coinages of the koinon of Athena Ilias (118), Lampsakos and Parion (122), and Antioch on the Maeander (355). Cumulatively, these studies point to the mid-60s as the moment when the Roman authorities shifted from a model in which they worked side by side with civic mints to produce the high-value coinage they needed (as previous rulers of Asia Minor had always done) to a model in which they increasingly took exclusive responsibility for this and asserted a monopoly on the right to mint. Another important aspect of the problem is the arguments of MEADOWS on the penetration of the *denarius* and *quinarius* standards in Asia Minor in the 1st century (see already MEADOWS (243) on Pamphylia and on Asia Minor as a whole his forthcoming paper in ASHTON, R., BADOUD, N. (eds), *Graecia Capta? Rome et les monnayages du monde égéen (II^e-I^{er} s. av. J.-C.)* (2022)).

ÇIZMELI ÖĞÜN (89) provides a comprehensive bibliography on recent publications of coin finds from Asia Minor. Of particular value are the many items in less well-known Turkish publications and the listing of unpublished Turkish theses which might otherwise be overlooked.

Overstrikes

DE CALLATAÏ (65) presents preliminary results from the Greek Overstrikes Database (GOD) which at the time of publication recorded 1,646 overstrikes (4 gold, 913 silver, 729 bronze). He emphasizes that overstriking in general is a rare phenomenon: even if there are (as he suspects) 5,000-10,000 examples out there to be found, this is still just a fraction of the millions of coins which survive. For silver, he distinguishes between sporadic overstriking and mass overstriking (i.e. >30%). Sporadic silver overstriking is disproportionately concentrated in a small number of obverse dies and these overstrikes often weigh substantially more than the target weight. This confirms LE RIDER'S view that in these cases the purpose was not financial gain. Rather, the mint master had realised he had not produced enough coins for the silver he started with and so used coins which were to hand to make up the difference. If correct, this suggests, firstly, that undertypes are a good indication of locally circulating currency and, secondly, that we should not posit massive largely undetectable episodes of overstriking: imperfect overstrikes were much more common than perfect overstrikes, and so mass overstriking should always be apparent. DE CALLATAÏ argues that mass overstriking of silver is rare, late, and geographically peripheral to the 'core' Greek world (six of his nine cases come from the Hellenistic East). By contrast, mass overstriking of bronze is more common and much more often motivated by the prospect of raising funds. Our examples have an intriguing pattern: a rash of mass overstriking takes place in the 4th and 3rd centuries from Magna Graecia to Crimea, then the practice largely goes away in the 2nd century, then it returns once again in the 1st century, but now geographically concentrated in Asia Minor and the Levant. At least in the case of Asia Minor, this appears to be an emergency measure to raise funds in the wake of the financial crisis precipitated by the fallout from the First Mithridatic War.

A type of overstrike DE CALLATAÏ does not discuss in detail are overstrikes of folded flans. In these cases the flan is prepared not by casting molten silver but instead by flattening a pre-existing coin or piece of silver bullion and then folding it over several times before striking the coin. This process obliterates the original coin type, but can be detected through a combination of irregularly shaped edges (especially straight or triangular edges left over from the folding process) and 'sandwiching' visible on the edges. FISCHER-BOSSERT (134) shows that this technique was used extensively in the production of Kyzikene electrum staters in the late 5th and 4th centuries, while KROLL (201) discusses further cases from Arabia, Athens, Sinope, Elis, and Aegina where it was used in the production of high-value silver coinage (the technique does not appear to have been used on lower value coins). KROLL distinguishes between cases where no financial motive is apparent and the use of this technique was probably motivated by the fact it was a quicker way to prepare a flan (e.g. Athens in the second half of the 5th century) and cases where it was used to facilitate a mass restriking of coinage to raise funds (e.g. Athens in 353: see KROLL, *RBN* (2011), pp. 3–26). As he notes, the use of this technique may be much more common than we appreciate because the tell-tale signs have typically been overlooked.

Electrum

Early electrum coinage has received a great deal of attention in the last decade. The new key questions are the dating of the earliest coins, their metallic composition, and whether electrum was a natural alloy or artificially produced. Electrum coinage is now discussed in a much wider geographic context which extends beyond just Ionia and Lydia to include mainland Greece, Thrace, the Black Sea, and the littoral of western Turkey. Much of the resurgence in this field has been driven by die studies, which were almost unknown before, but are now much easier to accomplish thanks to the increased availability of digital images and online databases. Significant, too, has been the unlawful looting of the landscape of Turkey and other Mediterranean countries which has increased massively in the last decade and is reflected in the thousands of new electrum coins in commerce. By contrast, few electrum coins have been recovered in excavations. New evidence and a better understanding of that evidence has led economic historians to rethink early monetary history. Here the conferences held in Jerusalem (2012) and New York (2013) and published by VAN ALFEN and WARTENBERG in 2020 (373) are crucial (for an important review article of this volume see MEADOWS (251)).

Introductions and Articles Addressing Monetary and Economic Issues

The rapid progress in this field is reflected in recent numismatic handbooks to differing extents. MITTAG's (261) handbook appeared before some of the new publications, but was able to reflect the changing landscape of early electrum coinage and the beginning of coinage. In the handbook edited by AMANDRY (11), VAN ALFEN gives an overview of the Archaic period including electrum coinage. PAYNE and WINTJES' (301) history of Lydia includes a chapter on early electrum coinage which provides a good overview of the basic facts of early Lydian money. By contrast, relatively little is said on these numismatic issues in HÖGEMANN and OETTINGER'S (163) history of Lydia and MAREK'S (239) major account of Asia Minor. In an article about a great variety of economic and monetary issues, SCHAPS (319) describes his well-known view that coinage is effectively the first kind of money in the Greek world, which has long been his sole focus in this long-standing debate. WARTENBERG (383) gives a short overview of early electrum coinage in which she highlights some of the new research.

For now, the most comprehensive introduction to the various issues in the field is VAN ALFEN and WARTENBERG'S introduction to the *White Gold* volume (372) which emphasizes the complexity of the current picture and the future areas for research. FISCHER-BOSSERT (137) provides a short overview of early electrum coinage in which he points out the challenges of using weight standard reductions as a way to date coinage. As the electrum coinage of Phokaia clearly shows, there are three different phases in this coinage. Over its 275 years, the gold content reduced from 55% to *c.* 40% and in the weight likewise reduced. Looking at the Milesian weight standard, represented first in coins excavated in the Artemision deposit, there appears to be a similar association of a heavier standard and earlier date. However, FISCHER-BOSSERT'S study (139) of the Phanes coins shows that across different denominations different weight levels of the Milesian stater are in place. VAN ALFEN (369) discusses the relationship between money and coinage in the Archaic period in a useful overview of the various theories. When numismatists and historians discuss the earliest coinages and their development, they rarely deal with the question of what money actually is, and so VAN ALFEN proposes that we should compare modern attempts to define money, unit of accounts, and coinage when thinking about Archaic coinage.

Now that we consider the choice of electrum to be a deliberate one and not necessitated by the use of 'natural' electrum, it is perhaps even more important to discuss why this particular alloy was chosen. BRESSON (54) argues that electrum was deliberately created in an attempt to build a monometallic system in which electrum would avoid the kinds of speculations to which pure gold or silver coinages are often subject. The invention of coinage began within a closed currency system, as is confirmed by the 7th century finds in Lydia, Ionia, and surrounding regions. VELDE (377) provides an economist's approach to the question of early electrum by assembling a large dataset of electrum coins to analyse weights, wear, denominations, and countermarks. The statistical analysis provides some interesting insights, and VELDE'S discussion of prices establishes some useful parameters within which the buying power of early electrum coins can be measured. PSOMA (307) lists references to electrum in the written sources, demonstrating that Greeks primarily referred to electrum as *chrysiou leukon*. In the second part of her chapter she analyses the sources for exchange rates of electrum coinage to other currencies which have to be interpreted as part of a bimetallic system and are thus ultimately dependent on the value of gold.

JONES (168) applies Mechanism Design Theory, which looks at particular mechanisms that will lead to a desirable outcome for individuals, to the question of early electrum coinage. He speculates that an increased amount of gold led to price inflation in the period of the early Lydian empire, although he is unable to demonstrate this in any written sources. On this view, the primary interest of the Lydian kings would have been to make the highest possible profit, and electrum coinage, not pure gold, best served this purpose. Other users, who would have previously used bullion, accepted this new medium and began to mint their own issues. When the economic environment changed, the Lydians switched to pure gold and silver coinage. Much of this chapter needs to be analysed by economists to be fully appreciated, but it should be noted that quite a few of the underlying historical assumptions are hard to verify from our current knowledge of the Archaic economy.

The interest from economists in early coinage is further illustrated by an article by MELITZ (252). His analysis of early electrum takes a rather different take on the question of whether coinage was minted because it was profitable, which stands in direct contrast to the view that coinage was part of a sophisticated monetary system with hacksilber and other bullion. In his view, the Lydians and others minted early coins at a minimal profit but for political reasons. This provides, according to him, a possible explanation for why early coinage, even in smaller denominations, is of such high value.

By comparison with later coinage, electrum stands out for the multitude of obverse types, probably on the order of 400 or more (excluding Kyzikene, Phokaian, and Mytilenaeon types). Although die studies are beginning to show that some obverse types are connected to each other through die-links and are thus part of the same series, the authorities behind all these types remain puzzling. KROLL (203) points to the role of so-called dynasts (important local individuals) who were able to yield power. The presence of such individuals as minting authorities in the Classical period suggests that this phenomenon already existed in the Archaic period. VAN ALFEN (371) explores the role of the state in early Archaic coinage. He argues that the convenient term 'state', often used in modern discussions, does not reflect the situation we face in the Archaic period when we know very little about the institutions in place. What we do know about Asia Minor is that instability of monarchy or rulers was a common feature and that different stakeholders might have differing roles in coin production, in which they might have tried, probably unsuccessfully, to monopolize coin production.

Studies of Specific Series and Mints

HILBERT'S (157) die study of 1,096 electrum coins of Miletus is undoubtedly one of the most impressive contributions to the field of early electrum in the period under review. HILBERT presents a detailed analysis of the different denominations which allows him to construct a relative chronology of this important coinage. However, the lack of hoard evidence or any other archaeological or historical fixpoints highlight the problem of dating this massive coinage more precisely (he suggests c. 600-530). In a subsequent article, HILBERT (158) revises some of his findings. He discusses a few coin series which can be linked to the Milesian lion with reverted head series on the basis of shared reverse dies. This important discovery, which comes from his continuation of the study undertaken by SPIER (*Studies in Greek Numismatics in Memory of Martin Jessop Price* (1998), pp. 321-326), suggests that Miletus had started minting coinage by at least 610.

FISCHER-BOSSERT (139) studies the well-known coinage in the name of Phanes, which was issued on the Milesian standard in a full set of denominations from a stater to a 1/96th stater. The die study reveals a tightly interlinked coinage. Interestingly, both the reverse die punches and the obverse dies link across different denominations. Due to one coin being found in the Artemision at Ephesos, it is possible to date this series to the last quarter of the 7th century. The Phanes coinage is not, however, among the earliest coins from this archaeological context. BRESSON (54) has noticed an interesting epigraphical detail on the coinage of Phanes whereby the letters *eta* and *sigma* are engraved in two different forms which are generally thought to be chronologically separated. KARWIESE (172) makes a connection between the stag of Phanes and the Milesian coinage, where a punch shows a similar head. This was implicitly refuted by Fischer-Bossert, as the stags of Phanes and the Milesian coinage are of diverging species, and cannot refer to each other. KARWIESE'S other discovery within the difficult earlier series of striated coins is a die-link between two 1/12th staters: one obverse shows the regular striated obverse, whereas the other is part of the main confronting lion series. FISCHER-BOSSERT (136) publishes die studies of two similar series, one with a horse protome and the other with flying horses. These series, which consisted of staters and smaller denominations on the Milesian standard, were clearly

substantial and thus illustrate how much coinage was circulating in the last decades of the 7th century. NEBEL (276) publishes two of these staters in a short article.

Many of the die studies indicate that the long-held view that electrum coinage largely disappears after the introduction of Croesus' gold and silver coinage is misguided. The focus of is increasingly on the late Archaic and even the early Classical period when electrum coinage continued to flourish. In this context, scholars are trying to re-examine old attributions as well. In an important article, FISCHER-BOSSERT (141) produces a die study of a series with head of Herakles which has traditionally been attributed to Erythrai. He argues that this enormous coinage of *hektai* (84 obverse and 131 reverse dies) should instead be assigned to Herakleia Pontike and divided into 26 groups. The coinage was first issued c. 530 and issued for the next three decades. Stylistic analysis indicates that the last series (5 obverse dies) was issued sporadically c. 480-420 and stands apart. FISCHER-BOSSERT (135) provides a die study of the series with the Lydian-style lion obverse issued as *hektai* and four smaller denominations on the Milesian weight standard and argues that they date to the mid-6th century or later.

Another focus of research has been the identification of Archaic coinages issued in both electrum and silver with identical designs such as Klazomenai's flying boar types. FISCHER-BOSSERT (138) draws attention to another case which is of considerable importance for the transition from electrum to silver coinage in the mid-6th century. He observes that coins of Ephesos with a bee on the obverse were issued in both electrum (as a *hekte*) and silver (as a *diobol*) and share the same die pair. Other such electrum/silver series can perhaps be observed at Miletos and with the large windmill series on the Phokaian standard. WARTENBERG (383) discusses the latter in the context of several hoard finds from northern Greece or Thrace. She considers whether electrum coins found in this region were also minted there or came through trade with the region around Phokaia. FISCHER-BOSSERT (140) examines Carian silver fractions and a related electrum series with a monster-like head. The electrum coinage, which might appear to an uninformed eye to be from the 6th century, is dated c. 480 because of the corresponding silver coinage. In a second article, which is in part clarifying comments made earlier in (140) about the coinage of Lindos with a lion head, FISCHER-BOSSERT (142) publishes die studies of two other groups of lion head coinages which are probably from Ionia. A shared die demonstrates that the Lindos coinage is another example of a coinage issued in both electrum and silver.

WARTENBERG (387) has undertaken a die study of all staters represented in a number of hoards of the second half of the 5th century, among them a previously unknown hoard from western Asia Minor of the early 1990s, in order to re-examine the so-called Ionian Revolt coinages. A newly discovered die-link connects the so-called Abydos series with a standing eagle type with the famous stater with an Athena head. This raises the old question of whether these staters should be associated with different mints and whether they should be assigned to Ionia, Thrace, or the Propontis. MARCHAND (237) discusses the electrum series with standing eagle, previously attributed to Abydos, and illustrates the denominations of this series.

Undoubtedly one of the biggest desiderata in the field of electrum coinage is a full die-study of Kyzikos. DE CALLATAÏ (68) has begun this daunting task and gives a short overview of his work in progress. After an overview of earlier scholarship, he provides a list of types (still in the order given by VON FRITZE over a century ago), for which he provides a preliminary obverse die count; unsurprisingly, the die order of the reverse punches remains to be done. DE CALLATAÏ estimates that the entire coinage was minted from at least 500 obverse dies which makes it one of the largest coinages of the Classical period.

PSOMA (307) summarizes what is currently known about Kyzikos, its history, and coinage while also interpreting some of the historically significant types of the Kyzikene staters. TOURATSOGLU (357) looks at the types related to events in the history of Macedonia, including the famous 'Eleutheria' stater. MIELCZAREK (259) analyses the role of Kyzikene staters in the grain trade with the northern Black Sea region. He provides an overview of all known hoards and single findspots and discusses possible reasons for the use of this particular electrum currency. MARCHETTI (238) reinterprets the famous Olbia decree and the exchange rate between Kyzikene staters and Olbian coins, dating this decree to the mid-4th century.

Coin Finds and Archaeology

Finds from controlled excavations are particularly important for the understanding of early electrum coinage but sadly very rare. For the earliest coins, the Artemision in Ephesos has provided for over a century of important finds which KERSCHNER AND KONUK (178) have now published again in great detail. Previous publications by BAMMER

and PRICE, which put the beginning of coinage *c.* 600, have been revised to *c.* 630 or perhaps earlier to reflect new interpretations of the Artemision's archaeology. KERSCHNER (177) gives a detailed overview of the temple's building phases and their interpretation. In an exhaustive investigation of the archaeological record over the last century he explains why BAMMER and PRICE's views are now superseded by these new studies. KROLL (202) republishes another important piece of evidence from the Artemision, a lead inscription containing an account of gold and silver. He emphasizes in particular that gold was the primary currency even when electrum coins were already in circulation. WEISSER (391) publishes a 1/6th stater of the so-called striated series, found at the Archaic Aphrodite sanctuary in Miletos. Unfortunately, the context does not narrow down the dating of this mysterious series, of which four found in the Artemision at Ephesos. WEISSER provides an overview of other specimens with the same set of reverse punches, one of which links to a 1/24th stater. ZAKHAROV (396) mentions the two Lydian electrum 1/3 staters in his article about the excavation coins from Dinar.

SHEEDY (325) discusses an electrum coin with a frontal bull head found in the Athenian Agora in Athens. The findspot appears to confirm an old theory that Athens minted electrum coinage, although there is still some doubt whether an electrum series with an owl is a genuine coinage. From Sardis, CAHILL, HARI, ÖNAY, and DOKUMACI (63) publish three Lydian coins. IŞKAN (165) in a general overview of coins found at Patara in Lycia, mentions the discovery of a Lydian coin. BUTKEVYCH (59) publishes electrum coins and ingots which were reportedly found on the island of Berezan (Borythenes) in a self-published study. KIM (*SNR* (2004), pp. 5–16) did a metallurgical analysis of a group of ingots from this find and concluded that they were modern forgeries. BUTKEVYCH, however, who also discusses other coins rumored to have been found in this hoard, believes this material to be genuine. Although this publication lacks scholarly rigour and would benefit from proper editing, it is extensively illustrated with local finds of electrum coins.

Regnal Dates of Lydian Kings and Linguistic Discussions

Lydian inscriptions on coins as well as the dates of the Lydian kings continue to receive new interpretations. The Lydian king list is famously obtuse, known largely from Herodotus, Nikolaus of Damascus, and Assyrian sources. In an attempt to make sense of these sources in the context of the numismatic evidence, DALE (92) revives the idea that the inscription WALWET refers to Alyattes, whereas KUKALIM, which is found in the same coin series, means 'descendent of Kukas' and refers to Gyges. On this basis he downdates the reign of Gyges to 635–585. OETTINGER (288) briefly discusses the Lydian letter *k* in the context of KUKA referring to Gyges. SCHÜRR (320) views the reading of WALWET as Alyattes as problematic, which many scholars now consider as generally accepted, but this short note shows that one needs to be careful about such assumptions. WALLACE (381) proposes a more radical re-interpretation of the Lydian king Croesus. He argues that the relatively short reign that is generally given to Croesus and based on Herodotus might have already begun in the 580s.

Metallurgy

Over the last few years, all areas of numismatics have seen an increased use of scientific analysis to gain more data about coins. In the area of electrum coinage, curators in several major collections and a few private collectors have used XRF analysis in particular, but also more sophisticated technologies. Not all these analyses are yet published, and we can expect more over the next few years. The results, in particular when available in larger numbers, help classify the coinages by grouping them together on account of their similar metal composition. The study of BLET-LEMARQUAND and DUYPAT (44) on 97 early electrum coins in the BnF using both LA-ICP-MS (Laser Ablation Inductively Coupled Plasma Mass Spectrometry) and XRF is the most significant of these. Interestingly, the results of these two methods do not differ significantly, and this study gives a solid basis for comparison. GITLER, GOREN, KONUK, TAL, VAN ALFEN, and WEISBURD (145) used XRF to analyse 209 electrum coins in two major private collections. VAN LOON, NELSON, WARTENBERG KAGAN, BARRON, and BANERJEE (374) make the first attempt to analyse electrum coins by micro-computed tomography (μ CT) imaging. Their μ CT analysis of a Phanes coin sheds light on the internal structure of the object and its production. HILBERT (157) has also been able to gain significant insights into the electrum coinage of Miletos by analyzing 159 examples by XRF.

Metallurgical research has begun to overturn the long-held view that electrum was naturally found in the rivers around Sardis and then used either in this unadulterated form or with some addition of silver. CAHILL, HARI, ÖNAY, and DOKUMACI (63) interpret the finding that the surfaces of Lydian electrum had higher gold content as evidence that the

surfaces were deliberately enriched. Furthermore, they try to reconcile the results of a new study of the alluvial gold from the Paktolos, which is almost pure, with the idea that electrum was enriched with silver to create coinage, suggesting that other areas of the Lydian kingdom were the source for the metal to mint coinage. KLEBER (184) argues against the traditional view of numismatists and archaeologists that the process of separating gold and silver was unknown until the reign of Croesus. He discusses evidence from Babylonia showing that the process of cementation was already in use by *c.* 1750. The various metallurgical studies cited here illustrate that there was a deliberate use of gold and silver in place. In order to fully understand the process and its implications for early coinage, more analysis, not just by XRF, will be needed.

Persia

We limit ourselves here to royal and satrapal coinages. However, items relating to the impact of the Achaemenid Empire on the coinages of Asia Minor are to be found throughout the regional surveys below.

The recent companion edited by JACOBS and ROLLINGER (167) includes a comprehensive chapter on Persian royal coinage by HOERNES (160); other chapters in this massive two volume work also discuss numismatic evidence. DE CALLATAÿ, *RBN* (2014), pp. 357–359 has reviewed BODZEK's important book on satrapal coinage which appeared in Polish in 2011. TUPLIN (358) provides an excellent overview of coinage and monetary development in the Achaemenid Empire and addresses many of the problems often observed about this material. Weights, types, classification into the traditional royal and satrapal coinages, usage, mercenaries, and much more besides are all discussed, often with interesting insights. The article's one major shortcoming is that it does not have a single illustration. Although not strictly speaking about coins, the long article by TUPLIN (359) on military scenes on Achaemenid seals is of importance to numismatists interested in iconography. In a short section on numismatic parallels, the author points out that there is less overlap in these two media than one would think. Nevertheless, there is much to be learned from his erudite description of battle scenes, weapons, and the historical context of the various objects.

In a basic, largely historical overview of portraits and other representations of rulers, MÜSELER (273) presents an overview of coins from the Achaemenid sphere, with a particular emphasis on Lycia. his wide-ranging discussion continues down to Hellenistic ruler portraits and the later coinage of Persis. BODZEK (46) provides an overview of similar issues, but with a more numismatic focus and many more illustrations. The Western part of the Achaemenid Empire, where coins largely circulated, was home to many regions, which maintained some sort of autonomy. Caria and Lycia, in particular, both minted coinage from the sixth century onwards, but their relationship to the Persian rulers are not always clear. BODZEK (49) discusses the unique Lycian stater of Tissaphernes as satrap or karanos which, although minted at Xanthos, he interprets as a satrapal coinage destined for a local market. He also discusses a second coinage which imitated the Milesian series, bore a Lycian inscription for Xanthos, and was issued in staters (apparently not known to BODZEK), drachms, diobols, and hemiobols. He argues against the idea expressed by others that these are Lycian coins belonging to the Carian sartrap Mausolos and instead argues they are local imitations. MÜSELER (263, 264) also discusses both series.

BODZEK (47) draws attention to two series of satrapal coins that are probably part of the Achaemenid empire. He dates one, which he thinks is unique, *c.* 350-332. It shows an archer on one side and a horseman on the other, both very generic types that cannot be easily attributed as the coin lacks a legend. The second coin he discusses is a silver obol which he associates with the earliest coinage of Tarsos which he would date to the end of the 5th century (for an earlier date being preferable see the section on Cilicia below).

Among coin finds it is worth mentioning the siglos and the 1/24th siglos from Dinar (ancient Apameia) which ZAKHAROV (395) publishes. The fraction is rumored to come from a hoard of 100 similar coins found in the northern part of Dinar and the author highlights that this is the second such siglos hoard from this town (see further the section on Phrygia below).

Alexanders and Lysimachi

MEADOWS (245) studies the paradigm shift in Greek coinage brought about by the introduction of Alexander's coinage. In adapting coinage to the new challenges of the Hellenistic world, the aim was primarily to solve short-term problems and we should not imagine there was a broader vision for turning coinage into a more rational financial instrument even if, quite unintentionally, that was in some respects the ultimate outcome. MEADOWS argues that the great impact of Alexander's coinage came from the massive scale on which it was minted and the total uniformity of

its design. This created a stable money supply, lowered transaction costs, and monetized regions which had not previously used coinage. However, the decision to produce an entirely uniform coinage on such an enormous scale was not driven by these goals but rather by the need to find a way to pay troops across the empire in a coinage which would be accepted everywhere. The consequences of this choice, such as the disappearance of much local coinage in the Greek world, Phoenicia, and Egypt and the (temporary) dissolution of currency zones, were largely unintended. In a similar vein, he argues that the widespread adoption of bronze coinage was not motivated by thoughts of the money supply or by a desire to monetize lower value transactions, but rather by considerations of immediate financial gain and civic pride.

MEADOWS (249) re-examines the development of Alexander-type coinage in western Asia Minor 323-223. He splits the first hundred years of posthumous Alexander coinage into two parts with the advent of Seleucid rule *c.* 280-275 as the hinge point. In the first half of this period posthumous Alexanders are characterised by extremely complex systems of controls which do not straightforwardly identify the minting authority. While scholars have certainly tried to identify the eight early mints through their controls, the reasoning is frequently questionable. While these eight cities may indeed have been Alexander mints, we cannot reliably establish that through their controls. He contrasts this with the Alexanders which he would date after *c.* 280. These have much less complex controls which usually make clear which civic authority was responsible for their production. This shift in the character of the controls appears to reflect a transition from a centralized model of producing Alexanders at a handful of mints which were directly administered by royal officials to a decentralized model in which this job was devolved to civic authorities. It should be noted that the dating of this transition to *c.* 280-275 is heavily reliant on PRICE's chronology for the relevant series being correct which, at least in the case of Ionia, it almost certainly is not. It is more likely that the transition period was *c.* 300-280 and involved Demetrios and Lysimachos rather than Seleucus (see, for example, VĀDAN (376), pp. 88–90 for the case of Magnesia).

DELRIEUX (104) surveys the Alexanders produced in western Asia Minor in the late 3rd and early 2nd century. The conclusions he reaches must be considered provisional in light of his reliance on PRICE's arrangement and dating of these series which new hoard evidence and die studies are increasingly bringing into question. For example, the 'Seleucus III' (*CH X 272* – an incomplete listing) and 'Black Sea' Tetradrachm hoards (MARINESCU AND LORBER in *Festschrift Ilya Prokopov* (2012), pp. 197–259), which are not discussed here, have revealed that a number of series which PRICE dated to the 200s/190s in fact belong pre-225. Likewise, when we have die studies as opposed to just typologies of these series it frequently transpires that PRICE's arrangement is misleading (see, for example, ELLIS-EVANS, *RN* (2021), pp. 57–89 on the Alexanders of Assos and Phokaia). Caution is also needed in the interpretation of the lower die counts for Alexander series post-188: the consistently high *n/d* figures for pre-188 series and the consistently low figures for post-188 series reflect the pattern of hoarding in the 190s which has led to the over-representation of pre-Apameia emissions in our evidence. Finally, one wonders how much sense it makes to exclude Lysimachi from this discussion when they performed a functionally identical role to Alexanders in this period.

LORBER (230) publishes a die study of a series of Alexander-type drachms imitating drachms of Chios from *c.* 280-270 (BAUSLAUGH Period 1). Three lots of Alexandrine coinage which appeared in commerce in 2001-2002 included 293 examples which substantially expand our knowledge of the series. The series dates to the end of the 3rd century, used at least 57 obverse dies, and may represent somewhere in the range of 150 talents of expenditure (this would outstrip the drachm production of Ariarathes V also recently studied by LORBER (229)). The unique tetradrachm from this series in *CH X 292* (Phrygia or Pamphylia?) and the examples in private collections in Izmir point to a mint in the western half of Anatolia. She speculates that the series was minted by a dynast to pay mercenaries who hailed from a variety of locations in western Asia Minor (suggested by the controls), but there can be little certainty about the context. Two mysteries remain. First, it remains unclear what motivated the minting authority to imitate a specific issue of Chian drachms struck 70-80 years earlier. Second, it is deeply odd that this minting authority should have chosen to produce such a large emission of Alexander drachms at a time when Alexanders were being minted almost exclusively as tetradrachms.

MARINESCU (241) publishes 37 coins from *IGCH 1450* in the ANS collection including 28 Lysimachi, provides new information on the acquisition of this packet, and suggests a new date of *c.* 200 for its burial. MARTÍNEZ CHICO and GONZÁLEZ GARCÍA (242) publish a small hoard of 15 Alexanders found on the outskirts of Batman in south-

east Turkey in 2017. The hoard was buried shortly after 322 and so is one of the earliest known hoards of lifetime Alexanders. They speculate that the one posthumous Alexander (an example of Price 109e from Amphipolis dated to 322) came to be part of this hoard because it was deposited by troops which had been back to Greece before returning east. MARCELLESI (235) compares the contents of three hoards found (*IGCH* 1303, 1405, 1406) from the 200s in excavation contexts to hoards of the mid-3rd century and speculates as to what this tells us about how monetary circulation in Asia Minor changed in the second half of the 3rd century.

ANDRADE (13) publishes a die study of the silver coinage of Manbog-Hierapolis which straddles the end of Achaemenid rule and the period of Alexander's conquest. Of interest here are Series 10-16 which have the Aramaic reverse legend *'lksndr* referring to Alexander the Great. For discussion as to whether the type with a horseman hunting a wolf might be intended as a depiction of Alexander and whether the type with seated Atargatis is influenced by Alexander's silver coinage see BLÖMER and NIESWANDT (45) and WARTENBERG (386).

Pontus, Paphlagonia, and Bithynia

DE CALLATAÏ (64) revisits his corpus of the gold and silver coinage of Mithridates VI published in 1997. He comments on the evidence for an unrecorded hoard having been dispersed in trade in the 2000s, on how best to explain the now firm evidence for certain issues having anomalously high weights (a question of poor quality control rather than deliberate policy), and the new varieties which have appeared in the interim. ÖZTÜRK (296, 296) publishes 90 Hellenistic gold, silver, and bronze coins from the 2009-2013 excavations of Oluz Höyük a short distance south-west of Amaseia in Pontus. ÖZLEM YALÇIN and ÇIZMELİ ÖĞÜN (295) publish the İnebolu 2003 Hoard which was found near the ancient site of Abonoteichos-Ionopolis and consists of 55 bronze coins, almost all of which date to the reign of Mithridates VI and come from cities of Pontus and Paphlagonia. TEK, KÖKER, and TARAKAN (335) mention a hoard in Side Museum of 141 coins which was confiscated in 2015 and clearly originated in this region. It was buried in the reign of Mithridates I (c. 281-266) and consists of coins of Amisos (124), Amastris (6), Sinope (4), Komana (3), Amaseia (1), Kromna (1), and two unidentified issues.

In two articles GÜNEY (150, 152) catalogues predominantly bronze coins of the Bithynian kingdom in hitherto unpublished museum collections. The first article catalogues 122 coins from the museums of Istanbul, Iznik, Sakarya, Bolu, and Naples and concludes with a table summarizing the hoard evidence for all the Bithynian kings, while the second catalogues 194 coins from Bursa. LINGER and ATASOY (222) publish coins found in and around the site of Tios, a minority of which date to the 4th to 1st century and come from Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and Galatia. TÜRKÖĞLU (360) comments on the civic coinage of Kalchedon and provides a typology of the mint's gold, silver, and bronze emissions.

MARINESCU (240) provides a die study of the gold and silver Lysimachi of Kios. He dates the 'lifetime' issues to the late 280s/early 270s and the posthumous issues to various points between the late 270s and the late 250s/early 240s. The die study indicates that half the issues were produced at the very end of this period in an episode of intensive production which was co-ordinated with Byzantion, Kalchedon, and an unknown mint. MARINESCU speculates that these coins were produced as part of the so-called Northern League's resistance to Seleucid encroachment and that they may have been intended as pay for Galatian mercenaries.

MICHELS (256) analyses the iconography of the bronze coinage of Prusias I and II. He argues against the view that these coins, which only circulated within the kingdom, were intended to Hellenize the non-Greek rural population of Bithynia via their Greek iconography. In so far as the types of Bithynia's silver and bronze coinage targeted different audiences, these were Greeks outside the kingdom (silver) vs. Greeks within the kingdom (bronze).

Northern Mysia

ELLIS-EVANS and VAN ALFEN (124) study the early silver coinage of Lampsakos in its regional context. They argue that the mint shifted from an epichoric 'Troas' standard at the very end of the 6th century to the Persic standard in the first quarter of the 5th century and note that a similar shift is seen at mints throughout northern Mysia and the Troas at this time, thus emphasizing the importance of studying these regions in tandem. ELLIS-EVANS (117) discusses the *xi* series of electrum staters of Lampsakos and places their production in the context of Lysander's campaigns of 405/4. In his study of Memnon of Rhodes, ELLIS-EVANS (120) analyses the silver and bronze coinage with pseudo-Rhodian types which Memnon minted at Lampsakos. He places this series in the context of Memnon manipulating coin production throughout northern Mysia and the Troas in the mid-350s in order to support the revolt of his father-in-law, Artabazos.

ELLIS-EVANS (122) provides die studies of the late Hellenistic tetradrachms of Parion and Lampsakos. A variety of indications, above all new hoard evidence, suggests that Parion's first series dates to the late 160s/150s and its second series and the Priapos tetradrachms of Lampsakos to the early 1st century. He discusses a possible connection between the Lampsakene series and an epiphany of Priapos during the war with Aristonikos and argues that both the second Parian series and the Lampsakene series were minted at the behest of the Roman authorities as DE CALLATAÏ has likewise argued for Abydos and Tenedos in the Troad.

KÖKER (195) catalogues 66 coins from the 1954 excavations at Dasklyeion which include Hellenistic bronzes of Kyzikos, Parion, and Priapos. CANTILENA (70) discusses a gold stater of Lampsakos which was found in 2001 in excavations of the southern sanctuary at Paestum. The stater, which comes from the beginning of this series, belongs to a broader context of gold coinage produced in Asia Minor travelling west to Magna Graecia in the early 4th century.

OYARÇIN (289) summarizes the coin finds from the 2010-2014 excavations at Parion: of 1905 coins found, just 17 are Hellenistic. KELEŞ (174) examines some of the literary, archaeological, and numismatic evidence for Parion's strong relationship with Thrace throughout antiquity. YAĞIZ (394) publishes two hoards of Parian coins in Tekirdağ Archaeological Museum (ancient Bisanthe on the northern coast of the Propontis). The Kılıçlar hoard consists of 57 of these silver coins with the types Gorgon head/incuse punch, while the TAM 1986 hoard consists of 65 coins with the same types, but rendered in a different style and at an appreciably lower weight. The hoards likely date to the late 6th/early 5th century and indicate the importance of Parion's links across the Propontis to Thrace.

KELEŞ (174) discusses four gold objects found in wealthy graves in Parion's southern necropolis dating to the late 4th/early 3rd century. These objects depict facing portraits of Helios, a Gorgon, Apollo, and Persephone and were initially interpreted as examples of Charon's obol. KELEŞ instead argues they are 'coin appliqués' which originally adorned the golden crowns also found in the tombs. If correct, this would be interesting evidence for the aesthetic value attributed to coin types. However, for the argument to work the coins from which these objects were made must be identified: while the Helios is plausibly connected to Rhodes, the Gorgon is not in a style seen on Parion's coins (*pace* KELEŞ), and the Apollo and Persephone remain unidentified.

TEKIN (336) catalogues the bronze coins attributed to Agathokles son of Lysimachos. In addition to the two series which can be attributed to Maroneia in Aegean Thrace with certainty due to excavations finds, he argues that the other five series were minted at Adramytteion in northern Mysia. TEKIN relies heavily for this attribution on the number of these coins ÖZKAN ARIKANTÜRK was able to purchase at Burhaniye near ancient Adramytteion. However, as the volumes of *SNG Turkey 9* illustrate, ARIKANTÜRK was able to purchase coins in abundance from all over the Troad, Mysia, and Aiolis from Burhaniye, and so it is far from clear how much weight can be placed on this argument. TEKIN also proposes that the obverse portrait of a diademed young man on these coins is a portrait of Agathokles. However, this would be a surprising thing for Agathokles to have done considering that his own father did not take this step.

NOLLÉ (283) discusses a variety of Kyzikene coin types which relate to the myth of Zeus identifying the omphalos or navel of the earth by simultaneously dispatching eagles in opposite directions and seeing where they met. He argues that these images relate not to the well-known tradition that the omphalos lay at Delphi, but rather to a local tradition which first emerged in the 5th century that Kyzikos itself was the omphalos. Towards the end of an article on an unrelated topic, FISCHER-BOSSERT (134) observes that while the tuna fish parasemon of Kyzikos is traditionally explained as referring to the great shoals which can be fished in the Propontis, another possibility is that it is a pun on the name of the Thynoi, the Thracian tribe who inhabited northern Mysia and no doubt integrated with the Greeks of Kyzikos.

TEKIN (338) revives the argument that the winged-horse symbol which appears on coins of Kyzikos, Lampsakos, Skepsis, Adramytteion, and Iolla began life in the Archaic and Classical period as a winged horse but by the Hellenistic period became transformed into a winged horse with a bird's tail akin to a hippaelctryon. KILLEN (180), focusing only on the evidence for Lampsakos, persuasively argues that the symbol was always intended to be a winged horse. Insofar as later numismatic depictions give a different impression, this arises from the fact that over time the attempt to show the rear wing was schematized and then misunderstood by later die cutters. The stela reliefs and market weights which are cited in support of the hippaelctryon interpretation need to be considered in light of their production context and priority should be given to the numismatic evidence. In the course of a discussion on myths of separation and connection between Europe and Asia in the Propontic region, NOLLÉ (284) discusses a variety of coins from the Hellespont.

The Troad

Three new studies argue for a much more precise chronology of the Archaic and Classical coinage of the Troad than has hitherto existed. ELLIS-EVANS and VAN ALFEN (124) use hoard evidence to date the shift at mints across the region from an epichoric 'Troad' standard to the Persic standard to the late 6th/early 5th century. In Chapter 4 of his book on the region ELLIS-EVANS (121) summarizes ongoing work with JONATHAN KAGAN arguing that cities in and around the former peraia of Mytilene produced coins on the Attic weight standard c. 425-405. Finally, ELLIS-EVANS (120) has published a hoard group from commerce which allows us to date the shift in the 4th century from the Chian to the Persic standard specifically to the late 350s in the case of the Troad. He argues that Memnon of Rhodes coordinated minting at cities across the Troad at this time to support the revolt of his father-in-law Artabazos and that he adopted the cult of Athena Ilias as a unifying symbol for the region. Appendices provide die studies of the silver and bronze coinage of Memnon of Rhodes at Lampsakos, the silver coinage of Sigeion, and the coinages of Abydos, Assos, Ilion, and an anepigraphic type from the mid-4th century which depict the cult statue of Athena Ilias. The studies of LAZZARINI (206, 207) on the Classical coinage of Assos were unable to take these studies into account, and so the chronology he proposes will need to be reconsidered in light of these contributions.

LAZZARINI (205) identifies Gergis as the mint responsible for a hitherto unattributed series of anepigraphic silver coins with a seated griffin on the obverse and either a helmeted head of Athena or a Gorgon's head on the reverse. Using stylistic arguments, he dates the series c. 470-440. The attribution is possible but should not be considered secure given the lack of reliable provenances for these coins and how common this iconography was in the first half of the 5th century.

LENGER (209, 212) presents coin finds from the ongoing excavations at Assos. Of particular importance are the bronzes of Larisa-Ptolemais and those with the legend AIOAE which support locating the mints responsible for both these coinages in the Troad. LENGER (216) elsewhere uses the secure provenance of these AIOAE bronzes to argue that these coins were minted at Assos by a koinon of the Aioleis and not by a hitherto unattested city of Aioleion in the Troad as LOUIS ROBERT argued. In Chapter 6 of his book on the region ELLIS-EVANS (121) presents further evidence in favour of Assos being responsible for minting these coins and argues that the series can be dated to the 340s.

ELLIS-EVANS (119) studies the bronze coinage variously attributed to either Achilleion or Achaïion. He argues that Achilleion was always a small fort rather than a polis and therefore never a minting authority. As such, all this coinage belongs to Achaïion and was produced during periods in the 4th and 2nd centuries when it escaped the control of Tenedos. ÇİZMELİ ÖĞÜN (87) summarizes the coin finds from the ongoing excavations in the sanctuary of Apollo Smintheus. ESCH (129) revisits the argument, first made by Sestini, that there are rare coins of Neandrea overstruck with the ethnic of Alexandria Troas which, if correct, would bear on the date of the city's synoikism. In fact, these are simply bronzes of Alexandria which date much later in the Hellenistic period and have nothing to do with Neandrea. ÇİZMELİ ÖĞÜN (90) draws attention to the significance of a bronze of Hamaxitos recently published in *SNG Turkey 9.1* where the reverse type of Apollo Smintheus is accompanied by a mouse as the control mark. This refers to the foundation myth of the cult, as discussed in much more detail by PALAMIDIS (297).

NOLLÉ (282) analyses the iconography of the Classical coinage of Antandros, arguing that the female head on the obverse is Cybele rather than Artemis Astyrene, that the fir tree on the reverse specifically depicts the species *Abies nordmanniana* ssp. *equi-trojani*, and that the city's symbol of a goat along with the use of grapes and ivy leaves as control marks refer to Dionysiac worship. ELLIS-EVANS (121) in Chapter 2 of his book on the region provides an alternative view on these first two identifications. In a paper on the representation of mountains in western Asia Minor, DELRIEUX (101) includes coins of Antandros, Skamandria, and Skepsis as evidence for Mt. Ida. RIEDEL (311) discusses the iconographic evidence for the cult statue of Athena Ilias on the coins of both Ilion and the koinon. WARTENBERG (383) discusses provincial coins of Skepsis from the reign of Trajan which re-use a reverse die from the city's pre-188 bronze coinage, thus indicating the length of time cities could hold on to Hellenistic dies and the influence they could have on the iconography of provincial coinage. KISBALI (183) places the janiform head iconography of the coinage of Tenedos in the broader context of how janiform heads operate in Greek art.

ELLIS-EVANS (118) studies the coinage which the koinon of Athena Ilias minted in the name of their goddess. On the basis of a die study and re-examination of the hoard evidence he argues that it was minted continually but at a low level from the 180s/170s down to the 60/50s. He further argues that the coinage was minted on the authority

of the presiding agonomothetes of the festival (who is named in the exergue) in order to meet the costs of putting on the Panathenaia festival. He also provides a die study of the beginning of Alexandria's coinage in the name of Apollo Smintheus. In Chapter 1 of his book on the region ELLIS-EVANS (121) argues that the types of Alexandria's Apollo Smintheus coinage from the mid-170s and Parion's Apollo Aktaios coinage from the late 160s (on which see ELLIS-EVANS (122)) deliberately emulated the coinage of the koinon of Athena Ilias, an organisation of which both were members. In the same chapter he argues that the Troad as a region was really split into northern and southern halves which the koinon brought together, and that this split is reflected in whether mints chose to mint Lysimachi, as we see to the north, or Alexanders, as we see to the south. ELLIS-EVANS and EROL-ÖZDIZBAY (123) publish coins from the Kırkhan hoard (CH X 310) in Hatay Archaeological Museum including a Lysimachos of Ilion which is the first Lysimachos-type coin attested for this hoard. They provide a die study of the Ilian Lysimachi and date the series c. 155-145.

Southern Mysia

CHAMEROY (78) studies the fractional silver coinage of Elaia and Pergamon from the late 5th and early 4th century. He identifies the possible weight standards and denominations in use in these and other contemporary series from the Kaikos valley. On the basis of this, he argues that Elaia and Pergamon were aligned with one another in their monetary production: regional connectivity therefore trumped the fact that Elaia belonged to the Athenian Empire while Pergamon was within the Persian sphere. CHAMEROY presents quantitative data for the Elaian and Pergamene series based on a die study which indicates that, at this time, Elaia was the more productive mint. He also reattributes silver fractions with a 'T' as the reverse type from Tegea to Elaia on the basis of find spots and stylistic similarities between the obverses and interprets the 'T' as a value marker.

MARCELLESI (234) discusses the coin finds from Pergamon and its territory. She considers the publication history of this material, to what extent excavation coins can help us date Pergamene and Attalid bronze coinage, and the geographical distribution of the coin finds. CHAMEROY and SAVALLI-LESTRADE (79) compare the evidence which prosopography and coin finds provide for the nature of Pergamon's regional network between the 4th and 1st centuries. Placing these bodies of evidence side by side helps identify the biases of each, clarify the particular nature of the connections in question, and establish how Pergamon's regional network evolved over time in the context of its political history. CHAMEROY AND WEISSER (80) have produced a fully searchable online database of all the coin finds from the excavations at Pergamon which makes this material significantly more accessible.

TEKIN and EROL-ÖZDIZBAY (345, 348) publish coins from the 2000-2001 campaigns at Allianoi. These include a billon fraction of Mytilene from the 5th century and late Classical/Hellenistic bronzes from Aigai, Kyme, Atarneus, Elaia, and Pergamon. TEKIN and EROL-ÖZDIZBAY (347) also publish 155 coins of Elaia in Bergama Museum and another 5 from Kuvay-ı Milliye Museum in Balıkesir. As they note, the coins in Bergama Museum will originate nearby and thus help establish which coins with an ambiguously short ethnic should be attributed to Elaia rather than Elaious in the Thracian Chersonese. YAĞIZ (393) publishes a small number of coin finds from Adramytteion including six Classical and Hellenistic bronzes from the city itself, an Athena Nikephoros bronze, and a brass coin of Apameia.

ZIESMANN (398) discusses four Pergamene bronzes in the Berlin Münzkabinett which have not previously been published. BARBARA (37) argues that an anepigraphic bronze with the types helmeted head of Athena/coiled snake and two monograms should be considered an Attalid emission despite the absence of the Philetaerus legend and the Corinthian rather than Attic helmet Athena wears. RIEDEL (311) discusses the iconography of the cult of Athena at Pergamon on the city's coinage.

The simultaneous publication of CHAMEROY's study of the Hellenistic bronze coinage of Pergamon (*Chiron* (2012), pp. 131–182) and MARCELLESI's monograph on the coinage of Pergamon (*Pergame: de la fin du V^e au début du I^{er} siècle avant J.-C.* (2012) with the review of CHAMEROY, *Gnomon* (2013), pp. 711–718) has kicked off an important debate on the chronology of Pergamon's late Hellenistic bronze coinage in the names of deities and the Pergamenoι. MARCELLESI (234) criticizes CHAMEROY's use of excavation evidence in order to defend her view that these coinages were minted continuously from the early 2nd to the early 1st century by the civic authorities of Pergamon who were thus able to operate in parallel with the royal authorities who were producing their own bronzes in the name of Philetaerus. CHAMEROY (77) studies the overstrikes and countermarks on the bronzes in the names of Asklepios Soter, Athena Nikephoros, and the Pergamenoι. This important but hitherto overlooked evidence makes it clear that MARCELLESI's

chronological ordering of these series requires revision. While this and the evidence of brass issues amongst these series suggest that parts of these coinages do indeed post-date 133, it should also be noted that there are examples of the Athena Nikephoros coinage with explicit mint marks of Ephesos and Sardis (see e.g. CNG EA 466 (22/4/2020) 162) which must pre-date 133.

Cistophori

MEADOWS (250) publishes an overstrike which first appeared in commerce in 2012 and potentially settles a number of important chronological problems in Attalid coinage. He identifies the overtype as a late Philetaerus of Group VII and the undertype as a tetradrachm of Antiochos IV minted at Antioch *c.* 173/2-169/8. Based on the hoard evidence already known and where he believes this Philetaerus issue fits within the sequence of Group VII, MEADOWS is able to provide a precise chronology for all four phases of this final group of Philetaeri. Since some of these Philetaeri share controls with both the earliest cistophori and the portrait tetradrachms of Eumenes II, MEADOWS is also able to resolve the dispute over the dating of these coinages: on this view, both date to the mid-160s. MARCELLESI'S (236) discussion of the historical context of the portrait tetradrachms of Eumenes II hinges on her dating of these coins to the late 190s: if MEADOWS is correct, then her argument cannot stand. KRENGEL (200) argues that the iconography of the cistophori draws on Orphic mythology about the creation of Dionysos and should be connected to the Attalid dynasty's promotion of the Orphic cult and, in particular, the iconographic scheme of the Great Altar which she would date to the mid-160s along with the cistophori.

CARBONE (72) publishes a monograph-length study on the largest hoard of cistophori which has thus far come to light. The hoard was recorded in commerce in 2002, consists of 1,370 cistophoric tetradrachms from the mints of Pergamon, Ephesos, Tralles, Laodikeia, Apameia, Adramytteion, Nysa, and Smyrna, and was buried in 90/89. The sheer size of this hoard means that its composition solves numerous problems in the chronology of the late cistophori and related series. In addition to cataloguing and analysing the hoard, CARBONE places the late cistophori in the broader context of the early fiscal history of the province of Asia. The volume needs to be read with the critical review of KINNS, *NC* (2021), pp. 526–530 to hand.

METCALF (255) publishes a comprehensive catalogue of the so-called 'proconsular' cistophori produced *c.* 58-48 which puts our understanding of this important coinage on an entirely new footing. In a review, AMANDRY (*RN* (2019), pp. 385–389) makes several consequential arguments regarding the mysterious Q *ATPA* emission whose mint and signer remain unidentified. First, he notes that whereas the emissions from the other five mints are very well-attested (*n/d* ranging from 3.8 at Apameia to 13.5 at Pergamon), Q *ATPA* is not (*n/d* of 1.8). Despite already being the largest series at 34 obverse dies it is certain to grow substantially. Second, he argues that both hoard evidence and metrology point to this emission dating *c.* 67-58/7 and thus being earlier than the rest of the 'proconsular' cistophori. This is more controversial: his interpretation of *IGCH* 1464 in particular is not above reproach, and it is surely significant that the dies are loose unlike the rest of the pre-48 issues (as METCALF (255), p. 59 observes). For the moment, the later date should stand.

METCALF (254) catalogues the cistophori of Nysa and briefly argues in favour of the city employing the Sullan era on these coins. However, the evidence of the hoard CARBONE (72, pp. 183–185) has now published shows that Nysa's era began in 90/89, not 85/4. MEADOWS (246) comments on four hoards containing cistophori. The first two (*IGCH* 1340, 1415) were dated to the 2nd century in *IGCH* but in fact date to the second quarter of the 1st century. The second two appeared in commerce in the late 1980s and early 1990s and are thus difficult to disentangle. However, MEADOWS argues they were probably buried in the 40s (*CH* 8.537) and *c.* 58/7 (*CH* 8.447+525+526+539) respectively. MEADOWS (244) identifies a cistophoric fraction which appeared in trade as belonging to Tralles and discusses how the iconography of this diobol relates to the rest of Trallian coinage. On the grounds that a cistophoric diobol neatly equates to the weight of a *sestertius*, he tentatively suggests a post-Attalid date for this issue.

Aiolis and Lesbos

ELLIS-EVANS (117) discusses the unique electrum stater of Mytilene in the British Museum. He argues that it does not belong to the context of Mytilene's revolt against Athens in 428/7, but rather Lysander's campaign of 405/4, and compares this issue to electrum staters of Chios and Lampsakos likewise produced at this time. In Chapter 4 of his monograph on the region ELLIS-EVANS (121) argues that the billon coinage of Lesbos from the late 6th and 5th centuries should be attributed to Mytilene specifically not Lesbos in general and discusses the numismatic evidence for

Mytilene's commercial relationships with cities in the Troad and Aiolis in the late 5th and early 4th centuries. In Chapter 5 he draws on coinage to chart the evolving civic identities of Mytilene and Methymna between the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

RALLI and KOUREMPANAS (309) publish coin finds from graves discovered in rescue excavations at Mytilene. These include a 4th century silver fraction and Hellenistic bronzes of Mytilene and a gold stater with Alexander types found in a wealthy grave. LENGER (210) attributes a series of small bronzes with the types turreted female head/bow and arrow and the legend MY to Myrina and rejects previous attributions to various cities in Ionia and Caria. He bases this attribution in part on four examples which appeared in a hoard of mixed bronze purchased by MUHARREM KAYHAN in 2002 and published in *SNG Turkey 1.2, nos. 1601-4* over half of whose content comes from Aiolis. Another possibility which LENGER does not consider is Mytilene: there are rare bronzes in the ANS and BnF with the types wreathed head of Apollo/bow and MYTI which are the same module.

EROL-ÖZDIZBAY (127) provides a detailed overview of what we know about Nesos Pordosilene in antiquity and the role which the evidence of the city's coinage plays in reconstructing its history. In particular, she draws on coinage to examine the changing forms of the city's name over time, what the iconography of the coins can tell us about the city's preferred interpretation of the etymology of its name, and the question of whether Nesos and Pordosilene were two separate settlements or different names for the same settlement. A typology of the mint's output is also provided. CORFÙ (82) publishes a silver fraction of Autokane which appeared in commerce in 2015 and is the first known example of the city's silver coinage. The coin appears to be a Chian standard obol and would thus date to the first half of the 4th century. TEKIN (339) catalogues 124 bronze coins of Gryneion from various sources and private Turkish collections. In an addendum (342), he notes the recent appearance of silver drachms and hemidrachms of Gryneion. In a third publication (341) he discusses, inter alia, the symbol of the *pinna nobilis* (mussel) on these coins and in a fourth (344) he publishes balance weights of the city.

ASHTON (28) presents a typology of the prolific late Classical and early Hellenistic coinage of Kyme. In establishing the relative chronology of Kyme's bronze coinage he lists the contents of a hoard which was dispersed in commerce in 2014 and contained 200+ Kymaian bronzes. Appendices list the c. 150 names and c. 50 monograms which appear on these coins. In the same volume, CACCAMO CALTABIANO, CARROCCIO, and PUGLISI (62) analyse 421 coins found in the recent excavations of Kyme, a third of which date to the Classical and Hellenistic periods. The non-Kymaian coins found at the site from the Classical through to the Imperial period give a consistent picture of the city's core region which extended north to Lesbos, east up the Hermos valley to Sardis, and south to the Kaystros valley and Ephesos. The authors also consider possible iconographic influences on Kyme's coin types, but these arguments do not make use of the evidence for Kyme's regional network set out in the first half of the paper, nor the chronology of Kyme's coinage provided by ASHTON (28) in the same volume. There is further analysis of the coin finds in CARROCCIO, APOLITO, RIZZARI, and SPINELLI (75) and CARROCCIO (74).

In publishing a packet from the Kırıkhan hoard (*CH X 310*) in Hatay Archaeological Museum, ELLIS-EVANS and EROL-ÖZDIZBAY (123) comment on the 26 wreathed tetradrachms of Kyme it contains and what they contribute to the ordering and dating of this series. Based on a revised die study of the entire series, they suggest a new order for the signers and split the production of this coinage into three episodes c. 151/0 and soon after, c. 150/49-144/3, and c. 143 and soon after. FRASCONE'S (143) catalogue of the coin finds from the excavations at Zeugma includes a rare single find of a wreathed tetradrachm of Myrina. The issue is SACKS 45 (not 25 as in the catalogue) from the very end of the series and was discovered in the suburb of Apameia on the left bank of the Euphrates. BOULAY (51) discusses the extension of Aigai's territory in the Hellenistic period to include the neighbouring community of Olympos. He identifies the full-figure depictions of Zeus on Aigai's 2nd century coinage as being of Zeus Olympios and therefore indicating the point by which Aigai had taken over control of this cult from Olympos.

Ionia, Chios, and Samos

LENGER (211) publishes an intriguing body of coin finds from Mt. Nif (ancient Mt. Olympos) east of Smyrna. These include 39 coins collected by a forester working on the mountain, 20 coins found in excavations of Ballicaoluk, a fort on the south-eastern slopes of Mt. Nif which was occupied from the late 4th to the 1st century (208, 217), 164 coins found in the excavations at Karamattepe, a necropolis opposite Ballicaoluk which was in use from the late 4th to the mid-3rd century (41), and 20 coins discovered while surveying recently looted Classical and Hellenistic tombs

around the nearby village of Dağkızılca (213). About a third of the finds are low-value coins of Alexander or Philip III, with civic bronzes (primarily of Smyrna) only predominating from the later 3rd century down to the 1st century. LENGER argues that Ballicaoluk, which was part of a network of forts controlling the strategic Karabel pass connecting the Hermos and Kaystros valleys, was garrisoned with the troops of Alexander or one of his early successors and remained in royal hands until the mid-3rd century when the Karamattepe necropolis was abandoned. Thereafter, the fort likely came under the civic control of Smyrna until it was abandoned in the late 1st century. LENGER notes that bronzes of Philip III previously assigned to mints in Macedonia (for Price P2 see 213 and for Price 419A see 217) or Cyprus (for Price 3158 see 218) can now be attributed to mints in western Asia Minor (he specifically thinks Sardis) thanks to the significant number of examples found on Mt. Nif and elsewhere in the region. Finally, LENGER argues that the appearance of Sardian civic bronzes on the northern but not the southern slopes of the mountain indicate that the territorial border between the two cities lay here. However, this cannot be correct for the Hellenistic period since it is fairly clear that Smyrna's territory bordered Magnesia ad Sipylum north of Mt. Nif and to the east the independent cities of Troketta and Tmolos lay between the territories of Smyrna and Sardis.

RALLI and KOUREMPANAS (309) discuss coins found in rescue excavations of graves on Chios. A wealthier grave with gold earrings also contained a silver coin of Chios from the 2nd century rather than the usual Chian bronzes. Foreign coins found in Hellenistic graves include bronzes of Erythrai, Chalkis, Rhodes, and the Bithynian kingdom. MEADOWS (246) provides a tentative listing of the autonomous tetradrachms and drachms of Smyrna contained in *IGCH* 1340. ERSOY, ÖNDER, and TURAN (128) catalogue coins from the 2008-2012 excavations of Smyrna, a small number of which are Hellenistic bronzes. SCHACHINGER (318) discusses coin finds from the theatre and from the Basilica Stoa in the Upper Agora at Ephesos, a small proportion of which are Hellenistic.

WEISSER (389) publishes coin finds from the eastern rock sanctuary at Priene. These include bronzes of Priene, Ephesos, Magnesia, Miletos, Pergamon, Kolophon, and possibly Erythrai dating from the late 4th to the early 1st century. WEISSER considers possible explanations for the high proportion of foreign coins (11 of 24) which REGLING observed for the site as a whole (53% foreign to 47% Prienian) and which is out of line with what we see at other sites. WEISSER (389) has also constructed an online database which makes the coin finds from Priene held in Berlin fully searchable.

DELIKAN (96) and ROLAND (314) both discuss the coin finds from the excavations at Metropolis the original publication of which has been covered in previous surveys. DELIKAN provides a very brief overview of the coin finds which, to judge from the figures provided in ROLAND, is based on out-of-date numbers. ROLAND's focus is primarily on the methodological issues involved in contextualizing coin finds from an excavation with Metropolis being his case study. Given the late date at which Metropolis itself began minting, the predominance of Hellenistic coin finds from Ephesos (200+ finds), Smyrna (30+), and Pergamon (20+) in the city itself and Kolophon in the Sacred Cave of Meter Galesia provides an intriguing case study in the circulating currency of a non-minting polis. It should be noted, however, that ROLAND does not use the most recent datings for these series and that for the coinage of Metropolis itself he omits the key study by KINNS, *NC* (2004), pp. 83–93.

DELRIEUX (98) provides an exhaustive catalogue of the coin finds from the 2001-2011 excavations at Klaros including 214 coins from the Archaic to Hellenistic periods (this expands on the previous publication of this material by ÇIZMELI ÖĞÜN in *RN* (2007), pp. 213–233 and (2011), pp. 321–338). The catalogue includes Kolophonian bronzes not previously published in the standard references (nos. 11, 13, 135-6); no. 15, catalogued as an unpublished coin of Kolophon, is in fact a bronze of Smyrna (Milne 137). In analysing the bronzes of Kolophon found at Klaros, DELRIEUX does not broach the question of which of these coins belonged to Old Kolophon and which to Notion/Kolophon-on-Sea. ROUSSET (313) raises this issue in the course of publishing a new inscription from Klaros (*SEG* 64.1081, c. 250-200). He reports the findings of KINNS that between c. 375 and c. 294 the reverse types of the issues of Old Kolophon concentrate on equine types, whereas those of Kolophon-on-Sea consistently have a kithara or tripod, and that in the 4th century these cities minted in parallel. The finds DELRIEUX publishes from Klaros would appear to support this, since the early issues are mostly those which KINNS would attribute to Notion, while 4th century issues which were commonly found in the excavations of Old Kolophon are here absent.

ŞAHİN (329) discusses the date and iconography of the Kolophonian bronzes depicting Homer on the obverse. She first argues that this series dates c. 175-150 and not c. 50 as KINNS had argued on the grounds that examples were

found in an archaeological context which she would date earlier than this (DELRIEUX (98), nos. 157-161). The archaeological argument is not beyond reproach and the weight of the numismatic parallels KINNS adduced is given insufficient consideration. ŞAHİN then argues that the figure on the reverse is not Apollo Citharoedus but rather Leto. This identification is based on a series of misconceptions about the well-established iconography of Apollo Citharoedus, which is in any case not best judged from poorly preserved excavation bronzes, and should be rejected.

VAN ALFEN (367) examines the alignment in coinages which we see in the second half of the 6th century between Teos and Abdera and Phokaia and Velia after these communities split in the wake of the Persian invasion of western Asia Minor in the 540s. In the case of Teos and Abdera, these cities aligned their types to express their communal solidarity, but did not attempt the more complex feat of aligning their weights and denominations. By contrast, Phokaia and Velia attempted this latter more challenging form of alignment, albeit in a manner which was not complete and which only lasted a few decades. As these cases illustrate, long-lasting monetary co-operation of the kind Phokaia embarked on with Mytilene in the last quarter of the 6th century for their jointly produced electrum coinage was difficult to sustain because of the political and economic obstacles which needed to be overcome. VAN ALFEN (370) adds further data to this argument by examining the late 6th century silver coinages of Phokaia and how these were aligned with parallel series at Teos, Velia, and Massalia. In this connection, although not strictly to do with Asia Minor, RIPOLLÈS and CHEVILLON (313) on the Archaic silver coinage of Emporion should be read with an eye to Phokaia.

ELLIS-EVANS (117) argues that certain rare coins of Chios including a wreathed electrum stater, a wreathed silver tetradrachm, and an accompanying pair of drachms were minted in parallel and belong to the context of Lysander's campaigns in western Asia Minor in 405/4. KINNS (182, correcting KINNS, *NC* (2006), pp. 31–9) demonstrates that a coin he had previously published as the first example of a new mid-3rd century Chian silver series is in fact a modern forgery.

KARWIESE (173) presents a corpus of the coinage of Ephesos in the Classical period. This volume makes important progress in tackling the 5th century silver and 4th century bronze of Ephesos, neither of which had previously been studied in depth. However, the volume must be used with caution. KARWIESE catalogues the 4th century coinage by alphabetical order of magistrate rather than on a chronological basis, and there is no clear demarcation of the smaller denominations in silver or bronze. This creates confusion and, on occasion, error, as for example with the inclusion of the octobols as fractions of the main tetradrachm sequence, when in fact they are a later series on a different weight standard (KINNS, *CH IX* (2002), p. 200; *NC* (2006), pp. 35–6). In addition, KARWIESE omits a bronze series whose early 4th century date is well-established (KINNS, *CH IX* (2002), pp. 188, 191; *NC* (2003), pp. 26–30) and excludes two silver series on the grounds of being post-280 when their 4th century date seems assured (the common diobols as *SNG Kayhan* 194-242 and the rare octobols as *SNG Kayhan* 249-276).

BOULAY (52) discusses the political status of Teos in the 2nd century. He argues that the city was recognized as free after the Peace of Apameia and that this status rules out the possibility that the Attic-weight tetradrachms minted in the name of the Dionysiac Artists at Teos (LORBER and HOOVER, *NC* (2003), pp. 59–68) were minted at the behest of Attalos II to support Alexander Balas. While BOULAY is surely right that this series was not minted for military payments, the reason is not that Teos was free, since there are many exceptions to such a principle, but rather that the series is only known from a single example and so was clearly a small, one-off issue. VĀDAN (376) publishes a die study of the posthumous Alexander tetradrachms of Magnesia on the Maeander and includes an appendix by KINNS which presents a die study of the accompanying drachms. The series is large (43 obverse dies) and was produced on a fairly continuous basis throughout the 3rd century. Of particular interest are the examples early in Series 1 which are the first Alexanders from western Asia Minor to complement Alexander's name in right field with the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ in left field. VĀDAN reports KINNS' view that the issues date to 287/6 and the conflict between Lysimachos and Demetrios Poliorketes in this region when Magnesia sided with Demetrios.

KINNS (181) publishes an important survey of lunate forms of *sigma*, *omega*, and *epsilon* on Ionian coinage in order to determine to what extent letter forms can be used to date Hellenistic coins. KINNS finds that the lettering of ethnics is much more conservative than that of signers' names and that lunate forms are permissible earlier on bronze coinage than on silver. He plausibly suggests that cursive letter forms were slow to be adopted on coins because they were associated with informal writing on perishable materials. This would help explain why they generally appear later on precious metal than fiduciary coinage and later in ethnics (a static part of coin design) than in signers' names.

He identifies possible examples of an individual die engraver preferring lunate forms rather than this being evidence of a general trend. As a result, when we encounter exceptions to clear patterns we should always consider the possibility that this may just reflect the idiosyncratic preferences of the die cutter. Studies of this kind are a major desideratum for other regions which may well have their own regional peculiarities (for example, in Ionia lunate *omega* and *epsilon* prove to be much stronger indications of date than *sigma*).

Caria and the Dodecanese

SELENE PSOMA's chapter in this survey provides the principal summary of material relating to the Dodecanese. For Rhodes, this includes a new hoard (27), studies on the plinthophoric coinage (14, 15, 16), studies on the city's late Hellenistic bronze coinage (17, 18), and a synoptic account of the island's coinage (327). For Karpathos, it includes a study of the island's early 5th century silver coinage (328), while for Kos there is a study of the city's coin iconography as it relates to Asklepios (375) and a review article of STEFANAKI's 2012 monograph on the island's coinage (233).

Several other items relating to the Dodecanese are also worth noting. TEKIN (343) publishes a packet of coins which the Turkish authorities confiscated in 2008 and entrusted to Edirne Museum. This presumed hoard contained 122 coins: 6 plinthophoric drachms and 110 plinthophoric hemidrachms which cover JENKINS Groups A-D, and 2 tetradrachms and 4 didrachms from the second half of the 3rd century which are certainly intrusive. The preponderance of plinthophoroi suggests this hoard originated in south-west Turkey, while the absence of JENKINS Group E indicates it was concealed around the time of the First Mithridatic War. ASHTON (26) has previously argued that Rhodes minted a rare series of didrachms and bronzes with a radiate portrait of Helios on the obverse to commemorate the erection of the Colossus in the early 3rd century. He here presents new evidence for the range of larger bronze denominations (obols, tetrachalka, dichalka) which were used in this emission. MIELCZAREK (257) discusses what the coinage of Ialysos, Lindos, and Kamiros can tell us about the history of the island prior to the 408/7 synoikism.

WAALER (381) discusses the 6th century silver fraction of Kos found in the rich grave complex of Ketef Hinnom in Jerusalem. He argues that the coin is a trihemibol on the Lydo-Milesian standard, not the Aeginetan standard as previously thought, and that it must date *c.* 500. BROUSSEAU (57) discusses a Koan didrachm in Boston which was forged from an example in the BnF in the 19th century. ROLAND (315) examines mid-4th century coins of Kos with renderings of Heracles and Demeter which, it has been alleged, resemble portrait sculptures from the Mausoleum in Halicarnassus. He questions this connection and in turn the speculation based on this supposed link that Hecatomnus was somehow involved in the synoikism of Kos in 366. ASHTON (24) presents die studies of the posthumous Alexander tetradrachms attributed to Knidos (Price 2472-2473) and Nisyros (Price 2507-8). Both series date to the campaigns of Philip V in the region in 202/1 and thus to the same context in which Rhodes (Price 2509-2527) and Kos (Price 2498-2503) likewise rapidly produced Alexanders in order to make military payments.

Returning to mainland Caria, DELRIEUX publishes coins found in the excavations at Iasos since 1960. Of identifiable coins, these include 157 of Iasos itself (105) and 109 from elsewhere (99, 99, 102). The majority of these coins date to the Hellenistic period, but there is a significant chronological divide between the late 4th and first half of the 3rd century, when coins from outside Iasos and in particular coins with royal types predominate, and the rest of the Hellenistic period when coins with civic types and above all those of Iasos predominate. Given the evidence we have for Iasos being garrisoned by royal troops in the early Hellenistic period (e.g. *I. Iasos* 2), this pattern should perhaps be related to the impact of these garrisons on the city.

NILSSON (279) publishes a small packet of coins from the excavations at Labraunda which found their way to Ödemiş Museum including a Hellenistic bronze of Ephesos. TEK, KÖKER, and SARIIZ (334) publish 96 late Classical and Hellenistic coins found in the 2008-2014 excavations at Stratonikeia. They note that the high number of Stratonikeian coins (63%) and low number of coins from beyond Caria (15%) is in sharp contrast to the much more mixed picture at the sanctuary of Hekate at Lagina. DELRIEUX (103) discusses 8 coins found at Hyllarima in 1991-1993 and another 8 recorded by JEANNE and LOUIS ROBERT in 1947, 6 of which are Hellenistic.

ASHTON and KONUK (33) publish a die study of the so-called *ketos* coinage. These silver fractions were *hektai* on a slightly reduced Milesian standard with a target weight of 2g. The coinage can be attributed to Halikarnassos, dates shortly after *c.* 500, and was thus most likely produced to pay for Carian military expenditure during the Ionian Revolt. This conclusion is supported by the various indications of rapid production and, above all, by the size of the coinage. ASHTON AND KONUK record 58 obverse dies which, if we assume 10,000-20,000 coins per die, would suggest

50-100 talents of silver expenditure. They argue for the bottom end of this range, but this still makes this coinage one of the largest silver emissions of the period.

THONEMANN (355) studies the silver coinage of Antioch on the Maeander. This previously rare series has become more common in auctions since 2018 when a hoard was evidently dispersed in commerce. A number of factors (above all metrology and prosopography) indicate that this coinage does not date to the middle decades of the 2nd century as previously thought, but rather *c.* 90-65. In particular, THONEMANN notes that the Diotrophes who signs several issues can be identified with the orator and civic benefactor known to us from inscriptions. He argues that this surprisingly large coinage (at least 19 tetradrachm and 12 drachm obverse dies) was produced at the behest of the Roman authorities and fits into a wider regional pattern of hitherto inactive or dormant mints producing silver coinage to meet Roman expenditure at this time.

KONUK (190) provides a survey of the Archaic and Classical coins of Caria aimed at a general readership. DELRIEUX (97) surveys the Alexanders produced at civic mints in Caria in the late 3rd and early 2nd century, focusing in particular on the more uncertain attributions of issues to Antioch or Tabai, to Euromos (where Teos seems more likely), and to Mylasa. LENGER (220) and TATAR (330) discuss the civic and Seleucid coinages of Alinda respectively. TÜRKÖĞLU (362) provides a typology of the coinage of Attouda including the small number of silver and bronze issues which the city produced in the Hellenistic period. TÜRKÖĞLU (361) also produces a typology of the coinage of Keramos which draws in part on examples from local museums and the private collection of YAVUZ TATIŞ and discusses the iconography and signers of this mint in some depth.

Lydia

HOCHARD (159) publishes a study of the coinages of Lydia from 228 BC to AD 268 which includes die studies of the Hellenistic coinage of Apollonis, Hierakome, Magnesia ad Sipylum, Mostene, Philadelphia, Sardis, and Thyateira. In defining the limits of his study, HOCHARD distinguishes between ‘Greater Lydia’, which includes the northern and southern ‘buffer zones’ of the upper Kaikos valley and the northern bank of the Maeander respectively, and what he terms Lydia *strictu sensu* which is focused on Sardis and encompasses the Hermos and Kaystros valleys. This produces some awkward results for the Hellenistic material. For example, the cistophori Aristonikos minted at Thyateira and Apollonis are included, whereas those he produced in parallel at Stratonikeia just 25 km to the north are excluded. Likewise, while there is no straightforward way of deciding whether places such as Klannouda and Blaundos to the east or Tralles, Nysa, and Mastaura to the south belong to Lydia or to Phrygia and Caria respectively, the arguments for these places being culturally orientated towards Lydia are significant, especially when interpreting coin iconography (see, for example, NOLLÉ (281) on Mastaura below).

The value of the catalogue is vitiated by the way in which the Hellenistic material has been organised according to principles more suited to provincial coinage. ‘Series’ are defined as time periods and then split into ‘Groups’ which are defined as coins with the same obverse portrait. This results in clearly distinct emissions being mixed together, as for example with HOCHARD’s Sardis Series 4 (civic coinage post-133), Group 8 (Dionysos portrait) which includes the Dionysos/lion forepart issue (second half of 3rd century based on archaeological evidence: see EVANS (131) below), the Dionysos/panther issue (post-188), and the Dionysos/Demeter issue (1st century based on prosopography). A related problem of clearly distinct issues not being numbered separately arises from the arbitrary decision to treat obverse/reverse type combinations with different signers as separate issues, but combinations with different monograms as not being so. As a result, HOCHARD’s referencing system for the Hellenistic coinage is largely unusable.

EVANS (131) has published the coins from the 1973-2013 excavations at Sardis and in two further papers (130, 132) discusses the new evidence this has provided for the dating of Sardian civic coinage and the attribution of royal issues to Sardis. Based on find contexts, she dates the Dionysos/lion forepart emission to the 3rd century and argues that the Herakles/Apollo emission went into production *c.* 245-220 and continued down to the 2nd century. This demonstrates that HOCHARD’s blanket post-133 date for all the civic coinage of Sardis cannot be correct. That being said, EVANS’ 3rd century date for the Tyche/Zeus Lydios emission is likely too early given the clear iconographic parallels with the tetradrachms with a similar reverse type dating to the second quarter of the 2nd century. Likewise, her dating of the Dionysos/Demeter and Artemis/Athena issues *c.* 189-133 is disproved by the prosopographical links HOCHARD examines which point firmly to the 1st century. In addition, EVANS argues that a number of royal bronze issues not previously attributed to a specific mint can be assigned to Sardis on the grounds that they were found in the excavations.

However, this can hardly be proved on the basis of coin finds alone given that these coins were produced to pay highly mobile soldiers and could be spent anywhere within the kingdom.

LENGER (215) argues that the 4th century bronze coins traditionally attributed to Thymbra in the Troad in fact belong to Thyessos in northern Lydia. The iconographic parallels which have been made with coinages in the Troad work just as well for mints in the Kaikos valley. What is more, no examples have been found in the Troad, whereas eight have now turned up at Pergamon. Of the available toponyms whose ethnic begins ΘΥ, Thyateira was not yet founded and Thymbrara to the east of Sardis is too far away, leaving only Thyessos. GKIKAKI (147) discusses the date of the five issues of civic bronzes Thyateira minted in the Hellenistic period. She argues that the emission with bust of Artemis/naked Apollo with bow and arrow is the earliest and pre-dates 190 since this reverse type is commonly encountered on Seleucid bronzes throughout the 3rd century and thus indicates that Thyateira was still under Seleucid control at the time. She compares this emission to the so-called ‘quasi municipal’ coinages which first appeared under Antiochos IV in the Levant and featured a royal portrait on the obverse with a civic type on the reverse; this, however, is the opposite of what we see on this Thyateiran issue. Given the similarity between the Artemis portrait on this issue and the other Thyateiran issues, it seems more likely that there is no political significance to the pilfering of this type from Seleucid coinage for the city’s first emission and that it belongs with the rest of Thyateira’s Hellenistic bronzes post-188.

NOLLÉ (281) reconstructs what we can know about the city of Mastaura from the iconography of its coinage. He rightly challenges the view that the city had no pre-Imperial coinage by identifying bronzes which must belong to the late Hellenistic period. These feature the eponymous hero Mastauros with a double-headed axe either on horseback or standing performing sacrifice. On the basis of literary sources and the types of the provincial coinage, NOLLÉ is able to relate the types of the Hellenistic coinage to an aetiological myth in which Mastauros inaugurated the sacrifice of a bull to Ma. This nexus of myth and cult is much more strongly connected to Lydia to the north of the Mesogis than Caria across the Maeander valley. LENGER (219) discusses the bronzes in the name of Zeus Larasios which were minted at Seleukeia-Tralles in the 3rd and 2nd centuries. He argues that the fact these coins are minted in the name of a god without a city ethnic means they were a so-called ‘panegyris coinage’ produced for the purpose of the festival. However, for problems with the concept of panegyris coinages in general see NOLLÉ (280). ÖZBİL (291) discusses the coin finds from the excavations of Nysa 1992-2012. As a result of work so far being focused on areas which were important in the Imperial period, the excavations have so far yielded just three Hellenistic coins from Nysa, Pergamon, and Ephesos.

Phrygia

ZAKHAROV (395) catalogues coins from the 2008-2010 survey of Kelainai-Apameia. Of particular note are the silver fraction of Miletos from c. 500, the plated siglos and siglos fraction, and the high proportion of Hellenistic royal bronzes. ZAKHAROV (395) also publishes coins of Apameia in Moscow museum collections including 23 bronzes of Apameia. KÖKER (194) publishes coins from the 2013-2014 excavations at Aizanoi including Hellenistic bronzes of Pergamon (Asklepios Soter), Aizanoi, and an unidentified mint.

ASHTON (30) assigns the pseudo-Rhodian drachms signed by Mousaios and Iason to Kibyra. He identifies Mousaios with the individual who signed an issue of Kibyra’s cistophoric weight drachms and places these pseudo-Rhodian drachms in the context of the mutual support Kibyra and Alabanda offered one another in the mid-2nd century. He argues that the era on the pseudo-Rhodian and civic-type coinage of Kibyra is the same era beginning 167/6 we find on coins of Alabanda and, moreover, that this is also the era on the didrachms of Oinoanda (*pace* DE CALLATAÏ, *Liber Amicorum Tony Hackens* (2007), pp. 203–11, who argued for the 80s). If correct, this downdates the recently published treaty between the Termessians-near-Oinoanda and the Lycian League from the 160s/150s to the late 130s (*SEG* 60.1569). Finally, he discusses the reference in *I. Kibyra* 42 (AD 72/3) to “Rhodian drachms” being worth 10 assaria whereas a denarius was worth 16 assaria at Kibyra. He argues that this refers to the lower-weight pseudo-Rhodian drachms signed by Mousaios and Iason (2.4-2.1g) and is thus an example of the phenomenon whereby coinage continues to be used as a unit of account long after the coins themselves have become obsolete. ASHTON (25) identifies a group of drachms with Rhodian types signed by Eukrates and Ameinias as imitations from the 170s/160s of a Rhodian series originally minted c. 225-215. In light of the parallels he identifies with the pseudo-Rhodian drachms signed by Mousaios and Iason in (30), it seems likely the Eukrates and Ameinias imitations were produced somewhere

in the borderlands between Caria, Lycia, and Phrygia.

CORFÙ (82) discusses a silver fraction which recently appeared in trade with the ethnic ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ. This is not an unpublished coin (*pace* CORFÙ), but rather the second example of an issue first published by BORRELL, *NC* (1845/6), p. 27 (now BnF AA.GR10254, until recently in the trays for Iulia Gordos in Lydia). CORFÙ misidentifies the mint as ‘Gordianon’ (i.e. Gordiokome-Iuliopolis in Bithynia) when it is in fact Gordion in Phrygia. Manlius Vulso razed Gordion in 189, and excavation attests a massive destruction layer and no rebuilding until the reign of Augustus, so CORFÙ’s 2nd/1st century date for this coinage is ruled out and a date in the 3rd century must instead be correct (see THONEMANN in *Roman Phrygia* (2013), pp. 20–1).

ASHTON (29) publishes a die study of Apameia’s base metal coinage from the first half of the 1st century. This consisted of four broadly contemporary issues produced in huge volumes in brass (Type 1: 103 obverse dies) and bronze (Type 2: 173 dies; Type 3: similar numbers to Type 2; Type 4: 22 dies). He notes that, based on the evidence of the Dinar 1991 hoard (*CH IX 565*) which consisted of almost 6,000 Type 1 coins from the same pair of fresh dies, we have grounds for thinking that the productivity of these dies may have been higher than we normally assume, perhaps in the range of 20,000–40,000 coins per die. The scale of this coinage, which dominated coin circulation in the wider region (note e.g. ASHTON’s view that Pisidian Antioch systematically countermarked this coinage to profit from its use within the city), dwarves Apameia’s earliest issue of bronze from the mid-2nd century which consisted of just two obverse dies (the profile of Eumeneia’s Hellenistic coinage is similar: see ÜNAL (365) below). The coinage dates from *c.* 90 to at least the 50s based on prosopographic links with Apameia’s contemporaneous cistophori. The start date of shortly before 90/89 (newly established by the 2002 cistophori hoard: CARBONE (72)) complicates the traditional view that the coinage was prompted by Mithridates VI’s gift of 100 talents in 89/88 to help reconstruct the city after an earthquake (Strabo 12.8.18). While paying for reconstruction might nevertheless explain why the coinage began, it remains much less clear why it continued to be produced at such high levels for the next four decades (ASHTON is unconvinced by the explanation in terms of a panegyris coinage argued for by THONEMANN, *Maenader Valley* (2011), pp. 117–120; for problems with this concept see NOLLÉ (280)). A postscript records a commerce hoard consisting of at least 71 base metal coins of Apameia whose burial probably dates to the mid-1st century.

ÜNAL (365) discusses the base metal coinage of Eumeneia based on the results of an unpublished die study. He argues that Series 1–3 (16 obverse dies) probably belong to the mid-2nd century soon after the city’s foundation in the early 160s, whereas Series 4–6 (130 dies) began in the late 2nd century and ended with the brass Series 6 in the mid-80s which ÜNAL connects to Mithridates VI. The parallels with Apameia are obvious.

THONEMANN (354) discusses the hitherto unattested community of Kleonnaeion which is mentioned in a recently published Attalid letter from Pessinous (*SEG 64.1296*, late 180s). He argues that Kleonnaeion was responsible for the bronzes whose ethnic was previously read as ΛΕΟΝΝΑΙΤΩΝ (both surviving examples are struck off centre, and so the initial *kappa* is off flan). He further notes the similarity of Kleonnaeion’s types (bust of Tyche/seated lion) to the 1st century coinage of Pessinous with the legend ΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΘΕΩΝ ΠΕΣΣΙΝΕΑΣ and thus proposes that Kleonnaeion and Pessinous were either one and the same community (compare Pergamon and Tralles which likewise produced coinages both in the name of the city and in that of their cults) or a closely aligned dyad of former military colony and Phrygian sanctuary complex (HAMON, *BE* (2015), p. 611, no. 658 compares the case of Aizanoi). However, a potential objection is that the seated lion on Kleonnaeion’s coinage holds a spear in its left paw and rests its feet on an object which is either an amphora or spearhead. Both these distinguishing details are absent from the Pessinous coins even though they are of a much larger module (22–23mm as opposed to 15mm) which could easily feature them. The types are not themselves remarkable (e.g. many newly opened mints of the later Hellenistic period employed busts of Tyche), and so it is all the more important to account for the details which distinguish Kleonnaeion’s coins from those of Pessinous.

Lycia

MÜSELER (264) provides the first comprehensive overview of Lycian autonomous coinage in over a century. To the extent that the work is limited by its reliance on private collections, this problem has been corrected in a series of eight studies (265, 266, 269, 268, 271, 272, 274; MÜSELER and SCHÜRR 275; cf. SCHÜRR 321) on Lycian dynastic coinage which he has published expanding on his book. Taken together, he provides an almost complete type catalogue of the coinage. The works are replete with important numismatic observations and historical reconstructions. MÜSELER largely adopts the sequence of dynasts which MØRKHOLM and ZAHLE provided in the 1970s. However, this

has now been called into question by KAGAN (169) whose arguments impact many of MÜSELER's dates, attributions, and historical interpretations.

KONUĞ (188, 189) discusses new coin types from the 5th century which clarify a number of aspects of the political geography of Lycia in this period. ADIEGO (8) examines the Lycian legends on these new types published by KONUĞ. BODZEK (49) contributes a study on the striking of coins in Lycia by the satraps of Caria. VISMARA (378, 379) adds to her work on Lycian coins with a study of Artumpara and a re-analysis of the Tissaphernes hoard. Her conclusions will need to be revisited in light of the chronology KAGAN (169) proposes. VISMARA (380) also publishes new examples of the coins of Trbbēnīmi overstruck on coins of Evagoras of Cyprus.

Two historical monographs make extensive use of the numismatic evidence in reconstructing the history of Lycia. HOFF (161) provides an overview of Lycian coinage primarily based on published public collections which inevitably limits its utility (see the review by MÜSELER AND SCHÜRR, *Gnomon* (2019), pp. 39–46). Coins also play a prominent role in KOLB'S (185) massive history of Lycia which is the culmination of his work as head of the Tübingen-Lycia Project. In addition to these works, ÇELİK (86) provides a brief account of Lycia's turbulent history in the early 4th century using numismatic evidence. KORKUT (186) discusses the religious iconography of Lycian coins and focuses in particular on Tlos. HOFF (162) studies Lycian tiarate heads and argues that those worn by certain Lycian dynasts indicate their allegiance to Persia.

BÜYÜKYÖRÜK and ÇELİK (59) record a hoard of 68 coins of Mithrapata and Aruwātijesi found in south-east Lycia. LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ and GÓMEZ CASTRO (227) publish the Gaza 1960s hoard which includes one of the first issues of Kuprllī. This supports a start date for this coinage shortly before the hoard's *c.* 475 burial date. MITCHINER (260) records a small early hoard that may have been part of an old collection of 10 coins (3 from Lycia, 2 from Aspendos, 5 from Cilicia). While his speculation that the group may have come from the Asyut hoard (*IGCH* 1644) is unconvincing, the hoard is of crucial importance for dating the start of Pamphylian and Cilician coinage. The Lycian coins with the types striding boar/tortoise were not in Asyut and so should date later *c.* 460-450 (cf. MØRKHOLM, *JNG* (1964), p. 68).

LENGER (219) publishes a preliminary summary of the coin finds from Patara. Of particular interest is the Ptolemaic hoard which is fully published by DÜNDAR and LENGER (223). This provides further evidence for the presence of a garrison at Tepecik which helped the Ptolemies maintain control of this strategically important port. BULUT and ŞENGÜL (58) report on the coin finds from the 2009-2012 excavations at Andriake, the port of Myra. These included 62 Hellenistic coins of which 36 belonged to the Lycian League. ÖZER (292) discusses the Lycian League and pseudo-League coinage of Olympos in order to reconstruct the city's history in the late Hellenistic period. REYNAUDO (310) discusses two unpublished drachms of the Lycian League which recently appeared in commerce. The coins bear the legend KO which does not obviously correspond to any of the cities of the League. In the course of a discussion of the history of Podalia in northern Lycia, TEK (333) discusses its small Hellenistic bronze coinage which he associates with the period when the city belonged to the Lycian League.

Pamphylia

DE CALLATAÿ (67) examines the overstriking of Pamphylian and Cilician silver staters in the Classical period. The phenomenon is rare (he catalogues 44 examples out of an estimated 10,000 coins in public and private collections) and takes different forms in the 5th and 4th centuries. In the second half of the 5th century, undertypes were drawn from outside the region: Phaselis and Cyprus in the case of the Pamphylian mints, Aegina and Cyprus in the case of the Cilician mints. By contrast, in the 4th century the undertypes come from within this region: Pamphylian mints overstrike Pamphylian coins and Cilician mints overstrike Pamphylian and Cilician coins. This supra-regional perspective on the phenomenon makes it clear that the Persian authorities were co-ordinating the minting of silver staters across both Pamphylia and Cilicia. DE CALLATAÿ (66) discusses a 4th century stater of Aspendos in the KBR where a piece of leather appears to have got between the punch and the flan leaving an unusual impression on the coin. DE CALLATAÿ interprets this as evidence for the haste and carelessness with which this particular issue (KI) was produced. He provides a die study of the issue and discusses some of the methodological issues which this case raises for conducting die studies in general.

LESCHHORN (225) discusses the drachms of Side based on his unpublished die study. 167 examples are known from 40 obverse dies, meaning that the drachms are both dramatically smaller than the accompanying tetradrachms

(218 obverse dies) while still being a surprisingly large series given the comparative rarity of drachm coinages in the early 2nd century (the other major example being Ephesos' contemporary bee/stag before palm tree series). LESCHHORN speculates that the signers on the tetradrachms who have not yet appeared on the drachms (about a third of the total) will do so in time, but it is equally possible that production of the accompanying drachms was episodic (the decent *n/d* of 4.2 suggests we know the series fairly well). Note that the common countermark on these coins which LESCHHORN describes as a fly is in fact a bee and, according to MEADOWS (248), p. 199, belongs not to Lycian Telmessos but probably to Ephesos.

MEADOWS (243) examines the recurring phenomenon in Pamphylia of coinages originally minted in the late 3rd/early 2nd century being imitated in the 1st century. This occurs at Side with the Kleuchares IV coins, at Perge with Series 2 of the Artemis Pergaia coinage, and with a subset of the Alexanders of Aspendos. All three series bear era dates, the latest being Year 12. MEADOWS argues that the era in question is the Pharsalan era beginning in 48/7 thus dating the latest example to 37/6. In this year Antony made Amyntas, whose coinage is die linked to the Kleuchares IV series, king of Galatia. He notes finally that all three imitative series have in common a significantly lower target weight than we typically see in the 2nd century (16g rather than 16.8g) and interprets this as evidence for these mints aligning their production with Roman weight standards.

TEK (332) surveys the coin finds from the excavations at Side since 1947. 236 Greek coins have so far been identified, with the earliest dating to the 4th century but the majority being Hellenistic. He makes two striking observations. First, foreign coins come from the entire coast of Asia Minor but from nowhere in the interior (this pattern only begins to change in the Imperial period). This is not entirely surprising for an important port. However, second, he notes that no foreign coins south of Antioch have so far been found. This is rather more surprising and may suggest that Side belonged to a different circuit of movement to cities along the Levantine coast. Finally, it is worth noting his methodological arguments when conducting an analysis such as this for categorising foreign mints not by region but by whether they are more or less than 100km away. TEK, KÖKER, and TARAKAN (335) report on the royal coinages in Side Museum. Of particular interest is their observation that the museum contains none of the lifetime Alexanders which have traditionally been attributed to Side (the drachms might reasonably have been expected to turn up; for doubts about the identification of these mints in general see MEADOWS (249)).

MEADOWS (248) examines the countermarking of silver in Greek coinage. In the case of the Alexanders countermarked in late 4th century Egypt and the Attic weight coinage countermarked by Byzantium and Calchedon in the 230s/220s, the host coins come from all over. By contrast, episodes of countermarking in the 2nd century focus specifically on Pamphylian coinage: all Attalid ('cistophoric') and more than 98% of Seleucid (anchor/Helios) countermarks were applied to Pamphylian coins, while 75% of civic countermarks were applied to Sidetan coins with the other 25% being Attic weight coinages from other mints. MEADOWS notes that Sidetan coins are over-represented as hosts for Attalid and civic countermarks, whereas they are under-represented as hosts for Seleucid countermarks, suggesting that we are dealing with two different populations of coinage available for countermarking, with Sidetan coins predominating within the Attalid sphere but not within the Seleucid sphere. Regarding the civic countermarks (the 25 examples of which he catalogues here), he wonders whether their purpose was to mark coins as being Attic weight at a time in the third quarter of the 2nd century when the silver coinages then in production (cistophori and plinthophori) were not on this standard (he thus interprets A-N on these countermarks as *Attikon/Alexandreion nomisma*). BRESSON (53) instead argues that Attalid, Seleucid, and civic countermarks all need to be interpreted in terms of trade. However, this interpretation is not tenable in light of the evidence presented by MEADOWS and, in particular, THONEMANN (356), who demonstrates that the Attalid countermarks were applied centrally at Pergamon and do not signify the countermarking authority but rather the recipient of the countermarked coins.

Pisidia

ASHTON (32) catalogues the 154 coins of Pisidia in Afyon museum (responsible for Phrygia and parts of western Pisidia) and the 66 in Fethiye (responsible for eastern Caria and western Lycia). Provenance information is provided where known. SANCAKTAR (317) publishes coin finds from the 2008-2012 excavations of Antioch in Pisidia which include a small number of Hellenistic coins. DÖNMEZ-ÖZTÜRK (108) discusses a group of coins from Termessos which have ended up in the collection of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.

KÖKER (197) argues that the bronze coinage of Etenna dates to the 3rd/2nd century rather than the 2nd/1st century

as traditionally assumed. Overstrikes on royal coinage dating to the late 4th and first half of the 3rd century and on Pamphylian coinages of the 3rd/2nd century indicate a higher date. Likewise, the royal and civic coinage which accompany Etenna's coins in hoards also point in this direction (three of the hoards reside in Side Museum and are unpublished; listings are provided). KÖKER wonders whether the occasion for some of this minting (and perhaps also the explanation for the decision to overstrike circulating coinage) might be connected to the emergency circumstances of sending military support to Pednelissos in 218 when it was being besieged by Selge (Polyb. 5.73.3).

KÖKER (196) catalogues the rare silver coinage of Komama. Of the 22 examples known (all from the same die pair), the majority have appeared since the 2000s and clearly represent a small hoard dispersed in trade. The weights suggest these are hemidrachms at 1.8g which KÖKER parallels with emissions produced by the Lycian League (TROXELL Period IV, Series 7) and Stratonikeia (MEADOWS Group 4) in the third quarter of the 1st century. He suggests this brief emission is contemporary with issues of Sagalassos (on which see next), Kremna, and Keraeitai and may have been produced to support the military campaigning of Amyntas. VAN HEESCH and STROOBANTS (153) publish a die study of the silver coinage of Sagalassos. The city produced a brief emission of Alexander tetradrachms in the 200s/190s from a single obverse die (Type 1) and then four more issues with civic types in a variety of denominations (didrachms, drachms, hemiobols) in the 1st century from similarly few dies (Types 2-5). It seems more likely than not that Types 2-5 were produced close in time to one another and in support of the campaigns of Amyntas in the region. KÖKER (198) discusses a new bronze type of Sagalassos in Burdur Museum with the types zebu/rider holding club and the legend CAATA. In the region of northern Lycia and Pisidia it is frequently difficult to tell whether a depiction is meant to be of the local god Kakasbos or Herakles, but KÖKER argues that in this case the figure is most likely intended to be Herakles. He dates the issue to the 2nd/1st century, but the lunate *sigma* in the legend may point specifically to the 1st century given that it first appears on the silver of Sagalassos (VAN HEESCH and STROOBANTS Type 5) in the third quarter of the 1st century.

Cilicia

POLOSA (303, 304, 305) discusses the coin finds from Elaioussa in Rough Cilicia. Of the 2,900 coins found so far, only a small proportion are Hellenistic. Although the city was only founded in the 2nd century, bronzes of Antiochos II and Ptolemy III have been found with 2nd century pottery which may indicate earlier activity on the site. ARSLAN and POLOSA (22) publish a group of 135 bronzes which were seized at the Kapıkule border crossing with Bulgaria in 1992 and entrusted to Edirne Museum. All but two of the coins come from Cilicia, with 100 coming specifically from Elaioussa, Korykos, and Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos. Given the similar patina many of the coins have, ARSLAN and POLOSA therefore propose this is a hoard from the region of Elaioussa. While they acknowledge that the three coins from the reigns of Domitian, Marcus Aurelius, and Commodus must be intrusions, this should also be extended to the seven coins with civic types from the 1st century AD since it is implausible that someone would be maintaining a savings hoard of Hellenistic civic bronzes by the reign of Augustus. GÜNEY (151) catalogues 34 coins of Soloi which are in Istanbul Archaeological Museum including nine from the Classical period and 19 from the Hellenistic period.

ERHAN (125) publishes the coin finds from the 2007-2019 excavations at Tatarlı Höyük, a rural settlement 12 km south-west of Hierapolis-Kastabala. The earliest coin is a Macedonian bronze minted at Tarsos in or soon after Alexander's lifetime. Most of the coin finds from the site are Hellenistic, above all from the 2nd century, with Antioch dominating the Seleucid material in the 3rd and 2nd centuries (ending, as elsewhere in Cilicia, with Antiochos IX) and Hierapolis the civic material in the 2nd and 1st centuries. The latest coin is a bronze of Tarkondimotos II dated c. 20 BC – AD 17 which will have been deposited around the time the site was abandoned. AKÇAY (9) discusses three coins found in the excavations of Olba in Rough Cilicia. These include an obol probably minted under the satrap Mazaeus at Laranda to the north-west in Lykaonia and two Macedonian bronzes dating to the last quarter of the 4th century. AKÇAY notes that Olba is a highly defensible site at a crucial crossroads in the road network connecting Cilicia to central Anatolia. He therefore speculates that first the Persian authorities and then the Macedonians set up a garrison here, a hypothesis which will be verifiable through future work on the site.

MÜSELER (267) gives an overview of the many coin series associated with satraps. His interpretation of Achaemenid history of the late Classical period, at times rather idiosyncratic, serves as the background to his interpretation of the monetary history of this period. He argues that the earlier issues of Pharnabazos and other satraps were issued under their authority as *strategoï*, whereas the later issues of Mazaïos in Cilicia were issued in his function as

satrap. The rich illustrations throughout are of particular use. MÜSELER (263) provides an overview of several types of the coinage of Tarsos which are considered the earliest series of this prolific mint. He dates the beginning of Cilician coinage *c.* 425, but the massive influx of new examples which has recently appeared due to an enormous hoard reaching the market is likely to lead to this coinage being dated significantly earlier in the 5th century.

MÜSELER (270) discusses some of the new types which have recently been offered in commerce, most likely as a result of the dispersal of this new hoard. After surveying types of Tarsos depicting the god Nergal and types of Soloi and Anchiale depicting a female figure (traditionally identified as an Amazon), he turns his attention to a remarkable type in which a Persian is dispatching a prone Greek with a dagger. The motif is common in other media but otherwise unattested before the 3rd century on coins (cf. MA, *Historia* (2008), pp. 243–254 for the motif's place in Achaemenid military art). MÜSELER argues this scene must commemorate a specific historical event and speculates that there was an otherwise unattested conflict between Tarsos and other cities in Cilicia Pedias in the late 5th century. This will need to be reconsidered in light of the new hoard evidence. GÜNEY (149) discusses a coin in Istanbul Archaeological Museum with the types of Soloi (kneeling female figure/bunch of grapes) but the legend ΑΓΧΙΑΛΑ for the neighbouring city of Anchiale. The example in Istanbul is a third stater in worn condition, but the legend is confirmed by a stater which has turned up in commerce (also discussed by MÜSELER but without knowledge of this paper). GÜNEY considers whether this is a case of two mints using the same types or a single mint going under two names.

SHANNAHAN (324) provides a die study of Tiribazus' Cilician staters with Baal/figure in winged disc types. These coins were minted at Issos, Mallos, Soloi, and Tarsos *c.* 387/6–April 381 and most likely relate to Tiribazos campaigning against Evagoras I of Cyprus. Unlike the enormous satrapal coinages of Pharnabazos and Tarkumuwa which run into the hundreds of dies, this is a relatively small coinage (17 obverse dies) which is unlikely to grow ($n/d = 6.7$). An odd feature of these coins which SHANNAHAN does not discuss are their weights which averaging at *c.* 10.3–5g are appreciably below the target of 10.8g. CASABONNE (75) briefly discusses a Cilician siglos dating *c.* 400–385 which he would attribute to Tarsos rather than Mallos. He discusses the identity of the god on the obverse and explores possible connections with Sanda and Tarhunta. For DE CALLATAÿ'S (67) paper on overstrikes of Pamphylian and Cilician satrapal coinages see the section on Pamphylia above.

CORFÙ (81) studies a group of silver fractions which pair a running archer obverse type with a variety of reverse designs. These are usually assigned to uncertain mints in Cilicia. Although the overview of the types is useful, the analysis of weights, types, and above all attribution (he implausibly assigns these coins to Kolophon in Ionia) leave much to be desired. DĄBROWA (94) examines the development of coin types in Cilicia from the 5th century BC through to the 3rd century AD, focusing in particular on the character of the region and how this is reflected in various coinages. ZIEGLER (397) publishes a bronze coin which appeared in commerce in 2005 and was assigned to the Seleucid pretender Achaeus at Sardis. He persuasively argues that it instead belongs to Tarkondimotos I. ERHAN (126) studies the coinage of Hierapolis-Kastabala in antiquity. He provides a typology of the mint's output and detailed discussion of the coin types.

Cappadocia

LORBER (229) publishes a die study of the silver coinage of Ariarathes V (reigned 163–130) primarily based on a packet of 239 coins from a larger hoard which was dispersed in commerce in 2005. Setting aside the arrangements of MØRKHOLM and SIMONETTA, she divides the coinage into six series produced at four mints. Series 1–3 (shortly before 135 to 130) can be attributed with confidence to Eusebeia-Tyana and Series 5 (131–130) to Eusebeia-Mazaca. Series 4 (shortly before 132 to 131) is from a mint initially dependent on help from Eusebeia-Tyana which LORBER tentatively identifies as neighbouring Cybistra (previously a bronze mint for Ariarathes III), while Series 6 (130) is from a mint which similarly was initially supported by Eusebeia-Mazaca and which she therefore identifies with nearby Ariarathia. Production falls into two phases. From shortly before 135 to 132, minting consisted of a mix of tetradrachms and drachms produced in modest quantities at Eusebeia-Tyana and Cybistra(?). By contrast, in 131–130 the centre of minting shifts east to Eusebeia-Mazaca, only drachms are produced, and production ramps up to truly impressive figures (for example, there are 33 obverse dies attested for the Eusebeia-Mazaca mint in 130 alone, of which 16 are singletons, thus indicating that the true figure was significantly greater). While the purpose of the first phase of minting is not entirely clear, the second phase certainly corresponds to Ariarathes becoming involved in the war against Aristonikos when Roman troops appeared in force in Asia Minor in spring 131. However, LORBER notes

that the levels of production we see from the Cappadocian mints could only have supported relatively small number of troops (somewhere in the low thousands). It therefore seems likely that these coins were only intended to cover some of Ariarathes' military expenditure (perhaps just that of professional soldiers or mercenaries).

KÖKER (193) publishes a small hoard of 5 silver coins of Ariobarzanes III (reigned 51-42) found in Gebiz (44km north-east of Antalya) and purchased by Burdur Museum in 2009. This is the first recorded hoard containing coins of Ariobarzanes III and, with the exception of a hoard in Tire Museum in Izmir, the most westerly hoard of Cappadocian coins so far found. The coins bear Year 9 and 11 dates (44/3, 42/1) and so the hoard was likely buried soon after this. All five coins in the hoard have different obverse and reverse dies. MEADOWS (10) discusses coin finds from the late Hellenistic sanctuary at Kınık Höyük, Niğde. These include three hoards of bronzes as well as scattered finds of bronze coinage. The contents indicate that the assemblage closed *c.* 39/8-37/6.

Sophene, Commagene, Osrhoene, Armenia

FACELLA (133) argues against the widely held view that the Commagenian kingdom had its own era beginning in 163/2 which commemorated their breaking away from the Seleucid kingdom. The idea that such an era exists rests on the bronzes of Samos II (reigned *c.* 130-109) which bear the letters ΓΛ on the reverse which has been interpreted as Year 33 of this era. However, there is no other firm literary or epigraphic evidence for a Commagenian era in the Hellenistic period. Based on the close parallels between early Commagenian coinage and contemporary Seleucid coinage, FACELLA instead suggest that these letters should be interpreted as control marks. DILLEN (106) provides a basic illustrated typology of Commagenian coinage based on a limited range of sources.

KOVACS (192) presents an overview of all the coinage minted in Armenia (whether by Armenian rulers or external powers) and by Armenian rulers (whether within Armenia or not) in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods. His detailed typology gives indications of denominations and die axes of each issue and provides references to recent scholarship. The book ends with a very helpful set of indexes. For a critical review see NERCESSIAN, *Armenian Numismatic Journal Newsletter* 24 (2018), pp. 2–4. NERCESSIAN'S (277) study of the metrology of copper coinage from Sophene and Armenia is based on a corpus of 168 coins of Sophene and 3,046 coins of the Artaxiad dynasty. While the book does not have much to contribute in terms of its intended purpose (NERCESSIAN seems not to have engaged with any work on the denominational structure of base metal coinages more recent than NEWELL), there is value in the repertory of examples he has assembled which draws on private collections and museums in Armenia which are not readily accessible. NERCESSIAN (278) has also published a third collected volume of his papers on Armenian numismatics. NURPETLIAN and KAZARIAN (287) use numismatic and sculptural evidence to argue that the Armenian royal tiara took both prismatic and, less frequently, cylindrical forms. They speculate that this difference might have had significance for different royal ranks (e.g. kings having prismatic tiaras, princes cylindrical tiaras). NURPETLIAN (286) publishes what may be a new Armenian bronze coin type. However, the state of preservation is so poor that nothing certain can be established.

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CYPRUS

Evangeline Markou

The last Survey of Numismatic Research, published in 2015 on the occasion of the XV International Numismatic Congress of Taormina, was compiled by MARKOU (29) and included the bibliography on Archaic, Classical and early Hellenistic Cyprus produced during the years 2007-2013. AMANDRY (1) published the same year, in his fifth bibliography on Cypriot numismatic research, the essential publications for the years 2008–2015 and included Cypriot coins that emerged in auctions.

In 2015, the books, papers or chapters related to Cypriote numismatics dated from 1836 up to 2014 (over 600 entries) were published on the website *Kyprios Character* by DESTROOPER-GEORGIADIS (11), where they are displayed as a searchable database on the section “Bibliography” of the website. The bibliography is an amended version of the bibliography that first appeared on the now obsolete website of the Research Project *CNP: Cyprus Numismatic Project*.

Online resources on Cypriote numismatics

Kyprios Character website went live to the public in 2015 and included, except for the bibliographic database mentioned above, a series of tools for those interested in Cypriot history and numismatics. The section entitled Coin Database includes ca. 800 coins from public collections and is steadily updated with supplementary material. The section entitled Articles offers original papers in Cypriot numismatics regarding the history of the study by DESTROOPER-GEORGIADIS (12), the analytical methods used to determine the chemical composition of ancient coins by CHARALAMBOUS (4), the coinages of the kings of Cyprus from the Archaic to the early Hellenistic periods by MARKOU (28), a hoard of the 5th century discovered in Nicosia by PILIDES (42) and presents coinages of later periods such as the Ptolemaic by OLIVIER (41) and the Roman by AMANDRY (2). The aforementioned papers are offered online in Greek and English, and are accompanied by a map, related images, and a selective bibliography.

A list of open access websites that comprise coins from Cyprus has been compiled by MARKOU (36), within the framework of the research project „Cypriot connectivity in the Mediterranean from the Late Bronze Age to the end of the Classical period” (*CyCoMed*).

Cypriote coins and epigraphy

A significant evolution in the collaboration of numismatics and epigraphy was to include Cypriote coins in the first fascicule of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* series allotted to the Cypriote syllabic inscriptions by MARKOU and KARNAVA (38). The first volume comprises inscriptions from the areas of Amathous, Kourion, and Marion. This is one of the rare moments in the history of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* series where coins were included by dies, a decision made due to the history of the decipherment of the Cypriote syllabary, where coins played a prominent role, and to the value of coinage to the palaeography of the Cypriot syllabic script. The lack of inscribed coins securely attributed to Kourion explains the absence of coins of this kingdom in the first fascicule (two more will follow in the future, as it has been announced by the editors).

The coinages of the kings of Amathous and Marion were included following the completion of a coin die study. For each die, a drawing of the inscription was created. Coin drawings were composed based on the testimony of multiple coin specimens produced from the same die, but surviving in various states of preservation, all of which were incorporated in the corpus and were illustrated in the tabulae section of the volume. The close collaboration in re-reading coin legends allowed not only the definition of the variations of the different dies used to mint the surviving coins from a paleographical point of view, but also to further regulate previous erroneous readings. For the coinage of Amathous, it was concluded that the royal name Epipalos (e-pi-pa-lo, Ἐπίπαλο(ς)), has to be corrected to Apipalos (a-pi-pa-lo, Ἀπιπάλο(ς)). For the coinage of Marion, the patronymic of the king of Marion Sasma, which was thought to be Doxandros (to-ka-sa-to-ro), has been amended to Lysandros (to lu-sa-to-ro).

Gold, silver and bronze coinages of the kings of Cyprus

A supplementary review of the monograph on the gold coinage of the kings of Cyprus by MARKOU (25) was published by DESTROOPER-GEORGIADES (13).

A history of Cyprus seen through the numismatic evidence appeared in a bilingual monograph, in Greek and in English, by MARKOU (27) intending to produce a revised manual of Cypriote coinage in its historical context for both the specialised and the general public alike, with a particular focus on students (reviews by HERMARY (22) and KAGAN (24)). A paper by MARKOU (33) also tackled the question of incorporating numismatics into historical studies; using Cyprus as an example, the author presented cases of using and misusing the testimony of coins, singling out the coinages minted by Evelthon's successors at Salamis and the *sigloi* with the sign 'ko' that were attributed wrongly to Golgoi.

The question of the diversity of Cypriote coinage of the classical period was addressed by DESTROOPER-GEORGIADES (16) who explored the similarities and the differences of the metals, weight standards, types, languages, scripts and circulation of the 5th and 4th century Cypriote coins. The author stressed the cultural context of the harmonisation of monetary practices in the eastern Mediterranean during the mid 4th c.

DESTROOPER-GEORGIADES (7) assessed the coinages minted by the kings of Cyprus representing new types or preserving the types used before Alexander III that were struck in the period from 323 down to the end of the century and their removal by Ptolemy I. While kings, such as Pumayyaton of Kition, perpetuated the iconography of their predecessors, Praxippos of Lapethos and Stasioikos of Marion introduced new types that further reveal the militarised conditions of the period.

The coinage of Amathous has been revisited by MARKOU (34), who briefly presented the entire monetary series and assembled the coins that circulated in auctions during the years 2009–2015. The author started a new discussion on two dubious issues: the attribution of the so-called 'Evagoras I' silver issues with the Greek letter 'E' and the dating of the so-called 'Rhoikos' series with the Cypriot syllabic sign "ro". She concluded that the 'Evagoras I' series should be credited to an Amathousian king E (-) and not to the king of Salamis who supposedly issued coins at Amathous, while the 'Rhoikos' series should be dated to the beginning and not the middle of the 4th century.

The coinage of Paphos has been the focus of two papers. MARKOU (32) restored the list of the kings of Paphos through the combined study of the available literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidence offering statistics on the names of the kings of Paphos and the primary sources they occur on (coins, inscriptions and literature). It is astonishing that ten—maybe eleven—of the eighteen known kings have been identified solely from the coins they produced; only two are mentioned in the ancient texts and seven in the surviving inscriptions. This is a solid argument for the vital input of the numismatic evidence for the ruling dynasties in Cyprus, their succession, and their chronological framework, often unmentioned in the other primary sources.

DESTROOPER-GEORGIADES (8) presented the coin legends that comprise the word "Paphos" in Greek, abbreviated in one, two or four letters, referring to the habitants or the coinage of Paphos. She considered the rare issues of Nikokles with the legend ΠΑΦΙΟΝ and the iconography of the female figure on the obverse who might illustrate, according to the author, the local divinity Paphia.

The questionable rare coinage of Nikokles, the last king of Paphos, of the so-called 'distaters' with the head of Aphrodite on the obverse, and Apollo on the omphalos and the legend ΝΙΚΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΠΑΦΙΟΝ on the reverse is the subject of a paper by WEISS (43). Although the author collects and explores the surviving coins, there are some serious arguments on why the authenticity of the specimens is still problematic, as was also suggested by IOSSIF (23).

For Salamis, MARKOU (35) offered an overview of the coinages of the 5th and 4th centuries, focusing on the classical coinage of Evagoras I and that of his successors down to the annihilation of the kingdom and kingship by Ptolemy I by 306. The author examined the numismatic policy regarding iconography and weight standards of the gold and silver royal issues. As a starting point for his research, GENNADIU (21) examined a type with the clear legend in Cypriot syllabic script "ku-ru-ko" that has appeared in auctions since 2017. Based on historical, numismatic and linguistic criteria, he proposed to read the name of the Salaminian king Gorgos of the early 5th century, mentioned by Herodotus (Γόργος). He argued that sign "ku", when it appears on its own, has to be understood as the abbreviation of Gorgos' name and not the initial of the word "Κυπρίων" (meaning King of Cypriots), as was suggested in the past.

Regarding Kition, DESTROOPER-GEORGIADES (10) published a lead piece with the types of the bronze coins of

Pumayyaton with the lion and the horse and engaged in the discussion on the use of lead pieces as prototypes of coin types, bringing forward other examples from Idalion and Salamis.

MARKOU (26) addressed the symbols on Cypriot coinages, their inspiration and their diffusion, focusing specifically on those associated to the cultures and cults of the Near East, such as the ankh, the sign of Tanit, the winged solar disc, the disc and crescent and the astragalos or knucklebone. While the ankh and the winged solar disc seem to refer to royal power in various kingdoms, the sign of Tanit suggests strong links to the Phoenician culture of the island and is retained on the coinages of the kings employing only Phoenician legends on their coins and ruling in kingdoms with strong Phoenician presence, such as Kition and Lapethos.

A number of papers tackled gods, heroes and their iconographic depictions on the coinages of the Cypriot kings. The myths displayed on the coins of Cyprus were the subject of a paper by MARKOU (31). The adoption, adaptation and diffusion on Cypriote coinages of Pan-Hellenic heroes, such as Herakles, and of Pan-Hellenic myths, such as that of Phrixos with the ram and of Europa on the bull was linked to the iconography of artifacts from Cyprus, Greece and the other areas of the Mediterranean.

Iconography and coin legends of Marion were similarly the subject of a survey by DESTROOPER-GEORGIADIS (19), who determined that the recipients of the coinages minted by the kings of Marion over the course of 150 years were acquainted with the scripts and the images on the coins, adapted to the various uses of the different metals and denominations.

The representations of Aphrodite on the coins of Cyprus were examined by MARKOU (30). Focusing on the characteristics and the local particularities of Aphrodite on Cypriote coinages of the archaic and classical periods she determined that regarding Aphrodite in Cyprus, it is the local context and not just the decorative elements that establish the identification of the goddess. The paper was published in the honorary volume for Jacqueline Karageorghis, the “Kypromedousa” of Cypriot archaeology, who passed away in 2018. Another significant loss for Cypriot archaeology, epigraphy and numismatics in that same year was that of Ino Nicolaou, whose numismatic works were presented by AMANDRY and MARKOU (3, 40) in her obituary. A substantial loss for the numismatic world in 2015 was as well that of Mando Oeconomides, former Director of the Numismatic Museum in Athens. A two-day symposium was organised in her memory in Athens the following year, where DESTROOPER-GEORGIADIS (18) presented on Mando’s connection with Cyprus and Cypriot numismatics. She further revealed the information Mando had provided her on a Greek private collection that included Cypriot coins, some unique, others rare and still others in an outstanding state of preservation.

Cyprus and Crete, in the centre of the commercial sea routes of the Eastern Mediterranean, were the subject of a paper by MARKOU and STEFANAKI (39), where the similarities and differences in the monetary practices of the archaic, classical and early Hellenistic periods were explored. Although the authors attest that on both islands there was extensive overstriking and/or countermarking of local and foreign silver coins, that minting was mainly related to military needs, and that there is a rich repertoire of mythological scenes and mythological and imaginary creatures found on the coinages, the differences between the islands’ coinage are significant. This is due to the contrasting political configurations, the different economies, and the different weight standards, metals, and areas of circulation that delineated different paths for each from the archaic to the Hellenistic period.

Portable XRF analysis on Cypriote coinages

XRF analysis have been performed on two groups of coins in the past years, with the effective engagement of the Archaeological Research Unit of the University of Cyprus. The first study by MARKOU *et al.* (37) undertook the analysis of gold coins from the collections of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus (27 coins) and of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation’s coin collection (21 coins) using portable XRF spectrometry. The study added 48 coins to the list of the 52 coins previously analysed via different methods in MARKOU (25) and verified that they have a high percentage of gold exceeding 97%. An exception to this observation is the gold coinage of Evagoras I of Salamis that has a low percentage of gold and an increased percentage of silver and mainly copper, confirming that he manipulated the gold coinage, both in the alloy and in the weight, in order to face specific needs in a moment of crisis during his reign.

The second paper by CHARALAMBOUS *et al.* (5) offered the elemental analysis of 436 silver coins from the Larnaca Hoard (*IGCH* 1272) minted by kings of Kition, Idalion, Lapethos, Paphos, Salamis and by kings ruling in unidentified Cypriot locales. This was the first time that non-destructive XRF analysis has been undertaken on this scale on Cypriot

coins, also important for the number of contemporary coinages from various local mints that were buried together in a secure archaeological context. The study's purpose was to determine the coins' composition and to identify the silver alloys chosen for their manufacture. Although the authors were aware of the limitations of the portable XRF technique regarding surface versus bulk composition, the analysis revealed that coins issued from different mints were made from a similar silver-copper alloy. It also exposed the attempt of the mints to increase the hardness of the alloy and to improve its casting and minting processing by adding copper, as well as the very efficient refining process seen in the percentage of the lead concentration. The results of the analysis suggested also that the silver of most of the coins was probably processed from argentiferous galena, the closest source to Cyprus being the Laurion mine in Attica. This could be a source for at least part of the raw metal used for the specific coins, but other silver sources cannot be excluded without further investigation.

Hoard, excavation finds and coin circulation

The 19 coins that were discovered in the excavations of Alassa were published by DESTROOPER-GEORGIADES (14) in the voluminous work that covers the excavation seasons (1984–2000) of the Late Bronze Age sites of Alassa and Paliotaverna. The great majority of the coins were minted in the Middle Ages. Only one coin of Paphos, a sixth of *siglos*, dated ca. 440–400 BC, was amongst the excavation finds.

The 855 bronze coins discovered in 24 consecutive years (1975–1998) of excavations at Kourion by the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus were published by CHRISTOU (6). Out of these, four coins were minted by Kourion, two by Salamis and 18 coins by Alexander III. DESTROOPER-GEORGIADES (15) stressed the importance of the discovery of coins in the excavations, highlighting the case of Kourion and the secure attribution, notably of the bronzes that constitute most of the material collected.

Public and private collections

The formation of the collection of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus and the evaluation of this unique collection and the importance of publication to preserve the cultural heritage of the island is in the focus of a paper by DESTROOPER-GEORGIADES (9), which was published in the collective volume in honour of Tasos Tzamalīs.

The Charles Godfrey Gunther collection of ancient Cypriote coins, preserved in the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia, was published by DESTROOPER-GEORGIADES (17). The collection originally included 2,286 coins dating from the period of the kingdoms to the Lusignan era in Cyprus. The author addressed the history of the collection and catalogues the 67 coins of the archaic and classical periods that she could track down in the Cyprus Museum; roughly 288 coins of the collection being presently in the collection of the American Numismatic Society in New York. She discussed particular types and offered a complete catalogue and plates with images of the casts.

DESTROOPER-GEORGIADES (20) also published the coins in the collection of the S.O.F.I.A. Foundation in Nicosia, along with a part of the Photos Photiades collection. The author presented seven gold, silver, and bronze coins from the period of the Cypriote kingdoms.

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THE LEVANT AND ARABIA BEFORE ISLAM

Donald T. Ariel

The period covered by this survey covers pre-money times until the disappearance of autonomous coinages in the Roman provincial period. Levantine Roman provincial tetradrachms are also included, as are all Levantine and Arabian local imitations, municipal/civic, quasi- and pseudo-municipal coinages. Much more flexibility regarding the subject categories is exhibited in my summaries of reports on provenanced coins from the survey period in the designated region.

General

HOGAN (141) deliberated on the ways monetization developed in the Greek and Egyptian (and to some extent, Mesopotamian) settings. Although he barely cited the Levant located between those axes, one nevertheless easily sees how that geographical middle ground was influenced. MEADOWS' thought provoking "The Great Transformation" (183), discussing a numismatic development extending "from mainland Greece through Thrace to Western Asia Minor" (p. 301), deserves note in this survey because the general phenomenon seems also to encompass the Levant, where the same "tension ...between local and general explanations for iconographic choices" is found. The transformative role of Antiochus IV in this development, explicitly cited by MEADOWS, is exemplary of the transformation in the Levant. BARKAY (37) published a bibliography of Dan Barag.

Pre-Coinage Currency

GITLER and TAL provided a Levantine perspective on the first appearance of coined money in Lydia and Greece by offering that coining followed the Near Eastern development of the economic use of silver, and particularly the sealing of pre-weighed bags of Hacksilber. They also explained the phenomenon of cut foreign coins (and bizarre local issues made from the repolishing of worn dies) appearing in Hacksilber hoards as a way to ease the acceptance of the idea of coinage by those who were reluctant to use it (129).

PERSIAN, *Phoenicia* (includes 'Akko-Ptolemais)

HÜBNER (146) noted that while coins of the late sixth and early fifth centuries BCE are found in the Southern Levant, hardly any coin hoards were found, suggesting that despite the large number of mints represented, in those centuries the level of coin circulation was still quite low. In the survey period, ELAYI and ELAYI completed their tetralogy on the four main Phoenician mints of the Persian period. Following Sidon (2004) and Tyre (2009) they published their monetary and political history of Byblus (80) and a volume on Arwad (Aradus [82]) both in 2015. The Byblus volume has chapters on the inscriptions, iconography, mint operations and metrology of the coins, followed by an analysis of the intersection of the history of the coinage with that of the city itself. A catalogue of 1,662 entries is the first of four appendices in the book. Although the smallest of the four minting Phoenician cities, Byblus was the first to strike coins and relative to the other three, the city had the richest iconographic repertoire.

Published in the 2014 Festschrift honoring Josette Elayi, GUILLAUME (131) did not have access to ELAYI and ELAYI's Byblus and Arwad volumes. He cast doubt on ELAYI and ELAYI's postulated delay, relative to Tyre and Byblos, in the inauguration of the Sidonian mint, basing this upon a socio-historical argument: Unlike normal mercenaries, who potentially had access to booty to supplement their wages, the Phoenician rowers of Persian triremes, had no such access, and thus could not supplement their agricultural earnings in that way. They rowed for payments in coin and therefore, because Sidon was the most powerful of the Phoenician cities in the fifth century BCE, produced the largest quantity of coins relative to the others, and the most heavily involved in the Persian navy, Sidon could not have been the last of the three great cities of that century to open mints.

DUYRAT (77) reviewed ELAYI and ELAYI's 2009 volume on the Persian-period coinage of Tyre, commending the importance of the catalogue [chapter I] and the die study and the relative chronology [chapter II]. Despite the volume's flaws, she considered it a "valuable synthesis on Tyrian coinage" (p. 568). DUYRAT rejected ELAYI and ELAYI's (and

others') idea that Ascalon be considered a Phoenician city connected to Tyre. Besides the ELAYIS' reliance on an uncertain reading of Pseudo-Scylax *Periplus* 104, she based her rejection on the similarities of the Ascalonian coins to the mints of Gaza and Ashdod, with all three mints constituting a separate, non-Phoenician, cultural sphere.

ELAYI and ELAYI's volume on Arwad (82) provided the catalogue of the third and last series of that mint, after the first series appeared in 2013 and the second series in 2015 (83). 83 also included summary discussions of other aspects (weights, metallic composition, typology and a die study) of the coins. In 80 ELAYI and ELAYI reiterated a comment made by them elsewhere that the Tripolis mint's only extant coin is so rare because the mint's coins were not exported outside the city. It would make more sense for them to describe the unique coin as an indication of the mint's extremely small output. Also in 80, ELAYI and ELAYI presented their views on the other first coinages in Phoenicia, the order in which they began minting, their weight standards, and their relationships with their Persian overlords. In 2014 the couple published an anthology of their publications from 1983 to 2013, a total of 59 entries (81). The articles are organized by subject, and largely fully reproduced, with additional summaries of them according to category. The books are also summarized, and thus create a useful compendium of the prolific pair's oeuvre, some of which were already listed in the former volumes of the *Survey*.

ANNAN (6) gave an overview of the iconographic evolution of Phoenician coin types in the Persian and Hellenistic periods. The iconography of the four main Phoenician mints in the Achaemenid period were the expression of their own individual civic identities while recognizing their subjugation under foreign control. The Macedonian conquests and its aftermath transformed these symbolic repertoires, which became more subtle, while new mints were opened. ANNAN's survey continued to the appearance of the autonomous coinages.

Last for Phoenicia in the Persian period, TAYLOR (223) demonstrated how a die link between two Alexander tetradrachms of Sidon and Tyre (formerly Ake) resulted in chronological implications.

PERSIAN, *Southern Levant*

In an iconographic study, WYSSMANN (231) analyzed Achaemenid coins from Samaria, emphasizing their wide iconographic variety. The author based himself on a new diachronic approach, and aimed to shed new light on the mint. LEITH (168) approached the same subject from a very different perspective. Using Kuntillet 'Ajrud as a proxy for Israelite religious imagery both in Israel and Judah before the Assyrian and Babylonian conquests, and the consensus that the Israelite capital Samaria was not destroyed, LEITH identified clear continuity between the imagery at Kuntillet 'Ajrud and Samarian coin depictions. Recognizing the powerful influence of 'anti-Samaritan' biblical scholarship, she argued for tipping the iconographic orientation of Samarian coinage away from the current Achaemenid trend to a more indigenous direction. Coming out of the same workshop as 152, WYSSMANN (230) compared the coin imagery of Samaria and Judah, and concluded that the *Yehud* coinage evidenced a much more restrained repertoire of types. The latter, divided into two groups, minute coins with a smaller range of simpler types, and the two known drachms, evoke coastal influences (Philistia, Cilicia), while the Samarian series was more multicultural and cosmopolitan, with Athenian, Sidonian, Cilician influences, and adaptations of Achaemenid themes. WYSSMANN understood the differences between the two mints to stem from the contrasting historical and cultural orientations of the two cities.

Less expansive discussions are by GITLER, TAL and others. Small contributions are by RONEN (199), who published four unrecorded *Yehud* coins, and ZLOTNIK (236), who presented 13 Samarian coins of known types but in different denominations. In 123 GITLER and TAL took up over a dozen Philistian drachms and smaller denominations, many of which were reattributed. The same two identified the 'three-quarter profile eye' on Philistian, Samarian and *Yehud* classes (122), after the feature was isolated on eyes depicted on the influential locally-provenanced tetradrachms of Athens. GITLER and TAL determined that the newly-isolated feature was predominant in the Philistian series, but less so in the Samarian and *Yehud* series.

HELLENISTIC AND AUTONOMOUS POST-HELLENISTIC, *Phoenicia*

In contributions in two consecutive years, IOSSIF (147) and LORBER (175) covered the Macedonian, Ptolemaic and Seleucid coinages in Phoenicia with an eye toward the question of whether imperial or municipal forces had the upper hand. Although these studies are not directly in the purview of this survey, they both make cases for greater or lesser roles for phenomena that are covered here, the local Phoenician expressions that gradually turn into true municipal and quasi-municipal coinages, beginning in 169/8 BCE. LORBER maintained that Seleucid rulers encouraged local Phoenician patriotism, in iconography and in the use of Phoenician language and scripts, as a countermeasure to

continued Ptolemaic influence in the region. IOSSIF, however, disagreed, stating that the Phoenician cities enjoyed no special status and did not express their identity through coinage. For IOSSIF, even the mint marks were not symbols of relative autonomy, but rather, with the Seleucid Era dates, were markers of annual tax payments, and thus, powerful evidence of imperial domination.

In a different vein, for the later second century BCE HOOVER (142) rejected the idea that the civic and so-called quasi-municipal coinages are expressions of the cities' increasing freedom from the collapsing Seleucid Empire. Highlighting the fact that the first appearance of these coinages dates to 169/8 BCE, well before the crumbling of collapsing Seleucid Empire, HOOVER added the observation that there was monogramic and stylistic continuity between royal and civic coinages, meaning that the same individuals and mint facilities were responsible for both royal and civic emissions. He further cited the new view among Roman numismatists that coins with and without imperial portraits were issued from the same mints, and argued that such cases lower the declarative status of autonomous coinages also in the late Seleucid period.

On a much less theoretical level, when examining the isolated finds from Sarepta, ABOU DIWAN (1) came to roughly the same conclusion. With a rich assemblage of local imitations of Seleucid coins, quasi-municipal and true municipal coins from local Hellenistic mints, or autonomous early Roman period coins, ABOU DIWAN stressed the fact of these issues' equal standing alongside the Seleucid, and later Roman, coins in circulation. Consequently, like HOOVER's remarks in 142, he played down the modern distinctions assigned to such coin finds.

Turning to studies on individual Phoenician coinages, proceeding from north to south, in a new journal, *KOINON: The International Journal of Classical Numismatic Studies*, ROWE (200, 201) examined two series of Aradus coins. SAWAYA (205) surveyed the coinage of Beirut and its monetary circulation until the city's receipt of colonial status.

COHEN (72) focused on the autonomous sheqels (tetradrachms) of Tyre. He cited a change in the very regular order of the numerals on Tyrian silver, occurring in autonomous year 72 (55/4 BCE) — the same year, incidentally, in which there was a change in the chemical composition of the coins — and concluded that 55/4 BCE was a watershed year in the management of the mint. This provides additional support for the rejection of an earlier idea that the Tyrian mint was relocated in 18/7 BCE. Regardless of the amateurish feel of COHEN's 2017 volume (73), it documents the dies of 951 autonomous Tyrian sheqels (tetradrachms) as well as half, quarter and eighth sheqels. While not a die study, 73 is extremely useful for identifying this important silver series that circulated widely in the Southern Levant. The Tyrian half-sheqel component of MEIR's fifth and last installment (184) of the Kadman Pavilion's holdings of the 'Isfiya hoard is itself valuable for detailing of the imperial denars that have been alongside hoarded autonomous Tyrian silver.

Continuing with the mint of Tyre, LORBER (174) considered the only two emissions of gold coins at Hellenistic Tyre. This occurred in two separate years, a quarter century after Tyre proclaimed its full autonomy from the Seleucid Empire. The very heavy denomination (*mnaieion*) and typological influences of these coins clearly drew on Ptolemaic *mnaieia* issued until at least a half century earlier. LORBER raised the tantalizing idea that the two issues, from 104/3 and 102/1 BCE, correspond to the first and last years of the War of Scepters, and evince Tyrian involvement in that short conflict.

PALISTRANT SHAICK (194) examined autonomous issues of 'Akko-Ptolemais depicting Perseus and Heracles before and upon the city's receipt of Roman colonial status. These heroes continued to appear on Ptolemais' coins for another two centuries, bolstering the city's claims of ancient kinship between Greek heroes and Phoenicians, and advertising the city as a destination for 'medical tourism'.

Lastly, MOTTA (185) produced a short, attractive volume, based upon her doctoral dissertation which considers the coins of the mint of Dora in its broader context. Included are the history of the city, description and history of the excavations, other related finds from the site, the distribution of coins from the mint and, of course, the coins' iconography and inscriptions. The volume was reviewed by BARKAY (44), who stressed its comprehensive nature.

OLIVIER and AUMAÎTRE (193) followed the appearance silver and bronze of portraits of Marc Antony and Cleopatra on coins of Phoenicia beginning in the period between 42/1 and 37/6 BCE, and the following phase, in 37–32 BCE. The influence of their iconography in the mints of Antioch and Chalcis were noted, as was the presence of two new eras for Cleopatra (and see LORBER [175]). The larger military background to Antony and Cleopatra's coordination were summarized.

HELLENISTIC AND AUTONOMOUS POST-HELLENISTIC, *Southern Levant*

Since 2012, *Coins of the Holy Land*, the publication of one of the most important coin collections of the Southern Levant, has become a standard reference work primarily for the Roman-period coins of that region. FARHI's review (91) focused on specific coins from eight mints, highlighting some of the most important coins in the collection, and providing numerous comments and corrections.

LE BLANC (62) proposed identifying mythological founders of Ascalon, the Lydian generals Moxos and Ascalus and the local goddess Derceto, in the numismatic evidence of the city's mint between the late second century BCE and the mid-first century BCE. FARHI and BESSARABOV (107) produced a catalogue of all known coins of the autonomous mint of Demetrias (by the Sea). Finding three new dates (years 1, 13 and 20), they bracketed the emissions of the city to between 63 and 40 BCE. FARHI and BESSARABOV further provided compelling evidence of the distribution of provenanced Demetrias coins to support Kushnir-Stein's location of the city at modern Caesarea (Maritima), making Demetrias a refoundation of Straton's Tower. In an earlier article (56), the two authors examined three coins of Demetrias (two more are noted in 99) countermarked with a ligature thought by them to abbreviate the triumvir Mark Antony's name, and to reference the stationing of his troops near Demetrias. South of Demetrias/Caesarea, FARHI and BACHAR proposed that a previously-unknown and very small first century BCE mint was active at Iamneia [Yavneh] (by the Sea?) (104).

EZOE (86) divided the coins of the Decapolis into two groups using the inscriptions and eras on them: one citing a Pompeian era that began minting before the Principate, and the other whose mints began after the first century CE. FARHI (89) identified a three-denominational series issued in Gaza using an unpublished coin (the smallest denomination) apparently bearing the portrait of Cleopatra VII. The series, year 10 of a Pompeian era, is thus the first year of coinage in Gaza under Roman rule. Moreover, the date of the coin (52/1 BCE) coincides with Cleopatra's first regnal year and, assuming a correct identification, makes Gaza the first city in the region to mint coins with her image. SANDBERG (203) considered a new type of pseudo-autonomous coin of Neapolis dating between 135 and 157 CE. On the subject of Roman provincial tetradrachms, FARHI (98) proposed reattributing to Nysa-Scythopolis types long ascribed to Aelia Capitolina, and NURPETLIAN published three articles based on his doctoral dissertation, studies of the provincial tetradrachm mints of Damascus, Tyre and Emesa (188, 190, 191).

HELLENISTIC AND AUTONOMOUS POST-HELLENISTIC, *Jewish*

This poorly-named category primarily covers the mints of Jerusalem and Tiberias in the Hellenistic period. In the publications in this survey, one finds a growth in discussions on Gentile coins directly related to events in Judea (27, 134, 177, 206, 192), both before and after Hasmonean minting.

While WYSSMANN (230 above) compared the *Yehud* coinage to the Samaritan series, RAPPAPORT (196) compared the *Yehud* coins to the later Hasmonean material, and found three major differences between the two series from the same minting city: (1) The Persian-period coins were struck in silver but required permission to be issued, while (2) the Hasmoneans needed no permission and struck in bronze; and (3) the *Yehud* coinage depicted human and animal imagery, while Hasmonean coins did not. RAPPAPORT emphasized purely economic rationales for striking both series and analyzed the various inscriptions on the coins.

In a volume based upon her Ph.D. dissertation (179), and in a later article (181), LYKKE analyzed the iconography on Jerusalem's coinage and its conversation with Gentile coins in the vicinity. However, she primarily saw their sacred aspects through the lens of the Temple whose presence dominated the city.

LORBER (177), OLIVIER (192) and HOOVER (143) all added new numismatic perspectives on the Maccabean revolt that led to Hasmonean autonomy and ultimately independence from Seleucid hegemony, raising separate ideas of new Ptolemaic interactions with Judea before and during the insurrection. LORBER described connections between the dowry of Cleopatra I and Tobiad tax farming on Judea before the Maccabean revolt and identified the influx of fresh Ptolemaic silver to the region in the 160s BCE. The latter may have been part of a Ptolemaic subsidy to the Maccabees fighting Seleucid rule. OLIVIER suggested that coins in the third series (163–145 BCE) didrachms "of an uncertain era", struck somewhere in Judea, was another part of the proposed subsidy. Unrelated to OLIVIER's suggestion, HOOVER proposed that some years later, out of common interest, Simon Thassi influenced the minting of bronze coins naming Demetrius II in Gaza and in 140/39 BCE Demetrius struck a tetradrachm at that mint as a proxy Hasmonean coin to fund Simon's conflict with Demetrius' enemy Tryphon.

From a dual Seleucid-Maccabean perspective, JACOBSON (150) produced a detailed handbook on the history and numismatics of the Seleucid Empire and their interface with the Maccabean story. Ancient sources are detailed, recent scholarship is cited, biographies of all of the principals are provided and descriptions of the profusely illustrated coins are given in full. Though not a numismatic work per se, the volume richly explores the illustrative value of numismatic evidence which underpins the historical record of the Southern Levant in the Hasmonean period. In the book, one coin, the helmet/aphlaston type of Antiochus VII (SC 2122), is tentatively assigned by JACOBSON to a mint in Jaffa, associating it with Antiochus VII's campaign against Diodotos Tryphon at Dora. Based on provenances of that type (SC 2122), ARIEL later (27) attributed the coin to the Jerusalem mint opened in 132/1–131/0 BCE (SC 2123) after the Seleucid king's siege of the city. Iconographic analysis brought him to conclude that the symbolic message of both SC 2122 and SC 2123 was victory. ARIEL further noted the chronological/iconographic connection between that coin and John Hyrcanus I's autonomous helmet/two parallel cornucopias type of the same mint. Although iconographic comparisons were used to connect the first Hasmonean coins with Seleucid symbolism, the consensually last motif on a Hasmonean coin, the menorah, was traced in history as a quintessentially Jewish symbol (53).

In contrast to the above connection between the two just cited coins, both issued in Jerusalem, COŞKUN (74), a textually-oriented scholar with no numismatic background, argued that Meshorer erred when he retracted his own revisionist opinion that the first Hasmonean coins were minted by Alexander Jannaeus. COŞKUN resolutely maintained that reattributing all coins naming *yhw hmn* to Hyrcanus II was both compatible with the historical evidence and the indications of titulature. Because Jewish numismatics have advanced since Meshorer's 'heresy', a response to this call for retrogression based on written sources was not long in coming (136), and in the same fascicle with that response, SHAHAM (208) published a die study of the coins of Yehudah Aristobulus, which, among other discoveries, produced die links that established that the definitive order of the Hasmonean series is Hyrcanus I–Aristobulus I–Jannaeus.

KRUPP (166) made a case for reassigning *yhw dh* coins from Aristobulus I to Aristobulus II, using his identifications of individual Hasmonean die cutters. Krupp's theory is also addressed by LICHTENBERGER (169). REGEV (197) argued it was meaningful that Hasmonean minting authorities initially represented themselves as high priests, and that this designation was maintained to some extent by all the Hasmonean rulers who issued coins. REGEV claimed that alternative titles were possible, even in Hebrew, and that this fact implied that the usage only connoted strictly religious authority. KOGON's (162) study of the most variable Greek letter forms employed in the Jerusalem mint (Α, Ε, Σ, Ω) covered both Hasmonean, Herodian and governors' coins. In general, a trend from classic to cursive letter variants occurred in the Early Roman period. A numismatic connection to the last Hasmonean king, Mattathias Antigonus (40–37 BCE), is cited in an article (92) by FARHI, who described a stray find of a bronze ring in a burial cave a year before the cave was excavated. The ring's bezel depicted a symbol identifiable as one appearing only on coins of Antigonus. The excavator independently had dated the burial to the end of the first century BCE. KOGON and FONTANILLE (163) published three new unpublished countermarked Jewish coins to supplement the 47 that they had earlier listed.

WENKEL's volume (227), on coins as cultural texts, is aimed at those interested in the New Testament and its first century milieu. It views coins from three vantage points: (1) the world *in front* of the coin, i.e., the audience who reads and responds to coins as cultural texts; (2) the world *of* the coin, i.e., the coin itself, its inscriptions and images; and (3) the world *behind* the coin, i.e., the world of power issuing the coins. Fully focused on the southern Levant, the volume is both didactic and comprehensive in its approach, although not innovative in its analysis.

Before returning to JACOBSON and his numerous articles on Jewish coins, note should be taken of two articles (HENDIN [134]; WOODS [229]) on a Roman Republican denarius reading BACCHIVS IVDAEVS. The denarius, celebrating Pompey the Great's victory in Judea in 64 BCE, was struck in Rome in 54 by A. Plautius. Both authors rejected the prevailing identification of the kneeling figure with the camel on the reverse as Aristobulus II. HENDIN preferred an identification as a "generic representation of an eastern potentate". As for the term BACCHIVS in the inscription, HENDIN thought it was perhaps a mischievous pun based upon a popular belief that the Jewish god was a syncretized with Dionysus. WOODS, who also believed there to be a pun, claimed it was between the name of the high priest, Hyrcanus II and the Hyrcanian tigers who pulled Bacchus' chariot. WOODS' identification of the kneeling figure was, therefore, Hyrcanus II.

Besides JACOBSON's handbook described above (150), in the survey period JACOBSON published eight articles on

Jewish coins (148, 149, 151, 152, 153, 155, 156, 157) and another book (154) in the survey period. All are incorporated here in historical and chronological order. Beginning after the Hasmonean period, many of JACOBSON's articles may be said to be in line with Ariel and Fontanille's 2012 volume on Herod's coins. It should be noted that no consensus on the key numismatic issues of that period has yet come out of that conversation.

In 151, after a detailed examination of the eras dating Herod's year-three coins, JACOBSON concluded that those coins should "more likely" be ascribed to one of two alternatives: (1) 30 BCE, coinciding with Octavian's reconfirmation of Herod as king of Judea, with year-three falling in the year of the Roman Acts of Settlement and the founding of Sebaste at Samaria, or (2) Herod's acquisition of the Iturean territory of Trachonitis (presumably 23/2 BCE), with year-three falling during Augustus's visit to Syria, when Herod was awarded yet more territory. In 153, JACOBSON analyzed the denominations of Herod's coins, dated and undated alike, and understood them as congruent with earlier Hasmonean denominations. He then concluded that the bronze coinage of both the Hasmonean and Herodian series was legacy Seleucid currency taking the form of fractional denominations of the predominant silver currency in the region, the Tyrian shekel (tetradrachm). For Herod's undated coins, in 148, JACOBSON argued that the cross or saltire, usually enclosed by a diadem on a coin of Herod, but also possibly related to Herod's very rare crossed palm branches type, was a cipher of Herod's royal authority — or the king's royal monogram.

LICHTENBERGER (171) disagreed strongly with the opinion that Herod's coins, dated and undated alike, drew inspiration from Roman prototypes. Despite the king's close relationship with Rome, the symbols on Herod's coins portray his self-representation as a Hellenistic king following the Hasmonean tradition of non-figural, aniconic coin types. LICHTENBERGER also rejected recent attempts (e.g., 135 summarized above) to abandon the consensual 40 BCE date as the era employed on Herod's year-three coins.

In another rejection of the Roman connection to Jewish coins, ROCCA (198) considered the iconographic source of the golden eagle that Herod set on the façade of the Jerusalem Temple and argued that it, through the Tyrian *sheqel* used for donations to the Temple, derived from the earlier eagles on Ptolemaic coins, and not from eagles iconographically related to Rome.

A number of studies in the survey period also related to two of Herod's sons' coin emissions, Herod Philip and Herod Antipas. HENDIN and FONTANILLE, and FONTANILLE and KOGON each identified two previously unnoticed symbols, a thunderbolt and laurel wreath on a coin of Philip (138) and a star and a cornucopia on Antipas' largest denomination of 33/4 CE (115). In the following year, FONTANILLE and KOGON published a thin volume on Antipas (164), covering every aspect of the tetrarch's coinage: his 21 coin types in 6 series; history of research, denominations, chronology (again with the possibility that Type 1 is not dated; see 30; pp. 496–497); dies (production; numbers and die study); inscriptions (non-coin inscriptions of the tetrarch), letter forms); iconography; and geographical distribution.

Type 1 in KOGON and FONTANILLE's book, a unique coin, is consensually attributed to Antipas from the mint of Tiberias. However, the pair admitted that its mint could have been Jerusalem. On this, see also ARIEL and BIJOVSKY (30) for the possibility that Type 1 was minted in Sepphoris. On the subject of Antipas' numismatic legacy, ARIEL (25) argued that the vagaries of preservation of the Antipas coins allow for another Tiberias-minted coin issued in 53/4 CE after the tetrarch's death, to be misidentified as coins of Antipas. Attention to the likelihood of this happening is important for improving the understanding the currency of Tiberias coins after 39/40 CE.

On the subject of the Roman governors' issues, LÖNNQVIST (178) argued for a long period of Pontius Pilate's governorship, from 17/8 to 36/7 CE, citing very different historical arguments from those raised by the scholars cited in SZANTON et al. (222, below). Based on the iconography on the coins and a change in the metallic composition of the gubernatorial coinage in 17/8 CE, LÖNNQVIST adduced additional support for lowering the date of Pilate's appointment. JACOBSON (155) analyzed the iconographic motifs on the Roman governors' coins and found them "broadly consistent" with the picture presented in written sources. He and FARHI (91) cited ARIEL's 2014 (14) rejection of the opinion of a handful of scholars over the years to find the date ΛΓ (33) on an Augustan issue, thus purportedly adding a new prefect, Annius Rufus, to the list of governors who struck Judean coins.

After a quarter century BURNETT (65) returned to the subject of Agrippa I's coinage and, despite the author's understatement, a full reanalysis was undertaken, including improved readings, acceptance of earlier reattributions and new specimens whose inscriptions allow for improvements in the identification of the types. One example of the last case determines the identity of the obverse portrait on *RPC* 4978 as Caesonia. Another identifies the depiction of the

veiled figure on *RPC* 4978 as Agrippa's wife Kypros. Refinements to the dates of the coins, consideration of the three mints in operation, denominations, presentation of die numbers, and details of the designs and inscriptions are provided before a full catalogue is presented. Subsequently, one coin (*RPC* 4980) was reattributed by HENDIN and BACHAR (137). The coin was found to come from the city mint of Gaba in the early to mid-first century CE, based upon five new specimens.

In his Agrippa I article, BURNETT laid out the subject of the overt Romanization on Agrippa I's Paneas and Caesarea emissions. Relating to BURNETT's further discussion of this in a 2010 conference, ARIEL (13) noted that no explanation has yet been given *why* Agrippa I and his namesake son behaved more extremely in their Romanization than other client kings.

Based upon DEUTSCH's Ph.D. dissertation, and still having the feel of one, 75 is the first modern book devoted only to the coins of the first Jewish revolt against the Romans. It is comprehensive in its scope, covering the quantities, iconography, inscriptions, minting authority and geographical distributions of both the silver and bronze series. The centerpiece of the work is a die study of the sheqels and half sheqels, and analysis of the many hoards. Finally, the volume has important sections presenting the elemental compositions of a sample of the silver coins and investigations into of the minting techniques on these outstanding coins of great historical value.

Also on the first Jewish revolt, GIRARDIN (118) took issue with the idea that, during the revolt, different factions issued the revolt coins. He saw in all the coins a uniform outlook, focusing on the theocratic ideal of the Jerusalem temple and the redemption of the Jewish people. JACOBSON (157) took up the very rare quarter *sheqel* of "year four" of the revolt and accommodated it to ARIEL's 2012 idea that John of Gischala (Gush H̄alav) was behind the minting of the "year two" and "year three" revolt bronzes. JACOBSON opined that the same John issued these quarter *sheqels* of the following year after his rule over Jerusalem had been supplanted by Simon bar Giora. FARHI and SYON (110) summarized and supplied updates on a decade of research — in roughly a half-dozen dedicated articles — on the unusual group of (now 11) coins of the first Jewish revolt attributed to a mint in Gamla.

Four articles relate to numismatic reactions to the first Jewish revolt. Three respond to Gambash, Gitler and Cotton's 2013 *editio princeps* of the now famous *Ivdaea recepta aureus* (here in this survey because of the *editio princeps*' proposal that the coin was struck in Judea). WOLTERS (228) and ZOLLSCHAN (237, 238) focused their discussions mostly on the inscription and the standing woman on the reverse. WOLTERS viewed the *recepta* in the inscription as an unsuccessful expression for *capta*, while ZOLLSCHAN found that, legalistically, *recepta* indicated Roman acceptance of the unconditional surrender of the rebels. As for the woman, the closest parallel WOLTERS could suggest was to a mourning Dacian woman, while ZOLLSCHAN argued for an identification as Salus.

Addressing the numismatic legacy of the revolt, LICHTENBERGER (170) considered the less explicit reflections of the revolt in civic coinages in the Southern Levant during the conflict and after its end. These reflections, primarily in iconographic symbols of victory, have a geographical distribution suggesting different responses to the conflict on the Mediterranean coast than the cities in Galilee and Decapolis.

In addition to his many other publications in the survey period, JACOBSON wrote a biography of Agrippa II (154) the first monograph solely devoted to the last ruling descendant of Herod the Great. In a 20-page appendix, he described the 64 different coin issues of Agrippa II, both the issues under Nero and the larger series under the Flavians. Much of the discussion, however, relates to the vexing problems of the coins' dating. Kokkinos' system, in close accord with *RPC* 2.1's arrangement, is based on two eras (beginning in 55/56 and 60/61 CE), while a new theory, not fully published, is that of Kushnir-Stein, with 49, 54 and 60 CE eras. JACOBSON adopted Kokkinos' dating, and completed his numismatic analysis with summaries on the types with Latin inscriptions and the coins' denominations (more fully explicated in 152 and 154). He also included an interesting idea about two Claudius coins with Latin inscriptions, most likely struck in Caesarea Maritima, displaying a rudder and anchor, respectively. Finally, in the year of JACOBSON's publication of the biography, 156 saw light, covering the date of Agrippa II's death, which JACOBSON placed in 94/5 CE.

The last sub-category of Jewish numismatics deals with the coins of Bar Kokhba, issued outside of Jerusalem in Judea. HENDIN (133) proffered a suggestion that the inscription Ele'azar, primarily on coins of the first year of the revolt, may not be a living individual but rather the mythical high priest Ele'azar who stood by Joshua's side during the heroic conquest of Canaan over a millennium before. DEUTSCH and RONEN (76) brought evidence of three pierced

bronze coins of Bar Kokhba revolt to put a disagreement on the orientation of the cluster of grapes and vine leaf types to rest. FARHI and BESSARABOV (106) published the first known lead coin from the Bar Kokhba revolt, an undated medium-sized bronze depicting a vine leaf and palm tree. In the same year FARHI (89) suggested that the overstriking of significant quantities of coins of the Gaza mint by the Bar Kokhba rebels led a shortage in bronze coins in the local markets of Gaza.

Also worthy of note are surveys of Jewish coins in Spanish (3) and Hebrew (52).

HELLENISTIC AND AUTONOMOUS POST-HELLENISTIC, *Nabatean*

In the survey period, three books — a Festschrift in honor of Michael L. Bates (139), a private coin collection (145) and a new volume superseding Meshorer's 1975 standard reference (50), generated a veritable explosion in research on Nabatean coinage. Besides an intriguing idea by HOOVER about the existence of an earlier Nabatean king named Obodas before the reign of the known early second century BCE king of that name (144), ZAJAÇ's summary of the coinage of Obodas III (232), AVNER's mention of a new date (year 11; 20/19 BCE) on a sela (denar) of Obodas III found at Jebel Serbal in southwestern Sinai (36) and HENDIN and HUTH's summary of early Nabataean coinage until Malichus I (139, 140), all of the research on Nabatean coins during the survey period was published by BARKAY. Ten articles (38–39, 41–43, 45–49) were published before her comprehensive volume came out in 2019 (50). The many new types and discoveries which made it into the volume included the new types of all the Nabatean kings, a discussion of the depictions of the queens, analysis of the portraiture of the kings, an updated list of the new sela' in of Aretas IV and an important new type struck by that king, depicting Emperor Augustus, who had first repudiated the Nabatean king and later accepted him. In addition, BARKAY published a new synthesis of Aretas IV's heritage (providing the king's name at birth, Aeneas), This analysis also casts new light on the machinations of Syllaeus and Aeneas/Aretas IV's efforts to gain the throne. The year after BARKAY's book appeared, she published an addendum of more new types (51), which included some just published from the Aka-Mizrahi collection (145).

My survey of the Nabatean sub-category ends with a postscript on the first issues of Trajan after the cessation of the Nabatean mint. Butcher's 2012 proposal that the silver drachms and tridrachms, and tetradrachms once attributed to Caesarea in Cappadocia and for close to a half century have been reassigned to Bostra, the capital of Provincia Arabia, now should mostly be assigned to Rome, with an alternative option that their bullion and dies were shipped to Arabia, and the coins struck there. This proposal was cited by ZAJAÇ (233) and FARHI (91), the latter rejecting Butcher's idea.

Excavations and Geographic Provenance Studies

In past surveys of the numismatic research about the Levant there has been consistent growth in this subcategory, being driven overwhelmingly but not exclusively by successes in Israel at publishing coin appendices alongside dig reports. Table 1 provides the number of published coins of the survey categories here, in various cross-sections. In the top two rows are coins that appeared in excavated coin reports from 2014–2020 *and* are surveyed below, and those in excavated coin reports but were not selected to be surveyed and are not in the bibliography. My selection inadvertently gives the wrong impression that only the Israel Antiquity Authority's (IAA) numismatists publish excavated coin reports. Examples of non-IAA excavated coin publications are 70, 202, one of LICHTENBERGER and RUBINA (172) and nine of FARHI's twenty publications.

The lower rows detail the quantities from the three representative publications where many excavated coins were cited. The columns to the right of the table give a breakdown of the published excavated coins by four main regional/topological categories: Phoenicia, Jewish, Nabatean and Autonomous.

Table 1. Published provenanced isolated coin finds in the Levant and Arabia before Islam (updated to February 2020)

No. in Bibliography	Quantity of Publications	Total coins in Survey Categories from Levant	Phoenicia	Southern Levant		
				Jewish	Nabatean	Autonomous
Not Selected Publications	61	231	20	206		5
Selected Publications	61	7686	1426	5941	34	285
⁴ (p. 414)	[Ahipaz 2015]	[385]	[1]	[379]		[5]
²⁶ (pp. 44–45)	[Ariel 2019]	[4547]	[73]	[4433]	[2]	[39]
²¹⁶ (pp. 108–130)	[Syon 2015*]	[9471]	[2358]	[7012]	[61]	[40]

* My thanks to Danny Syon for quantifying the coins in 216.

The selection below is organized geographically from north to south. Remarkable excavated coins from the survey period but not of the survey categories are also noted. Following that, period-specific discussions of provenanced coins, ordered by chronological period are discussed. It should be stressed that the high numbers of Jerusalem-minted coins are due to (1) the density of excavations in that city, (2) the small modules of most of the issued coins and (3) the 70 CE destruction of the city after two centuries of intensive striking.

In a retrospective view of the eight-year excavation of one of the most important ancient cities in Syria, Antioch, STAHL (212) embraced the coins from the dig as a proxy for the excavation as a whole. The 16,533 coins, published in 1948 and 1952, were the only category of finds with a semblance of completeness in its reporting. Together with unpublished coins, over 25,000 Greek and Roman coins from the project now in the Princeton University Numismatic Collection were entered into an online database in the decade before 2017. STAHL summarized the results of the data entry efforts, by highlighting the historical conclusions attested by examination of the coins — from the reign of Seleucus I through the sixth century CE, when local imperial and municipal coinage predominated.

SAWAYA (204) published 97 survey-category coins from excavations at the Jemmayzeh (Gemmayzeh) neighborhood in the Rmeil district quarter of Beirut. Together with FRANGIÉ-JOLY (207), he catalogued another 19 coins from the site BEY 144 site, with a significant number of Berytus issues, and numerous common types from the Southern Levant, including (M23) a rare type of Antiochus IV possibly attributed to a mint in Samaria (on that mint attribution, see 9, pp. 362–363). NURPETLIAN (189) reported on coins found in the Roman Theater of Beirut. Included were 14 Hellenistic issues, among them four autonomous types and a common coin of Alexander Jannaeus. ABOU DIWAN (1) published a quality volume on the coins from two excavation areas from Sarepta. He compared the Phoenician coin finds of the Persian and Macedonian periods from two quarters in Sarepta, Beirut, Tel Anafa and Kedesh and concluded that Sarepta was clearly within the Tyrian sphere at that time — despite the fact that the entire sample of early period coins amounted to only 20.

SYON (220) focused on a coin group comprising almost half of 63 bronzes from an extraordinary site near Tel ‘Akko suggested to be a small military camp occupied by Greek mercenaries during one or more of the Persian attempts to reconquer Egypt in the first half of the fourth century BCE. The coins were identified as bronze satrapal coins from western Asia Minor, dating to the early fourth century BCE. Also signaled from the site was an unusual find of a third-second century BCE bronze minted in Anaphe in the Cyclades. SYON also published coins from two other excavations in ‘Akko (217; 218), covering more usual finds from the area of the modern city. Noteworthy from the fourth century BCE are small bronzes of the dolphin and murex (or murex alone) / head of lioness types. 218 includes the many coins poorly imitating SC 1096, which brought SYON to propose an ‘Akko-Ptolemais mint attribution for the coins — a suggestion actually adopted in 2002 by the authors of *SC before* these coins were ultimately published here. The idea of imitative mints, such as SC 1096, has more recently undergone further development by ARIEL (21; below). Both 217 and 218 also contain large numbers of autonomous and civic coins from Tyre and ‘Akko-Ptolemais

in their catalogues, and No. 3 in 218 is a gold triobol of Ptolemy I, noteworthy as Ptolemaic gold is an extremely rare find in the Levant.

From important excavations at Gamla, SYON (214) published a full analysis and catalogue of the 5,892 identified coins, a reworking of the author's 2004 Ph.D. dissertation, as noted in a former Levant survey. Both catalogue and analysis are now fully updated, and another chapter on the coins minted in Gamla (6), by ARBEL, is added (both are reviewed by LYKKE [180]). Not noted in the earlier survey summary is a useful conspectus of the autonomous and civic coinages from the site, especially a coin of the mint of Balanea (No. 4920) and one of the only three provenanced Iturean coins (Ptolemy Son of Menaëus; No. 5869). Arbel's chapter argued — *contra* Syon — that the coins minted in Gamla date to the period of the blockade by the forces of Agrippa II, and not to the time of the Roman siege.

Four reports of coins from Wadi Ḥamam and its vicinity saw light in the survey period. BJOVSKY (58) published the main Roman-period village and synagogue site of Khirbet Wadi Ḥamam. Coins from the Jerusalem mint dominate the 133 pre-Roman catalogued coins. Ten coins are autonomous, but only three of these were clearly identified (Nos. 14, 15 and 168 [‘Akko-Ptolemais, Tyre and Paneas]). Above Wadi Ḥamam, on Mount Nitai (100, 108), only one Alexander Jannaeus coin fit the survey criteria, and SHIVTIEL and AHIPAZ (210) produced four coins — three Hasmonean and an autonomous first century BCE bronze of Sidon — from nearby cliff shelters at Mount Arbel. The latter report also documented an autonomous coin of Sidon from the second quarter of the second century BCE, two Tiberias coins (Antipas and Agrippa II) and an autonomous Tyrian bronze dating 121 CE, from two cliff shelters north of Wadi Ḥamam.

In ARIEL and BJOVSKY's publication (30) of coin finds at Sepphoris, this same seamless appearance of autonomous coins functioning alongside contemporary imperial coins is attested. It is difficult to discern any intentional disproportionality in the presence of autonomous coins in the mints that issued them, Sidon, Tyre, ‘Akko-Ptolemais, Tyre and Paneas — thus conforming to HOOVER's view above (142) that the same minting authorities issued both imperial and autonomous, municipal and quasi-municipal and other non-imperial coins and circulated them without consideration of those designations.

In nearby Shiḥin, STRANGE (213) signaled the find of a rare autonomous 1/24 sheqel of Tyre from the first half of the fifth century BCE. SYON (221) summarized 137 coins in a preliminary report of coin finds from the first three excavation seasons (2010–2012) from among 1,923 coins found (BARRIGA [117]) of the Mexican archaeological expedition to Magdala. SYON noted the absence of coins of Hyrcanus I from the identified coins of any of the expeditions to the site, and speculated that the area of Magdala currently being excavated was not occupied before the first century BCE. BARRIGA illustrated two autonomous Tyrian coins, a half shekel of 26/7 CE and a bronze generally dated to the first–second century CE.

ARIEL (15) related the seven earliest coins at the Byzantine synagogue site of Ḥorbat Kanaf to a Hellenistic phase found there and suggested a date as restricted as the last third of the second century BCE. Besides a couple of Hasmonean coins and autonomous bronzes of Tyre a Tyrian tetradrachm of Antiochus VII Sidetes was found.

KUHN (167) reviewed the five Herod Philip coins found at Bethsaida. SOLAREWICZ (211) examined 43 coins constituting the material found in the Polish team's field, roughly reflecting the much larger coin assemblage from the decade-long excavations there. One of six coins excavated from the survey period in Ḥorbat ‘Ofrat in Lower Galilee was a bronze of Demetrius III issued in Damascus (SC 2456). ARIEL (22) found that 26 provenanced coins of this king are known from the Southern Levant, and associated the high number with Demetrius III's battles against Alexander Jannaeus and even suggest the route of Demetrius' army through Galilee to Judea.

In publishing 18 identified coins from an excavation at Kefar ‘Otnay and Legio, SYON (219) focused on the only autonomous coin, a Tyche bust / galley type issued in Ascalon, with a tenth legion countermark (X). He noted that the countermark and its findspot near a camp of the sixth legion — and the predominance of other countermarked coins in the vicinity is part of a general phenomenon of the mobility of provincial coins well beyond their normal distribution zones in this period. The coin finds from Tel Dor were surveyed by MOTTA (185). In BERMAN's report of the coins of the theaters at Bet She'an (55), he cited a rare issue of the local mint, of the Roman (republican) governor Gabinius. At adjacent Tel Izṭabba, in a rich Seleucid period assemblage, ATRASH (35) reported a probable autonomous Tyrian palm-tree type.

BJOVSKY (57) published 286 coins from excavations at Herod's Circus in Caesarea; more than half of them were

from the period covered by this survey — and almost half of those coins were issued by Herod and his son, Archelaus. Also noteworthy are four so-called “minimi of Caesarea” of the first–second centuries CE, exemplary of the fact that half of the provenanced minimi in the Israel national collection were actually excavated in Caesarea itself.

ZISSU et al. (235) published coins from the Elqana Cave in southwestern Samaria, including a Sidonian 1/16 sheqel of Mazday and two middle denominations of Mattathias Antigonus. From the ‘Abud Cave in the same region, ZISSU et al. (234) described coins of four Judean governors, two autonomous issues (Ascalon, 94/5 CE; Tyre, 117/8 CE) and nine Bar Kokhba bronzes.

BIJOVSKY (59) catalogued an Athenian pi-style tetradrachm, a Sidonian quarter sheqel and two 1/16 sheqels, and a posthumous Alexander the Great bronze of Byblos, from Qurnat Haramiya (Rosh Ha-‘Ayin). From Ben Shemen (60), she reported two Hasmonean bronzes (one Alexander Jannaeus) and an autonomous coin of Philadelphia from 80/1 CE. FISCHER, GITLER and TAL (114), in publishing the coins from Khirbet el-‘Aqd on the approaches to Jerusalem, corrected an earlier view that broken and worn coin fragments were collected there for overstriking by the Bar Kokhba rebels, and argued that those finds were evidence of intentional cutting of coins after having been struck.

In Jerusalem, with its disproportionate number of excavations and publications, ten reports were selected. WAALER (224) returned to the earliest coin find in the city, a silver issue from Kos from Ketef Hinnom, first published in 1984. Although originally dated to the sixth century, perhaps even in the second part of that century, WAALER found that there was no longer a consensus on the basis for that dating, and preferred a date most likely after 538 BCE for the *arrival* of the coin to Jerusalem. Later than the Koan coin, Philistian, Samaritan and *Yehud* coins excavated in Jerusalem were summarized (below) by ARIEL (16).

Chronologically, the next discussion of a Jerusalem-provenanced context covers elements relating to a fortification of the City of David, signaled by ARIEL in 27 above. That context is further detailed by ARIEL in 26, and an analysis of the coin finds in different quarters of ancient Jerusalem is also presented there in tabular form, detailing many previously unpublished coins from the city (Table 1, above). KAGAN (159) published an autonomous silver tetradrachm of Ascalon (64/3 BCE) from the Old City of Jerusalem, the first excavated outside of the minting city.

In publishing coins from the large Western Wall Plaza excavations BIJOVSKY (61) noted the complete absence of coins bearing countermarks of the Tenth Legion in the post-70 CE stratum in Jerusalem, placing in doubt accepted views of where that countermarking took place and its chronological horizon. ARIEL (9, 10, 12, 29) presented coins from the Jewish Quarter excavations. In 8 he examined the contribution of the coins found with the unique assemblage of glass-workshop refuse at the site for the date of this the earliest evidence for glass-blowing technology. ARIEL also asked whether the autonomous 64/5 and 67/8 CE bronzes of Dora found in Jerusalem were deposited before or upon the city’s destruction, or by its Roman besiegers (on this see also 28).

SZANTON et al. (222) used coin finds to build a case for dating the construction of a monumental street in Jerusalem to the governorship of Pontius Pilate, thus casting doubt on the view that Roman governors did not proactively advance public works in the city. FARHI (93) collected and largely republished 49 coins from the survey period excavated in Ramat Rahel in the 1954–1962 seasons, and corrected the misidentification of an autonomous Ascalon coin as a third-century-BCE coin of Sophene (little Armenia).

AHIPAZ (4) reported on 80 coins from the tomb area at Herodium, with all but one of them falling in the survey period, and added a table summarizing all the coins excavated at the site until 2012 (Table 1, above). In another article on Herodium, PORAT et al. (195) discussed the seven earliest coin finds, one of which was a worn autonomous Phoenician bronze with prow reverse.

Since the discovery of parchment scrolls in caves near Khirbat Qumran, and the subsequent excavation of the site, there has been great interest in the coins from there. Three articles by CALLEGHER (67, 68, 69) laid out the biographies of the numismatists involved in identifying the Qumran coins, their relations, and the process by which he identified 424 coins from the 1950s excavations, long thought missing, in the Stadium Biblicum Franciscanum in Jerusalem (leaving only 70 coins from the dig still to be found). ARIEL (23) published 188 coins from the 1993–2004 excavations at Qumran and focused on understanding the numismatic profile of the 1950s finds from the site together with the new material. He reconsidered the character of the large silver hoard whose latest coins are 9/8 BCE, and the end of Jewish settlement there in the third year of the Jewish revolt, which was immediately followed by a short-lived Roman presence.

FARHI (100) published 15 Jerusalem-mint coins of the survey period from the Nesher quarry site near Ramla. He also catalogued (90) another eight relevant coins of the survey period from the wine press area at the Nesher quarry, including an autonomous Sidonian bronze apparently dated to 87/8 CE with two X countermarks. This was followed by another generally similar 90 coins from the 2010–2015 seasons (104). FARHI's Khirbet Qeiyafa coin volume (95) on the coin finds from the 2007–2013 excavations at the Shephelah (Judean foothills) site, is undoubtedly the first comprehensive excavated coin report in book form resulting from "the systematic and controlled use [by the author] of a metal detector on a daily basis during all seasons and in all excavation areas" (p. 13). As important is the richness and excellent preservation of the finds, especially in the archaic and early classical period before the advent of local coinage (4 coins), the earliest period of coinage in the Southern Levant (4 coins) and the Macedonian period (6 coins). Thereafter the finds continue to be rich for an additional half century, until the abandonment of the site in the 260s BCE (29 coins). After a break of occupation for a century and a half, a large assemblage (204 coins) of exclusively Jerusalem-minted issues, until the end of the first Jewish revolt in 70 CE, was reported. Replete with maps, tables, a full catalogue and numismatic analysis, this is an exceptionally well organized and thorough coin report of a single excavated site. In a follow-up article, FARHI (103) contrasted and compared the rich Persian period finds from his Qeiyafa volume to previously unpublished rich finds from the nearby site of Tel Azekah, across seven categories, and concluded that both sites were probably abandoned no later than the 260s BCE.

ARIEL published chapters on coins from two subterranean complexes at Maresha (8, 21). In the larger chapter, covering 205 isolated finds and hoard of 43 bronzes from the survey period (21), ARIEL discussed the abundance of local imitations of coins of Antiochus III. He argued that the acceptance of an imitative mint in 'Akko-Ptolemais by the authors of *SC*, should be refined to reflect the possibility that a number of mints imitating the prototype Antiochene issues of the Apollo stg. 1., testing arrow type were likely to have been in operation. In 21, 27 imitative coins were reported, alongside the 30 identified in a hoard from Maresha. Larger numbers were reported from a number of other unpublished excavations, suggesting that the (now smaller) numbers known from 'Akko-Ptolemais are part of a broader phenomenon. ABOU DIWAN (1, above) had also analyzed finds of the Apollo stg. 1., testing arrow type imitations in Phoenicia.

In the publication of yet another subterranean complex at Maresha, BARKAY (40) reported on 66 coins, including an unusual unidentified type. She described it as a small bronze (1.00 g, 13 mm), depicting an object reminiscent of an elongated lyre on its obverse and what looks like two unidentified parallel objects on the reverse. Also from at Maresha, KOOL (165) presented 5 bronzes of Alexander II Zabinas, with two consecutive dates and all of the same Antiochene type (*SC* 2229) from a tomb. Even though these rare coins were found in two separate loculi, and thus are not part of one hoard, the presence of two Rhodian amphoras and two stone-carved inscriptions in the tomb also dated within Zabinas' reign results in a remarkable synchronism.

FARHI (97; and FARHI and BEN-SHLOMO, 105) listed coins from excavations at Tel Hebron, with 21 from the survey period. Noteworthy are two silver coins: an autonomous Tyrian half sheqel of 12/3 CE and a coin of the Bar Kokhba Revolt struck over a Roman denarius. In the excavations at Tell Jemmeh (11) ARIEL signaled a silver-plated underweight drachm which seems to fit the new, still uncertain category of Persian period coin, with a provisional mint source in Edom. Since this coin was published five other provenanced coins of the category have been published (16). The last publication of KINDLER (160), published posthumously, described four coins of the survey period, from Tel Malḥata. Two of them are Hasmonean, perhaps John Hyrcanus I.

Although finds of Nabatean coins in the Levant are fewer than the other categories in Table 1, provenanced finds have been published. ARIEL (24) published two coins, one of Aretas IV and one of Rabbel II, from Ḥorbat Ḥaḏaḏa. Nabatean coins were also referenced from Beirut (×2; 180), Gamla (×16; 188), Sepphoris (Aretas IV; 30), Wadi Ḥamam (58), Herodium (3, 4), Jerusalem (Proto-Nabatean, 9; Rabbel II; 12), Qumran (23), Maresha (Aretas III; 21) and Yotvata (Aretas IV×2; 84). The last two noted coins, from Yotvata, both derived from fourth-century CE contexts. One may possibly have been part of a fourth-century CE hoard.

In addition to the reports of coins from specific excavations, just surveyed, four specialized discussions on provenanced coins were published. Taking a maximalist approach to locally issued Persian-period coins in the southern Levant, ARIEL (16), proposed five "series" of Persian-period coins from the southern Levant and included them in two detailed tables and distribution maps. Besides the three main mint regions (Philistia, Samaria and *Yehud*), two other

mints, at Dor and in Edom, remain conjectural. ARIEL determined that the main groups primarily circulated in the provinces where their mints were located, but that, expectedly, a normal movement of issues from one province to another could be seen. ARIEL therefore criticized a tendency to attribute Athenian-styled fractions to particular mints solely on the basis of the regions in which they were found. An example of this (16, No. 2-1), in 87 was subsequently corrected (88).

In LORBER's *CPE I* (176), 21 precious metal and 340 provenanced isolated Ptolemaic bronzes were cited. JOHANANOFF (158) collected information on 134 provenanced coins of the mint of Side in the Levant, with a clustering of finds in the central-southern part of the southern Levant. He believed the phenomenon constituted small change for the Seleucid army. Side coins catalogued by JOHANANOFF were also published in 8, 21, 40, 87, 109).

SYON's *Small Change in Hellenistic-Roman Galilee* volume (216) covered 9,471 coins of the survey categories in 247 sites in Galilee, Golan, and adjacent areas from c. 300 BCE to 260 CE (see Table 1, above). The author described the coin currency of the region in six chronological periods, from the Ptolemaic to the Middle Roman. SYON focused on the growth of monetization, the shifting importance of particular mints, and the effects of the political and economic ebbs and flows in the region and their consequences for Galilean ethnic diversity. In the process he addressed a significant number of purely numismatic questions. The two reviews of HENDIN (135) and CHANCEY (71) both complimented SYON on his achievement while addressing a few of the excellent volume's drawbacks.

Before leaving the subject of provenanced coins, included here are coins of the Levant found in other regions. ABRAMZON (2) considered numismatic evidence for ancient seafaring and cited two hoards from the Levant. The first contains small pre-Alexandrine silver coins from mints between the ports of Cyzicus and Tyre, and the second is composed of at least 46 coins dating to the end of the second century BCE from mints between Teos in Ionia and Ashqelon. WACLAWIK noted two Jerusalem-minted bronzes from excavations at Paphos: one issued by a governor under Tiberius in 18/9 CE (225) and the other by the Jewish rebels in 67/8 CE (226). Not from an excavation but reported to be a hoard from Cyprus, HARVEY considered 53 coins of the Jerusalem mint and 4 Nabataean coins (132) and raised points in favor of and against identifying the assemblage as a hoard. The furthest Levantine coins from their mint source of all are 38 isolated finds in nine excavated sites in Spain, all from the Jerusalem mint and all reported together by ZOREA (239).

Hoards

DUYRAT's massive *Wealth and Warfare* volume (78) begins with a presentation of the basic data of 360 coin hoards and isolated finds from controlled excavations in 58 sites, all in the region of 'Syria'— in its broadest sense, with portions in eastern Turkey and south to Jordan and Israel. Describing this dataset, in which the coins relevant to this survey abound, encompasses more than half of the volume, and in the following chapter the methodological underpinning for the data's analysis is carefully laid out. There follow four chapters where the coins are scrutinized in large chronological units, leaving the last two chapters to address the subject of wealth and coinage. The heart of the volume is the Hellenistic period although the volume covers coins from the fifth to the first century BCE. Through its comprehensiveness DUYRAT's volume succeeds in debunking certain unwritten rules in numismatics but most importantly it encourages "versatility and prudence" in interpreting coin evidence.

SAWAYA et al. (206) published a hoard from Tell Kharayeb-Yanuh (in the Byblus hinterland), made up of Hacksilber and coins. The Phoenician mints, Byblus, Sidon and Tyre, constitute 93% (n=77 coins) of the 83 identified coins. The presence of two archaic Greek mints (Aegina and Miletus) and particularly the absence of others, suggests a burial date of c. 480 BCE — earlier than the previously consensual beginning of Phoenician minting.

SYON (215) catalogued 20 coins of a hoard of autonomous Tyrian silver from Ḥorbat 'Aqrav in Upper Galilee, with a burial date of around 110 BCE. GITLER and TAL (121) reported on a hoard found near the village of Dalton in Upper Galilee made up of 15 Tyrian sheqels and an Athenian tetradrachm, with dates of 420–390 BCE. KLEIN and MEADOWS (161) presented three coins of Alexander the Great found in a small jewelry hoard in a cave in Western Galilee and cited various events in the region in the last decade of the fourth century BCE, which could have brought the owner of the hoard to seek refuge at that time. Also on the subject of Galilean hoards, resulting from ARIEL's (21) discussion of the distribution of local imitations of coins of Antiochus III, and his reattribution (27) of a rare coin of Antiochus VII found in the Hoover's Northern Israel hoard to the Jerusalem mint, ARIEL proposed that the Northern Israel hoard, with its numerous autonomous coins, be relocated to the southern part of Israel.

Contemporaneous hoards in the survey region, but containing only imperial issues are noted in FAUCHER et al. (111; Ptolemaic), in ELLENBLUM et al. (85) and LICHTENBERGER and TAL (173).

Following a number of preliminary discussions of the Nablus 1968 hoard (16, p. 17 n. 21; 125; 126; 33; 34), GITLER and TAL published a very thorough volume on the hoard (127), the largest late Persian/early Hellenistic period coin hoard recorded from the southern Levant. The hoard composed of 640 coins from the Levant: 293 Phoenician coins (from Sidon [129], Tyre [163] and Byblus [1]), 193 Samaritan coins, 1 *Yehud* coin, 11 Philistian coins, and another category of 142 Athenian-styled fractions, believed to derive from the mints of Samaria (primarily) and Philistia. Another 106 coins are not Levantine, mostly 101 Athenian tetradrachms, but also single specimens from Salamis, Cilicia, Amisus, and a pair of coins from Sinope. Following ARIEL (16), GITLER and TAL exercised caution in attributing Athenian-styled fractions in the hoard to local mints, but they did not extend this caution to recognizing that a hoard with Phoenician coins comprising a full 40% of its total, some of the fractions of Athenian-styled coins may have derived from Phoenicia, a possibility that ELAYI and ELAYI (79) raised in 2014.

GITLER and TAL identified a ‘tempting’ burial date for the hoard around 331 BCE. However, they then pointed to indications for a later date, including their own possible down-dating for the Levantine Athenian-styled fractions (124) until possibly the early second quarter of the third century BCE, based upon a site reflecting a possible historically unrecorded military clash, possibly in the 270s BCE. This leaves the reader uncertain as to the author’s preferred dating.

GITLER, LORBER and FONTANILLE (120) presented two silver hoards of the second half of the fourth century BCE, the Transjordan 2015 hoard and the West Bank 2015 hoard. The former hoard contains 33 *Yehud* and 2 Philistian issues, and was dated by the authors to both the pre-Macedonian and Macedonian periods. The latter hoard, known to have had at least 26 *Yehud* coins, for which images of only 9 were available, was dated only to the pre-Macedonian period.

BAZOU and THEVENIN (54) collected information on a large hoard of silver issues of Alexander III estimated to number at least 5,000, found on the beaches of Gaza in 2013 and later offshore in 2017. Particularly interesting are some 5 certain decadrachms from the find, and perhaps 15–16 others, which appeared in the market beginning in 2017.

In his Master’s thesis, GOLDMAN (130) reviewed 221 coin hoards (not individual gold coin finds) from the Southern Levant deposited between c. 125 BCE and 300 CE, some of them unpublished hoards in the IAA. Details of all the hoards are found at <http://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/>. Of course, not all of the hoards included Jewish, Nabatean or autonomous coins, but those that do were clearly marked in the bar-graphs that summarize each hoard. Some of the hoards were published in the review period before GOLDMAN’s thesis (109, CHRE 7814; 28 [Hoard A], CHRE 7601; 28 [Hoard B], CHRE 7732; 182, CHRE 8079) and some subsequently (19, CHRE 7700; 25, CHRE 7653; 4, CHRE 8044; 32, CHRE 8132).

In general, GOLDMAN examined the general patterns of hoarding in the region and concluded that besides clearly recognized periods of unrest, one cannot find a compelling explanation for the vast majority of the dates of the hoards. Remarkably, in the same publication year DE CALLATAÏ (66) undertook what seems to be the broadest geographical and diachronic examination of the phenomenon of hoards ever and concluded that “general fear, mostly generated by political trouble and civil wars” (p. 335) evinced the strongest link with hoarding. Moreover, DE CALLATAÏ determined that this link was especially compelling for Hellenistic Syria, a conclusion also found by DUYPAT in 77.

ARIEL and SOKOLOV (32) published a hoard from Kafr Bara comprising over 80% provincial tetradrachms between the reigns of Galba(?) through Elagabalus. Comparisons with other published and unpublished tetradrachm hoards — and provenanced isolated finds in the region were made.

FARHI and MELAMED (109, cited in 130) described a hoard of four large denomination coins of Mattathias Antigonus in a hiding complex at Ramla as support for the possibility that the complex dated to the first century BCE. In the course of publishing a hoard of 30 coins (and one unstruck flan) — cited in 130 — of the same type as the hoard just described from Ramla, ARIEL (18) summarized the coinage of Mattathias Antigonus, their distribution, their denominations the unique technology of their flan production, the internal chronology of the king’s types, and minting rationale.

ARIEL, BARUCH and ZILBERBOD (28) reported two small bronze hoards from north of Jerusalem (cited in 130)

and identified their mints as producing the small change of the Roman besiegers of Jerusalem before its destruction in 70 CE. Another hoard, found west of Jerusalem and comprising only rebel coins of the last year of the first Jewish revolt (also noted in 130) was possibly a payment to rebel(s) on a reconnaissance mission towards the end of the revolt (ARIEL, MARCO and BETZER [31]).

FREY-KUPPER AND STANNARD (116) improbably argued that the Ashkelon 1988 ('Periplus') hoard was "a block of scrap coins" and thus part of a phenomenon in antiquity of the deliberate importation of foreign and obsolete bronze coins for use as small change.

Technology and analyses

On the subject of the technologies in coin production, research has focused on the technology of the production of flans, the phenomenon of bevelled flans, die cutting, and striking practices. Six flan-mold fragments were published by ARIEL in 13, and a possible fragment in 20, all from the Jewish Quarter of the Old City in Jerusalem. 13 described finds from Area N, the largest concentration of molds found thus far, described by Hendin and Bower in 2011 as a secondary mint. BOWER, HENDIN and BURT (63) argued that connected flans were usually struck as they were cooling from being cast. They also suggested that the reheating of flans became more common at a later time and proposed that a coating of the molds was applied in advance of casting the flans, an idea that ARIEL (20) accepted.

In a study examining the phenomenon of bevelled flans, ARIEL (18), applied a binomial distribution test to more than 3,000 coins from the Jerusalem mint to determine on which iconographical side bevelling appeared. The results suggested that throughout its operation the mint remained at least dimly aware of the Hellenistic practice of placing the bevelled sides of the flans on what were apparently obverse dies. As a consequence ARIEL was able to propose switching the iconographical obverses and reverses for a number of the coins, such as the numerous Hasmonean coins (opposing cornucopias = obverse), and the 'year two' and 'year three' first revolt coins (vine leaf = obverse).

Turning to the production of dies, KRUPP (166) discussed the work of die cutters on Hasmonean coins and SCHINDEL (209) raised the possibility that small number of Hasmonean dies were not engraved individually, as is usually supposed, but rather were cut in groups on metal blocks.

With regard to post-production treatment of coins, GITLER and TAL (128) studied test cuts on Philistian sheqels as a test case for understanding this phenomenon. They concluded that the consensus that test cuts examined the during transactions needed to be reconsidered, and silver content or quality of coins suggested that test cuts were conducted by officials on behalf the minting authorities a way of validating silver coins before allowing them to enter circulation.

On the subject of scientific analyses, NAGLER et al. (186) determined the efficacy of Time-of-Flight Neutron Diffraction (TOF-ND) for providing nondestructive insights into the metal composition of coins, minting methods and the temperature of striking. BOWER, LUNDSTROM and HENDIN (64) analyzed a series of first century BCE and CE coins from the Levant for their tin-isotope ratios, to test if differences in those ratios correlate with similar patterns identified in copper and lead isotopes found previously in experiments by Bower's group. The results confirmed differences in the pattern of the tin values over time and space. In other words, tin isotopes join copper and lead isotopes as efficacious tools in discerning spatial and temporal relationships between coins.

Varia and Weights

In the category of *Varia*, ARIEL (17) covered the subject of how archaeological numismatics can benefit by scaling up the way excavated coins are managed, "from the dig to the bookshelf". Bringing the case of the Israel Antiquities Authority Coin Department, he described to a Greek colloquium the advantages of the centralization of the storage of archaeological coin material.

Presentation of an exquisite fully bilingual catalogue of the ancient coin collection of Bank Leumi is at the heart of a volume covering the history of the bank (FARHI [102]). Detailed introductions to each minting authority are provided, as are sections on the history of the collection and the images and explanations of the modern coins employing types originating from ancient coins. This beautifully-produced edition attests to the cultural importance which the State of Israel ascribes to its numismatic heritage.

Another item constituting *varia* is an innovative article by NAPPO (187) on the role of Roman coins in trade with the Indian subcontinent through Egypt and the Arabian Peninsula. Applying both written evidence on this trade and the profile of the Roman coin finds in India, NAPPO concluded that this luxury trade continued well into the second century CE.

An unusual perforated copper-alloy disk bearing inscribed Greek legends on both sides is the subject of research of GITLER and FINKIELSZTEJN (119). Citing an apparent Seleucid era year (150/49 BCE), the people of Ascalon, and the name of an *astynomos*, a working hypothesis was that, owing to its coin-like shape, this Hellenistic *instrumentum* was originally a Ptolemaic *diobol*. In the course of examining the hypothesis, the chemical compositions of nine such provenanced coins were presented.

Two articles on Hellenistic scale weights were published by FINKIELSZTEJN in the survey period, one on the Syrian (112) and one on the Phoenician (113) finds.

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CARTAGINE E NORD AFRICA (SICILIA, SARDEGNA E PENISOLA ITALICA)

Lorenza-Ilia Manfredi

Introduzione

Con questo contributo si intende porre l'attenzione sugli argomenti che, nel quadro della produzione scientifica tra il 2013 e il 2020, possono fornire nuovi spunti di riflessione sulla monetazione punica occidentale [MANFREDI (18)].

In primo luogo, è necessario evidenziare come ancora tra le più recenti edizioni delle collezioni pubbliche manca uniformità nella registrazione del dato monetale attribuibile al mondo punico [ACQUARO (1); MANFREDI (18)]. La SNG FIRENZE (28), curata da M. Piga, segue il criterio di estrapolare dal consueto contesto greco, la monetazione cartaginese conservata nel Medagliere del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze. La *Sylloge*, infatti, raccoglie 178 monete di zecca cartaginese e provinciali [ACQUARO (4); VISONÀ (37)]. Tuttavia, dal volume sono escluse le monete autonome di Mozia, Panormo, Solunto, Cossura e Melita registrate nella successiva SNG FIRENZE, SICILIA (31). Secondo il sistema tradizionale delle *Syllogai* sono diversamente presentate le monete puniche conservate nel Museo di Verona SNG VERONA (30) [BALDI (7)] e gli esemplari della collezione del Pushkin Museum di Mosca [KOVALENKO (15, 29)].

Dal 27 settembre 2019 al 29 marzo 2020, presso il Parco archeologico del Colosseo, si è svolta la mostra *Carthago* dedicata alla secolare cultura della città di Cartagine. Scarsissima attenzione è stata riservata alla monetazione punica della metropoli. Si registrano nel Catalogo, RUSSO, GUARNERI, XELLA, ZAMORA LÓPEZ (26), soltanto due tetradrammi, Core (letta come Cerere)/protome e leggenda *'mmhnt* e Eracle-Melqart /protome e *mḥšbm* del 320-300 a.C.

Per una valutazione globale e omogenea del fenomeno numismatico punico rimangono aperti alcuni problemi di fondo. Alla mancanza di fonti che coadiuvino la comprensione dell'organizzazione della produzione monetale, alla notevole dispersione areale e temporale della documentazione, alle difficoltà obiettive - in alcuni casi - per lo studio del materiale, si somma l'insufficiente attenzione riservata al dato archeologico di ritrovamento. A questo si aggiungono l'ancora poco sviluppato interesse per gli approfondimenti sulle sequenze di conii [SOLE (69)], le ricerche "statistico-quantitative" per la definizione dei volumi di produzione e gli studi sulla provenienza dei metalli ALBARÈDE, Blichert-Toft, Rivoal, Telouk (5); FERRO, Viola, Celauro (10); MANFREDI (17); ARTRU (40).

Inoltre, quello che non è stato ancora compiutamente affrontato è lo studio comparato e specifico (in particolare attraverso la pubblicazione delle collezioni inedite e il riesame di quelle edite), delle serie monetali coniate nella zecca metropolitana di Cartagine, che rappresenta il punto di partenza e il fulcro politico ed economico di tutto il sistema punico nel Mediterraneo. Il lavoro risulta di non facile realizzazione come dimostra l'impegno riservato da tempo da VISONÀ (33, 50) alla revisione delle emissioni in bronzo. Mancando questo, tutte le argomentazioni sul ruolo e l'organizzazione delle eventuali zecche delle colonie d'Occidente non possono contare sul confronto puntuale con la madrepatria che permetterebbe una più precisa definizione delle diverse problematiche (iconografiche, ponderali, rapporti di conio, ecc.) anche in relazione a specifici eventi storici [VISONÀ (34)].

Uno dei principali argomenti di discussione rimane quello relativo al significato e lettura delle iconografie presenti sulle emissioni occidentali. In primo luogo, la mai sopita disputa sulla lettura della testa femminile che compare sulla maggior parte delle emissioni puniche, letta come Core (Kore) come riaffermato in molte occasioni da ACQUARO (3) e PIGA (75) o come Tanit. Quest'ultima lettura è stata recentemente ribadita da VISONÀ (50), che evidenzia come sia stata messa in discussione in diverse sedi l'importanza del culto di Demetra e Core nella religione punica e di conseguenza l'incidenza dell'iconografia sulla monetazione. Su questa discussione, e in generale su tutto quello che riguarda la lettura e interpretazione delle iconografie, ci sembrano interessanti le osservazioni di PUEBLA MORÓN (22) che a proposito delle scelte operate dalle città fenicie di Sicilia ricorda che «() *Punic towns imitated both the usage of coinage for trade, as well as the iconographic elements on coinage, from the Greek poleis with which they carried*

out commercial transactions» e che l'adozione delle iconografie greche «not imply the more substantive acceptance of these symbols at an ideological level».

Cartagine e Nord Africa

Come si è già avuto modo di sottolineare, gli studi specifici sulla zecca di Cartagine sono di particolare importanza per comprendere l'evoluzione e il significato della produzione monetale punica nel Mediterraneo. A tale proposito, di notevole interesse è il recente lavoro di VISONÀ (50) dedicato al periodo formativo della zecca metropolitana tra il 350 e il 300 a.C. Da un approfondito esame emergono importanti elementi di valutazione sulla politica monetale di Cartagine alla fine del IV sec. a.C., con l'introduzione di uno standard ponderale multimetallico, basato sul ciclo fenicio declinato in frazioni anche molto piccole e un repertorio iconografico normalizzato.

In occasione del Congresso internazionale svoltosi ad Atene (23-24 novembre 2017) *A coin for the dead, coins for the living. Charon's obol: the end of a myth?* MANFREDI, MEZZOLANI ANDREOSE (44) hanno presentato un approfondito esame, anche attraverso lo spoglio degli archivi, delle monete puniche presenti nelle necropoli nord africane. Per quanto riguarda Cartagine è emerso che già agli inizi del IV sec. a.C. è presente l'uso di deporre monete come offerta nelle tombe; uso che si consolida nel secolo successivo. In tale contesto, ACQUARO (39) rilegge in chiave aggiornata i dati numismatici registrati da Padre Delattre durante gli scavi a Cartagine.

Entro le «fosse fenicie» la documentazione relativa alle necropoli è allineata a quella di Cartagine, nelle altre aree del Maghreb alle monete di zecca cartaginese si associano spesso quelle delle zecche numidiche. Tra le pubblicazioni più recenti relative alla presenza di monete puniche nei contesti archeologici nel Nord Africa, si segnalano quelle relative all'area di Biserta [KHELIFI (43); BEN JERBANIA (41)].

Due lavori sono dedicati alla numismatica punica della Tripolitania. MANFREDI, SUSANNA (46) analizzano i dati numismatici relativi alla fase punica dello scavo del Mausoleo B di Sabratha, condotto da Antonino Di Vita tra il 1964 e il 1974. Il lavoro propone una ricontestualizzazione mirata del materiale archeologico e numismatico pertinente alla fase di fondazione del Mausoleo. MUNZI, FELICI, CIOTOLA (47) pubblicano i dati delle ricognizioni effettuate nella Tripolitania nel territorio di Leptis Magna, che ha svelato una notevole quantità di monete, tra cui esemplari punici e numidici.

Per quanto riguarda la documentazione punica e neopunica ad ovest di Cartagine, MANFREDI, SOLTANI (45) riesaminano l'iconografia delle monete in bronzo e piombo di *Icosium* (oggi Algeri), per la quale propongono l'interpretazione di un Dioniso giovane invece di quella comunemente data come Baal Hammon; pubblicano inoltre la documentazione d'archivio relativa alla Collezione numismatica conservata al Musée National des Antiquités d'Alger.

Infine, sono stati pubblicati articoli dedicati alla storia della formazione delle collezioni di monete puniche provenienti dal Nord Africa in Italia tra il '700 e il '900 [BALDI (7); CECALUPO (42); CUTULLÉ (9)].

Sicilia

Il dibattito sulle emissioni puniche di Sicilia risulta il più vivace nel panorama scientifico del periodo 2013-2020, anche se per alcuni argomenti, sui quali si sono formate da tempo precise posizioni, non vi siano concreti nuovi elementi che possano orientare in modo diverso la ricerca. Diversamente, per altri aspetti, sono emersi dati che contribuiscono alla riflessione generale sulla numismatica punica occidentale.

Uno degli argomenti più dibattuti rimane l'attribuzione delle emissioni in argento e bronzo con leggenda *sys* alla zecca di Panormo [SOLE (69)]. Il problema di fondo resta quello del significato del termine *sys*, da intendere, come recentemente ribadito da FREY-KUPPER (11), come la traduzione del greco *Panormos*, o da attribuire, come da sempre affermato da CUTRONI TUSA (53), ad una zecca autonoma diversa da Palermo.

Altra problematica costantemente al centro dell'interesse degli studiosi è quella riguardante gli aspetti dell'iterazione tra elementi greci e punici in Sicilia [PUEBLA MORÓN (20, 21, 22, 23, 24); FREY-KUPPER (11); PERIN, CAMPANA (63)].

Uno studio approfondito è dedicato da FREY-KUPPER (11) ai rinvenimenti monetali del sito di Entella, dove sono attestate, per quanto riguarda quelli punici, quasi esclusivamente le serie testa maschile (?)/cavallo al galoppo e Core/cavallo stante, dietro palma. Inoltre, il rinvenimento clandestino nella medesima area di circa trenta tetradrammi punici, che vanno a sommarsi al già conosciuto ripostiglio IGCH 2119, ha fatto ipotizzare alla studiosa che la zecca di Entella sia stata utilizzata per la produzione dei tetradrammi intorno al 401-400 a.C. [FREY-KUPPER (56, 57, 58); THONEMANN (32); QUINN (25)]. La lettura è stata contestata da P. Visonà che ritiene che gli argenti siano stati conati

in altre zecche siciliane in quanto già circolanti nell'isola prima del 406 a.C. [VISONÀ (33)]. In concomitanza con l'intervento cartaginese in Sicilia nel 410 a.C. si registrano nell'isola le serie in argento a leggenda *qrthdšt*, *qrthdšt /mhnt*, *mhnt*, *qrthdšt / qrthdšt* in relazione alle quali rimane ancora aperta la discussione sulla zecca di emissione in Sicilia o a Cartagine [SAUREN (27); FREY-KUPPER (11); FISCHER-BOSSERT (54); VISONÀ (50)]. In ogni caso, la circolazione di queste monete e di quelle in oro ed elettro di zecca cartaginese nell'isola sono strettamente legate alla presenza dei mercenari impiegati nelle operazioni belliche, come per altro indica la leggenda *mhnt* «il campo», chiaro riferimento all'accampamento militare. Di parere diverso S. Frey-Kupper, secondo cui la serie potrebbe essere legata ad un momento di notevole prosperità economica [FREY-KUPPER (11); QUINN (25)].

Particolarmente ricca la documentazione relativa ai rinvenimenti monetali in Sicilia [MANENTI (59)]. Nel mare in località Berb di Petrosino (TP) [SGROI (66)]; nel "Castellazzo" di Monte Iato [BADERTSCHER (51); MAURICI, ALFANO, BONAVIRI, D'AMICO, DE LUCA, SCUDERI (61)]. Monete puniche sono segnalate nella necropoli di Monte Adranone [CUTRONI TUSA (53)] e nel territorio di Corleone. Quest'ultima documentazione è di particolare importanza in quanto proviene dalla zona della Sicilia centrale che marca le aree di influenza tra Siracusa e il territorio sotto il controllo cartaginese, come nel caso dei ritrovamenti a Pizzo Ciminna (Pa), lungo il corso del fiume San Leonardo [ROBU (65)]. Delle undici monete rinvenute, cinque sono di zecca punica, di cui quattro riferibili al tipo testa maschile (?) /cavallo al galoppo e una con al rovescio parte anteriore di cavallo [RONDINELLA (65); GIANAZZA (13)]. Dall'analisi dei rinvenimenti risulta, in tutto il comprensorio di Corleone, una diffusa e coeva circolazione di monete greche e puniche con una più accentuata tesaurizzazione dal III sec. a.C. Nello stesso circuito monetale si pongono i rinvenimenti nel territorio dell'antica Makella e Montagna dei Cavalli, identificata con Hipana, da dove proviene, tra l'altro, una moneta a leggenda IPA attribuita ai mercenari (forse campani di stanza nel sito), riconiata su un esemplare punico testa maschile/ cavallo al galoppo [CUTRONI TUSA (53)].

Nell'abitato di Gela (durante le campagne di scavo del 1999), ad est delle mura di fortificazione, è stato rinvenuto un tesoretto di 17 monete in bronzo tutte della serie Core/cavallo stante e dietro palma, conservate ora nel Museo Archeologico di Caltanissetta. Dall'analisi comparata dei dati numismatici con quelli stratigrafici e da quelli derivati dallo studio del materiale ceramico, emerge che le monete Core/cavallo dietro palma dovevano essere in circolazione nella città prima del 317/309 a.C., nel periodo precedente all'assedio di Gela da parte di Agatocle [SOLE (68)].

Importante anche il punto sui ritrovamenti punici a Pantelleria rinvenuti durante le campagne di scavo 2002-2009, e in generale sui ripostigli dell'isola [FREY-KUPPER (55)]. La studiosa ritiene che la circolazione monetale punica nell'antica Cossura sia stata importante e prolungata anche dopo la prima occupazione romana del 255 a.C. A questo proposito cita il rinvenimento del tesoro di 3471 monete puniche del tipo Core/protome rinvenute in mare a Cala Tramontana, che sembra confermare «l'approvvigionamento dell'isola da Cartagine con monete in bronzo nel corso della prima guerra punica» [FREY-KUPPER (55); GIANAZZA (13)].

Riportando tutti questi dati alla politica monetale di Cartagine, si compone un quadro che vede la metropoli, con l'inizio del IV sec. a.C., diventare l'autorità emittente che gestisce e controlla la produzione monetaria di tutti i territori punici, sia attivando una zecca metropolitana e *ateliers* in altre regioni non ancora toccate dal fenomeno, sia ponendo al contempo sotto il proprio controllo le zecche già operanti nella Sicilia occidentale. Tale riorganizzazione del sistema monetario punico interessa principalmente la produzione del bronzo e, in particolare, le monete testa maschile /cavallo al galoppo [MANFREDI (60)]. P. Visonà, in base ai dati stratigrafici evidenziati negli scavi siciliani, ritiene che queste prime emissioni cartaginesi in bronzo abbiano circolato nell'isola dal 330 a.C. stabilendo l'inizio della loro produzione nella seconda metà del IV sec. a.C. [VISONÀ (50)]. La serie presenta una diffusione capillare in tutto il Mediterraneo punico, e questo rende improbabile l'ipotesi di una coniazione legata ad una singola zecca, sia essa Cartagine o una città siciliana come Selinunte [FREY-KUPPER (55); MANFREDI (60)]. Inoltre, le varianti tipologie osservate sul dritto e sul rovescio della serie, le variazioni tecniche nella preparazione dei tondelli, le forti oscillazioni ponderali riscontrate, concorrono a rafforzare l'immagine di una serie battuta in diverse zecche, per un lasso di tempo piuttosto lungo e inserite in un progetto di produzione monetale statale ad ampio respiro [MANFREDI (60); VISONÀ (50)]. In tal senso, FREY-KUPPER (11, 55) vede nella Sicilia un modello di circolazione basato su un numero limitato di tipi regionali siciliani, con un'ampia diffusione di tipi definiti «sovraregionali», importati da Cartagine nelle altre aree puniche ma anche coniati in Sicilia.

Sardegna

Per quanto riguarda la pubblicazione di monete puniche rinvenute o conservate in Sardegna, interessante risulta la pubblicazione di cinquanta monete tra puniche, romane e bizantine del Medagliere di San Teodoro. Le monete puniche sono 40, di cui 39 provenienti dalla Collezione Pisanu. Si registrano, in particolare, una moneta testa maschile (?)/cavallo al galoppo e 38 della serie Core/protome equina di modulo maggiore del 264-241 a.C. [PISANU (78)].

Rilevante è anche la pubblicazione del rinvenimento di 60 monete del tipo Core/tre spighe e Core/toro stante provenienti dalla Sardegna, e acquisite nel 1958 dall' *American Numismatic Society* di New York. La presenza di un esemplare della serie Core/toro, ripropone ancora il problema della datazione della serie attribuita tradizionalmente al 216 a.C., ma per la quale F. Guido ha ipotizzato una datazione al 241-238 a.C. in relazione alla rivolta dei mercenari libici in Sardegna. VAN ALFEN (80), al riguardo, mantiene una posizione interlocutoria «a *terminus post quem* burial date for the hoard would then be 238 BC; given the wear on these coins, a burial date of c. 216 BC, as given by Jenkins in *IGCH*, still seems possible» [VISONÀ (81)].

Per la Sardegna, notevole è la presenza di monete puniche nei depositi votivi di tradizione nuragica. Tra questi spicca la favissa del nuraghe Lugherras di Paulilatino, datata tra il IV e il I sec. a.C. con tracce di una frequenza, sia pure sempre più ridotta, fino al IV sec. d.C. [DEL VAIS, SERRELI (79)] e la recente pubblicazione del ritrovamento di 32 monete d'oro puniche datate tra il 355/0 e il 320 a.C. nel nuraghe Candelargiu [FERNÁNDEZ FLORES, RODRÍGUEZ AZOGUE, RODRÍGUEZ GUTIÉRREZ, PUDDU (71)].

ACQUARO (2), commentando il volume *La Collezione Numismatica della Banca di Sassari*, edito nel 2013 da E. PIRAS (76, 77), segnala la mancanza nel catalogo del rapporto tra D/ e R/, inoltre evidenzia come le monete indicate come sarde non siano riferite all'autorità emittente cartaginese, ma ad esclusiva zecca isolana, non riconoscendo in questo modo quel carattere «che traduce in termini locali il programma economico monetale di Cartagine in Sardegna, che passa da una africanizzazione delle risorse agrarie (il tipo L con le tre spighe) ad una più vasta strategia mediterranea (il tipo P con il toro stante)». Sulla stessa linea interpretativa VISONÀ (50), che ribadisce l'assenza di zecche autonome nella Sardegna controllata direttamente da Cartagine e che ritiene la presenza di monete d'oro e bronzo dopo il 350 a.C. gestita direttamente dalla metropoli.

Nel 2018 LULLIRI (72, 73) pubblica un volume dedicato alla monetazione cartaginese in Sardegna nel quale sono presentate 599 monete di provenienza diversa, ritenute tutte pertinenti a zecca sarda e datate tra il 375 e 216 a.C. Anche in questo caso, per le monete non è registrata né la provenienza né la collocazione, anche quando si tratta di pezzi indicati come inediti. Tale mancanza risulta particolarmente grave nel momento in cui nella prefazione viene affermato che «su diverse centinaia di monete palma-protome conosciute, solo una cinquantina risultano provenienti dalla Sicilia, pochissimi esemplari dal Nord Africa e tutto il resto dal territorio sardo», per le quali si afferma la pertinenza a zecca sarda. L'Autore, inoltre, riferendosi ad una bibliografia tutt'altro che aggiornata, affronta anche la problematica del significato dei simboli e delle lettere presenti sulle serie sardo-puniche [VISONÀ (38)]. Da ultimo BARTOLONI (70), ribadisce il ruolo centrale di Cartagine nella gestione della coniazione anche delle monete ritenute di zecca sarda [MANDATORI (74)].

Penisola Italica

Articolata e ampiamente discussa è la politica monetale di Annibale in Italia [FILIPPINI (87)] che ARSLAN (83) efficacemente definisce «la guerra monetaria tra Annibale e Roma» e che da parte cartaginese fu in gran parte delegata alle città italiche [ALBARÈDE, BLICHERT-TOFT, RIVOAL, TELOUK (5); VAGI (99)]. Disomogenee sono invece la registrazione e l'analisi dei più recenti rinvenimenti di monete puniche nella Penisola Italica: la documentazione raramente è analizzata nel suo complesso, mentre, a nostro avviso, presenta spunti di ricerca di notevole interesse [KEMMERS (14)]. In particolare non tutti i rinvenimenti possono essere imputati alla presenza annibalica o dei mercenari nell'esercito romano. Contatti e flussi commerciali precedenti sono ancora da esaminare nel loro complesso e possono regalare elementi di valutazione storica importanti. Ancora da approfondire sono, ad esempio, i flussi, e gli eventuali contatti, lungo le direttive tirrenica e adriatica e il loro significato in relazione ai ritrovamenti di monete puniche nel nord [PUThOD (49); MANFREDI (16)] e nell'est dell'Europa [VISONÀ (35, 36)]. Così come interessante resta la presenza di monete preannibaliche nell'Italia centrale anche in contesti santuariali [AMBROSINI, MICHETTI (82)]. In generale, i rinvenimenti in Etruria dalla metà del IV sec. al 238 a.C. secondo PULCINELLI (96) sono riconducibili alle diverse direttrici della loro diffusione durante la fase precedente alla conquista romana: le emissioni più antiche sono presenti

sulla costa e lungo le vie di penetrazione verso l'entroterra; le più recenti, databili tra il 264 ed il 238 a.C., sono attestate soltanto lungo la costa [DE BENETTI (84); DEGASPERI (86)]. Tra i diversi ritrovamenti si segnalano anche quelli da Norcia [RANUCCI (97)] e da *Satricum* [GNADE (91)].

Una moneta punica come obolo di Caronte è stata ritrovata in tomba alla cappuccina di Ostia con un corredo del II sec. d.C. [CAMILLI, TAGLIETTI (85)]. A Pompei [DE ROSA (98)] sono ampiamente attestate monete della zecca neopunica di Ebusus, le pseudo-ebusitane di imitazione e della zecca neopunica spagnola di Baria, rinvenute negli scavi urbani anche in contesti votivi. Nella città sono presenti anche monete puniche del tipo Core/cavallo dietro palma e Core/protome ed esemplari della zecca di Malta [PARDINI (95); MANENTI (94)]. Interessante, la notazione del ritrovamento di monete puniche a Paestum e nei fiumi Tevere e Liri [PARDINI (95)].

A Crotona, nel 2005 nel 'Fondo Gesù', in un contenitore ceramico sono state rinvenute 82 monete in oro, elettro, argento e bronzo tra cui due tetradrammi punici di zecca siciliana e un elettro di zecca cartaginese del 320-270 a.C. Secondo ARSLAN (83) il ripostiglio dovrebbe essere stato occultato dopo il 275 a.C.

VISONÀ, KENKEL (100), analizzando il ripostiglio di Tiriolo (CZ) nel quale sono stati rinvenuti tredici $\frac{1}{4}$ di *sheqel* di zecca cartaginese databili alla seconda guerra punica, evidenziano l'importanza del rinvenimento come esempio del supporto finanziario assicurato da Cartagine ad Annibale durante la campagna in Italia.

Infine a Parma, durante i lavori in Piazza Ghiaia, sono state rinvenute - sul fondo del torrente Parma - oltre 3500 monete, tessere e oggetti metallici di varia natura, interpretati come un deposito votivo formatosi nel corso di alcuni secoli. La moneta più antica appartiene a un'emissione di Cartagine datata al 241-221 a.C. [PODINI (48)]. Nel Museo della città è conservato anche un mezzo *sheqel* coniato a Taranto durante l'occupazione annibalica (212-209 a.C.), che LIBERO MANGIERI (93) attribuisce ad un gruppo limitato e raro di monete «probabilmente prodotte da Annibale per le proprie truppe stanziato a Taranto, utilizzando stampi presenti nell'officina tarantina e destinati alla produzione di nummi di peso maggiore».

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THE PTOLEMIES

Thomas Faucher

L'évènement majeur de la période couverte par ce *survey* est sans conteste la parution du "Coins of the Ptolemaic Empire" de Catharine LORBER (71), emmené par une magistrale édition de l'American Numismatic Society. Ce volume remplace, et efface, le vieux travail de J. Svoronos, en ajoutant un nombre très important de variétés nouvelles et en réorganisant les émissions à la lumière des nombreux apports survenus ces vingt dernières années, dont une partie non négligeable est due à l'auteur. Cette publication couvre pour l'instant les règnes des quatre premiers Ptolémées, en offrant un volume pour l'or et l'argent et un second pour le bronze. Il ne s'agit pas uniquement d'un catalogue puisque chaque souverain lagide bénéficie d'une introduction historique complète accompagnée d'une bibliographie extrêmement fournie, ce qui permet de remettre les monnayages dans leurs contextes historiques. La période couvrant la seconde moitié du monnayage des Ptolémées est déjà sous presse et parachèvera ce travail d'une vie dont toute la communauté, des scientifiques et des collectionneurs, lui saura gré. La publication de cet opus magnum est d'autant plus heureuse qu'elle bénéficie nativement d'une version en ligne. En effet, l'ANS a lancé un portail en ligne (PTOLEMAIC COINS ONLINE) (105), sur les principes du Web de données et qui permet d'avoir accès à l'ensemble des références des volumes papiers, augmentés des monnaies afférentes des grandes collections pour lesquelles le matériel est aujourd'hui en ligne. Il n'est pas à douter que l'enrichissement du portail ouvrira de nouvelles perspectives à l'étude des monnaies ptolémaïques.

R. HAZZARD (55) a réédité son "Introduction to collectors" vingt ans après la publication de la première édition. Si des modifications importantes ont été introduites par l'auteur, les changements intervenus dans les classements, et plus largement, dans leur compréhension, des monnayages lagides, notamment en bronze, auraient nécessité une refonte encore plus profonde de l'ouvrage.

Etudes de coins

Principalement focalisées sur l'or et l'argent, les études de coins des monnayages de la dynastie lagide se sont particulièrement enrichies. Elles permettent, avec les études en cours non publiées, de couvrir presque toutes les périodes, avec l'exception notable des règnes de Ptolémée XII et de Cléopâtre, et du bronze en général. Un travail important a été effectué sur le Levant. E. CARLEN (deux fois en collaboration avec C. LORBER) a produit des études de coins sur le monnayage d'argent syro-phénicien (18, 19, 21 et 22), notamment sur le très controversé monnayage à l'ère incertaine. Le premier article reprend l'étude ancienne de Mørkholm sur les monnaies datées des années 86-92 et sa nouvelle étude (190 monnaies contre 47 précédemment) montre bien que le déclin des poids vu par le savant danois était dû à un échantillon défaillant.

L'étude proposée par J. OLIVIER et H. AUMAÎTRE (96) sur l'atelier d'Amathonte pendant la sixième guerre de Syrie a permis d'interroger notamment la réalité du contrôle complet de Chypre pendant cet épisode, tout en remettant dans leur contexte les frappes des monnaies de cet atelier secondaire.

Le monnayage d'or et d'argent de Bérénice II a été l'objet d'une autre étude de coins, publiée par T. SEWELL-LASATER (110). Si des doutes subsistent encore quant à l'étalon monétaire employé dans le cadre de ces frappes, attique ou ptolémaïque, cette étude permet de disposer de données quantifiées très fiables (seules les plus petites dénominations restent rares) et ainsi de remettre en perspective ces frappes non négligeables, au moins 40 coins de droit pour l'or et au moins la moitié pour l'argent, mais qui restent faibles si on les compare aux frappes de *mnaeia* (Arsinoé ou géminées).

Profitant des données issues de sa propre base et de celles issues de la thèse de doctorat (encore inédite) de Julien Olivier, P. IOSSIF (58) compare les données quantitatives des monnayages des Séleucides et des Ptolémées pour en conclure que les deux dynasties frappaient des quantités comparables de monnaies, celles-ci ne représentant qu'une faible partie de leurs revenus respectifs.

La publication du volume “Egyptian Hoards I” (voir plus bas (47)) fut l’occasion de plusieurs études de coins. Le chapitre sur le trésor de Touna el-Gebel (37) a permis de proposer une étude de coins, certes très limitée, sur le bronze, mais qui permet de se rendre compte que seuls des cas particuliers permettront de quantifier ces monnayages ; dans notre cas, un lot de bronze fleur de coins enfoui dans ce trésor. Dans un autre chapitre (49), nous sommes revenus avec J. OLIVIER sur le trésor de Tanis, découvert en 1986 et qui avait connu une première étude de coins des droits par M. Amandry. Ce travail permet de préciser la chronologie des monnaies en argent du début du deuxième siècle. Enfin, il s’est agi d’offrir une nouvelle étude de coins des monnaies ptolémaïques en argent de la fin du deuxième siècle et du début du premier siècle, en réalisant une étude complète du trésor de Paphos (98). Elle a permis de remettre en lumière l’apport essentiel de ce trésor pour notre connaissance des variations de la production monétaire à Chypre et à Alexandrie à ces périodes.

Trésors

La publication du premier volume d’“Egyptian Hoards” (47) fut l’occasion de rassembler les découvertes de trésors déjà connues et d’en publier des inédits. Au total, 278 trésors sont recensés représentant plus de 75000 monnaies, dont 48 trésors inédits. Cet ouvrage, non sans défauts, a bénéficié de plusieurs compte-rendus détaillés dont celui de H. AUMAÎTRE (5) qui apporte d’utiles corrections. Le premier chapitre par C. LORBER remet en perspective les trésors de monnaies d’argent lagides utilisées de Ptolémée I à Ptolémée V. Les chapitres suivants rassemblent un ou plusieurs trésors, soit inédits, soit insuffisamment étudiés. Les chapitres 2, 3, 4 et 7 portent sur les monnayages d’argent du début de la période lagide, avec le trésor d’Alep 1893 (69), principalement constitué d’alexandres et deux trésors, un conservé à l’ANS (27), l’autre provenant de Mit Rahineh (36). Les chapitres 6, 11, 19, 20, 21 et 25 recensent des trésors de monnaies de bronze à provenance connue, principalement en Egypte (37, 38, 46, 40, et 88), mais aussi en Cyrénaïque (41). Mis à part les trésors de Paphos et de Tanis mentionnés plus haut et ceux de Memphis (90), le reste des nouvelles études portent sur des trésors découverts au Levant, chapitres 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 103, 16 (pour ce trésor trouvé à Bethléhem en 1984, voir également l’article d’E. CARLEN 19), 17, 18 et 24, presque tous constitués de monnaies d’argent, pour un seul d’or (61, 81, 93, 85, 82, 80, 100, 84, 83, 59, 86 et 39).

Fouilles

Il est impossible de rendre compte de toutes les monnaies trouvées en fouille hors d’Egypte. En Grèce, en Turquie, au Proche-Orient et en Libye, les chantiers apportent régulièrement des petites quantités de monnaies ; nous avons fait le choix de ne présenter que quelques publications de fouilles. Au Proche-Orient, et plus spécifiquement en Israël, le nombre de publications comprenant des monnaies ptolémaïques reste important. La fouille de Khirbet Qeiyafa a livré beaucoup de monnaies ptolémaïques, notamment grâce à l’utilisation régulière d’un détecteur à métaux (32). On peut également mentionner les 84 monnaies ptolémaïques trouvées dans les fouilles de Maresha et publiées par D. ARIEL (1).

A Chypre, l’équipe polonaise continue de publier des monnaies, notamment ptolémaïques, issues du site de Paphos. Dans sa présentation des trouvailles monétaires faites entre 2011 et 2015, J. BODZEK signale 57 monnaies ptolémaïques (11). On notera également la publication de monnaies trouvées à Ptolémaïs par P. JAWORSKI (60).

Pour l’Egypte, outre les trouvailles faites à Oxyrhynchos et publiées par M. CAMPO (17), et les trouvailles des différentes fouilles menées à Karnak (33), les publications les plus substantielles sont celles des sites de Kom el Ahmar et de Thonis-Heraklion. Au Kom el Ahmar, et au Kom Wasit voisin, M. ASOLATI a identifié plus d’une centaine de monnaies ptolémaïques même si, comme souvent, la moitié de celles-ci restent difficilement identifiables (2). Au large d’Aboukir, les fouilles de l’antique Heraklion, enfoui sous les eaux, a produit une masse impressionnante de monnaies ptolémaïques puisque le total des monnaies s’élève à plus d’un millier (77, 78 et 79).

Histoire des collections, de la numismatique ptolémaïque

Un intérêt grandissant pour les archives numismatiques oblige à inaugurer cette section. L’étude de l’établissement des collections, des circuits entre les collectionneurs, amène à s’interroger sur la représentativité des collections et le développement du savoir. Pour les Lagides, le travail de fonds mené à partir des archives du Département des Monnaies, médailles et antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France est un bon exemple de la possibilité notamment de reconstruire l’histoire des collections et de mettre en lumière l’achat de groupes de monnaies, voire de trésors (6, 8 et 92). Le parcours particulier de certaines monnaies peut également remonter à la surface (91). Les correspondances apportent également leur lot sur l’histoire de la monnaie lagide (108 et 36). Ce travail a pu également être

mené en Egypte, où la constitution des collections numismatiques du pays doit être étudiée pour mieux comprendre leur contenu et les biais archéologiques inhérents à leur constitution (50).

Production monétaire, métrologie

Les études archéométriques font maintenant pleinement partie des études numismatiques (voir la partie dédiée *infra*). Dans leur ouvrage de référence sur l'analyse élémentaire des monnaies romaines, K. BUTCHER et M. PONTING présentent quelques analyses de composition sur les monnaies en argent de Cléopâtre (16). Ces analyses sont largement complétées et assorties d'un panorama complet de la composition des monnaies lagides en or, argent et bronze par T. FAUCHER et J. OLIVIER (48). Une monnaie de bronze a fait l'objet d'une étude métallographique dans un article de M. BIBORSKI et J. BODZEK (9). Des travaux permettent d'approfondir les différents aspects de la production monétaire des Ptolémées (33 et 34). D'autres études techniques plus ponctuelles ont également paru, comme celle de C. LORBER sur les marques apparaissant lors de la circulation de la monnaie (63) ; ou bien celle de C. PARISOT-SILLON et J. OLIVIER sur un brockage de Cléopâtre (102) ; ou encore celle d'A. CAVAGNA sur le système de numérotation des coins des monnaies en or et en argent à l'effigie d'Arsinoé II (23) ; on notera enfin une nouvelle découverte de moules monétaires à Paphos (12).

La métrologie fut également à l'honneur avec les trois études, apportant un matériel jamais recueilli auparavant, menées par D. WOLF (111, 112 et 113). Ces données permettent de réfléchir avec une acuité nouvelle à l'organisation des séries, en interrogeant les relations pondérales entre chaque dénomination, tout comme a pu le faire A. MEADOWS (87) à partir de ce nouveau socle.

Papyrus, textes et changements comptables

La publication d'un colloque organisé à Orléans (France) en 2015 fut l'occasion pour plusieurs auteurs d'interroger en miroir les monnaies égyptiennes et les textes (45). Plusieurs articles abordent le cas des monnaies ptolémaïques. Dans un effort pour comparer les ressources en démotique et les monnaies, F. DUYRAT et D. AGUT-LABORDÈRE (30) offrent une vue très complète des différentes phases d'implantation de la monnaie en Egypte et de la « statérisation » de l'économie à partir de l'arrivée d'Alexandre en Egypte. Les sources textuelles ont également permis à J. OLIVIER et B. REDON (101) de reconsidérer la politique militaire des Lagides aux III^e et II^e siècles, en étudiant particulièrement la coïncidence entre le mécanisme des frappes et les conflits armés. Deux chapitres concernent, eux, la « grande mutation » qui voit un glissement de la valeur des monnaies de bronze par rapport à celles en argent (103 et 54). Le sujet, toujours controversé, est d'ailleurs à la source d'un nombre important d'articles, autant pour traiter de la période antérieure (53) que pour proposer différentes hypothèses (42, 52, 55, 57, 70, 14 et 15). Si la réforme comptable est assurée, ni son application, ni sa date ne font à l'heure actuelle l'objet d'un consensus. Deux autres chapitres portant principalement sur les deuxième et premier siècles, abordent les questions de la transition monétaire entre deux règnes (28) et celui des salaires (76). Enfin, K. BLOUIN et A. BURNETT (10) évoquent la transition entre le monnayage de Cléopâtre VII, dernière reine d'Egypte, et les premiers souverains romains d'Alexandrie. On n'oubliera pas la publication en ligne de S. VON REDEN (106) sur les papyrus et l'argent en Egypte ptolémaïque, qui donne une présentation générale utile des différents niveaux d'implication de la monnaie dans l'économie du pays.

Les Ptolémées hors d'Egypte

La thalassocratie ptolémaïque a engendré à la fois la frappe d'un monnayage abondant hors d'Egypte et la circulation d'espèces lagides hors des frontières contrôlées par les Lagides. Sur ce dernier point, le travail remarquable d'A. CAVAGNA (23) doit être mis en avant. Ce dernier a enregistré, sans viser à l'exhaustivité, un nombre impressionnant de monnaies récoltées dans l'ensemble du bassin Méditerranéen. Pour le reste, il paraît ici nécessaire de séparer les études régionales dans un souci de lisibilité.

Syrie-Phénicie

Mettant également en lumière les monnayages d'Alexandre, puis des Séleucides, C. LORBER (64 et 67) a offert un tour d'horizon de la politique monétaire des Ptolémées en Phénicie. Des études plus ponctuelles furent également produites, sur Ptolémée VI d'un côté (92), sur l'atelier de Ptolémaïs d'un autre côté (4), mais surtout sur le monnayage de Cléopâtre (5 et 97). Sur les monnaies de fouilles, voir le travail fourni par F. DUYRAT (29) pour une vue d'ensemble.

Chypre

Si la nouvelle étude du trésor de Paphos présentée plus haut éclaire autant le monnayage alexandrin que celui de Chypre, les travaux menés par J. OLIVIER et P. KEEN (95 et 99) renouvellent notre perception du rapport de la monnaie

à l'administration de l'île par les Ptolémées.

Cyrénaïque

Le colloque organisé par M. ASOLATI (3), et sa publication rapide, ont permis de faire le point sur le monnayage de la Cyrénaïque. Six chapitres issus de ce livre donnent un panorama assez complet de la monnaie de Cyrénaïque à l'époque ptolémaïque. Tout comme elle l'avait fait pour la Phénicie, C. LORBER (68) présente une étude de la politique monétaire des Ptolémées en Cyrénaïque. Ensuite, le travail de W. FISCHER-BOSSERT (51) permet à la fois de dater les didrachmes en argent de Cyrène au cours du règne de Magas mais d'en définir la durée, vraisemblablement entre, au plus tard, 294 et 274 aC. Trois chapitres s'orientent vers l'étude des monnaies de bronze, à la fois sur l'aspect de la réforme comptable du tournant des troisième et deuxième siècles et de son application en Cyrénaïque (107, voir aussi 108), mais également sur la possibilité d'appliquer le système des séries monétaires d'Alexandrie à l'organisation des monnayages locaux successifs grâce à l'aide des compositions métalliques (104), et enfin sur l'étude des monnaies des fouilles du site de Ptolemais (60). Un dernier chapitre présente les découvertes de groupes de monnaies ptolémaïques de Cyrénaïque dans l'est de l'Adriatique (23).

Occident et Péloponnèse

Une littérature déjà ancienne avait démontré que deux régions à l'ouest ont connu un afflux de monnaies ptolémaïques : la Sicile et le Péloponnèse. Deux articles récents font le point sur la question. Le premier, écrit par D. ETCHES JONES (31), défend l'idée que les monnaies au bouclier galate et à légende ptolémaïque trouvées en Sicile ne seraient dues qu'à Hiéron II, sans que cela ne marque de lien militaire ou politique entre l'Égypte et Syracuse. Dans le second, A. CAVAGNA (26) revient sur l'envoi de monnaies par Ptolémée III lors de la guerre de Cléomène. Outre l'ensemble des trouvailles monétaires, l'auteur met en relation l'étalon utilisé pour cette émission avec celui d'autres monnaies à l'aigle frappées localement.

Iconographie, aspects religieux et politiques

Les études iconographiques sur le monnayage lagide ont perdu en vigueur même si des tentatives de renouveler le sujet existent. Les ouvrages à ce sujet traitent souvent du monde méditerranéen dans son ensemble, à l'image de la publication d'un colloque organisé à Athènes sur les monnaies à travers leurs images dans lequel le royaume lagide trouve naturellement sa place dans un chapitre (43). C. LORBER (67, 72, 63 et 64) fut certainement la plus prolifique sur le sujet avec des études portant à la fois sur les portraits royaux et leur association avec différentes divinités, dernier sujet également traité par R. M. MOTTA (89) dans une étude comparée des monnayages lagides et séleucides.

D'autres études ponctuelles se sont attachées à des moments précis de l'histoire des Ptolémées, en étudiant précisément le fait monétaire. L'histoire du premier Ptolémée a été abordée à la fois du point de vue du personnage et de ses choix en matière de politique monétaire (73), et de celui du choix des types dans sa volonté de propagande thalassocratique (11). Les Ptolémées III, IV et V ont également fait l'objet d'articles concernant les tétradrachmes à la corne d'abondance pour le premier (75), une ère employée par le deuxième sur ses monnaies (62) et enfin sur les monnaies à la lance pour le troisième (20).

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THE SELEUCIDS

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Introduction

We are living in a ‘Golden Age’ of Seleucid numismatics and of Seleucid studies in general.¹ The publication of the two volumes of *Seleucid Coins* by Arthur Houghton and Catharine Lorber (and O. D. Hoover for the second volume) in 2002 and 2008 contributed to the actual boom in the studies of one of the major Hellenistic dynasties. As always happens in these cases, these catalogues have been used (and abused) by specialists who corrected attributions and identifications, the chronology of particular series, who added new types and pointed out mistakes, who proposed new approaches in the analysis of the evidence etc. These catalogues served as an easy-to-use starting point for the numismatics, history, economy, and archaeology of the dynasty. The access to this fundamental material is facilitated, since 2018, by a digital resource, Seleucid Coins Online (SCO), hosted by the American Numismatic Society (<http://numismatics.org/sco/>). With SCO, it is easier to integrate changes while, as for all databases using the Nomisma.org ontologies, more sophisticated research is made possible. Whatever the database, at times the numismatic data have been used outside of their numismatic context and methodology; shortcuts were proposed, and individual coins were considered without respect to their volume of production or types were taken as impacting areas where they never circulated.

Regardless of these inevitable problems, the number of numismatic studies published during the period under review is impressive. If one compares the number of important studies devoted to the Seleucids, their coinage(s), and their economy published during the period 2014–2020 (with the addition of a few rare references to major studies published in 2021) with what has been published and recorded in the last two *Surveys*, the evidence is compelling: 155 monographs and articles are recorded in the present *Survey* versus 78 in the 2002–2007 and 70 in the 2008–2013 *Surveys*. The output of the 2014–2020 *Survey* is larger than that of the previous two *Surveys* taken together. Furthermore, when one considers the number of monographs, the increase is also considerable, and the total number of pages devoted to the Seleucids and their numismatics and economy is the highest ever recorded. Additionally, the number of scholars worldwide working with Seleucid coinages has greatly increased. The present *Survey* attests to the geographic extent of these studies with important contributions by Lebanese, Iranian, Uzbek, or Russian scholars added to ‘Western’ academics who dominated the bibliography in previous years. This also means that new material and approaches are published greatly enriching our understanding of the dynasty. Of special interest are the contributions of scholars from modern countries located in the core of what used to be the Seleucid Empire, since they provide firsthand material and new insights.

In general, the numismatic research of the last several years moves toward an analysis of excavation coins with new material being added, especially from Israel, Lebanon, and Turkey (see IOSSIF (87) for a general analysis of excavation material of the Seleucids and the importance of these countries, especially of Israel, in what comes to be known as contextualized numismatic information). With excavation coins come questions like the circulation patterns or the monetization of the Seleucid economy, a question which tantalized Seleucid historians especially since the publication of APERGHIS, G. G., *The Seleukid Royal Economy. The finances and financial administration of the Seleukid Empire* (Cambridge, 2004). Some interesting responses are recorded about the modernist approach of Seleucid numismatics and economy, which seem to settle the issue (see below *Role and Purpose of Seleucid coinage(s)*).

¹ I would like to address my gratitude to Oliver D. Hoover and Mary N. Lannin for reading and commenting on an earlier version of this paper.

To summarize the studies of the period covered by this *Survey* from a statistical point of view,² we can differentiate the following: 30 studies address the question of excavation coins and material (either by publishing new material or by exploring the available material); 11 studies are devoted to a new die study (or simply repeat and summarize the results of a recently published one, while four more raise issues of die use) or address the question of die uses; seven articles are devoted to the technical characteristics of Seleucid coins and to the very useful metallurgical analyses; hoards were the subject of 14 studies either by the publication of new hoards (only four new hoards) or by using hoards for addressing broader questions; a broader economic analysis was the main scope of 22 studies while coinage as additional element to broader historical studies was the focus of the majority of studies under review, for a total of 59. Seleucid religion through coinage was the focus of 11 studies when iconographic issues were addressed in eight studies; 25 studies focused on particular mints and regions (with Phoenicia and Judaea taking the lion's share); eight on the production and monetary policy of individual kings; eight new Seleucid numismatic collections were published from Russia and Iran. Finally, 12 studies addressed the role of Seleucid coinages especially in connection with war effort and the payment of the mercenaries, as well as in relation to target audiences.

We are indeed living in the 'Golden Age' of Seleucid numismatics.

Excavation coins

Generally speaking, in ancient numismatics the focus tends to move toward excavation material, i.e. coins coming from archaeological excavations. This material has the advantage of offering well contextualized information of the finds, especially for those coming from recent excavations (or stray finds). Some countries stand out in recording and publishing this material, especially Israel and Lebanon. IOSSIF (87) introduced his *Seleucid Excavation Database* (SED), an ongoing database recording all published excavation material and stray finds. More than 99% of coins recorded in SED are bronze issues, a conclusion confirming one already addressed by DE CALLATAÏ, F., Greek coins from archaeological excavations: a conspectus of conspectuses and a call for chronological tables, VAN ALFEN, P., *Agoronomia: studies in money and exchange presented to John H. Kroll* (New York, 2006), pp. 177–200 for the Greek world. The potential of this database is explored and demonstrated in numerous studies of the author (IOSSIF (89, 91, 92)) where more precise questions of volume of production, circulation patterns, monetization of the economy or monetary reforms are addressed (see below). The SED is constantly fueled by newly discovered and published material. DUYPAT (53) also gathers a large database of coins from excavations in Syria in order to convincingly demonstrate the close connection between war effort and coinage (loss); a summary is also published in DUYPAT (54). From Lebanon, ABOU DIWAN (1) and SAWAYA (132), SAWAYA (133), and SAWAYA (134) systematically published the material from Sarepta, for the former, and from different sites from Beirut for the later. ABOU DIWAN (1) published 150 Seleucid coins found during the various campaigns at Sarepta and through a series of charts, he studied their circulation patterns. The author used the method of "average coin loss" for determining the numismatic profile of the site by period and by reign an approach based on the Ravetz index (see also IOSSIF and LAUWERS (94) for another use of the same method on hoard and excavation material). In SAWAYA (132) 224 bronze coins are published from JEM 002-004 in Beirut and the author was mainly concerned with questions of circulation and use of bronzes in the local economy. Most bronzes from these sites are dated to Antiochos III (131) as well as 56 coins dated to the reign of Antiochos IV corroborating the numismatic profile of Beirut as observed in various studies by the same author (as well as others). SAWAYA (134) added six more bronze coins (5 of Antiochos III and 1 of Antiochos IV) to the database of Beirut while in SAWAYA (133), he addressed broader questions of circulation patterns and numismatic profile gathering material from well excavated sites in the city. BUTCHER (33) also raised the question of bronze circulation in Beirut by focusing mostly on methodological issues.

Israel is by far the most prolific country in publishing new material and the role of IAA archaeologists is invaluable. ARIEL (11, 17) published coins from the excavations in Maresha. The former published five new Seleucid bronzes (three of them dating to the reign of Antiochos IV) and three unidentified, while the latter added 105 bronzes from Complex 169 (36 of Antiochos III; 19 of Antiochos IV) and a new hoard with Antiochos III's bronzes (see below). ARIEL (12, 13, 14, 20) published additional bronzes from excavations conducted on different sites in Jerusalem. ARIEL

² From a quantitative point of view, the sum of the studies divided by category exceeds by far that of the recorded references (211 vs. 155 recorded) since some of the studies address various aspects and are recorded under different categories. In the following discussions some articles are discussed under more than one category since it is important to offer a wider analysis of the goal and focus of the most important individual studies.

(12, 13) recorded 12 coins (plus five unidentified) from the Jewish Quarter, while ARIEL (14) added two more from different excavations on the same site. ARIEL (20) recorded one serrated bronze of Antiochos IV. The bronzes from the excavation in Qumran are recorded in ARIEL (16) (three coins including a rare silver didrachm from Tyre) and the author questioned the possible Seleucid dating for the creation of this settlement because of the paucity of the numismatic material. ARIEL (19) catalogued one serrated bronze of Antiochos IV from Tell es-Safi, while ARIEL and BERMAN (22) published one bronze of Antiochos III found in Khirbat Burin. ARIEL and BIJOVSKY (23) described 32 bronzes (including 11 of Antiochos IV and 16 unidentified) from Sepphoris. KOOL (101) published the five Alexander II Zabinas bronzes found in Marisa (and added to previously published material from the site) and SYON (143) published and discussed the 46 Seleucid coins found in Akko: the author points out that the Seleucid material constitutes the majority of finds on the site (46.3%), while addressing the peculiar presence of three Seleucos III's bronzes in the area ante-dating the conquest of the area by the Seleucids. JOHANANOFF (99) discussed the presence of bronze issues from Side in the Southern Levant but seems to ignore their circulation patterns in other areas of the kingdom (Antioch, Seleucia, Apamea and Beirut). He also strongly associated these coins with military activities, but without strong evidence. ARIEL (17), using evidence from excavated contexts, convincingly attributed Antiochos VII's *SC* 2122 (15 coins from Jerusalem) and 2123 (202 in the same city) to the mint of Jerusalem, granted a role in their minting to John Hyrcanus I and associated them with a victory message.

In Turkey, excavation material is published in EVANS (62) (in the useful book BERLIN and KOSMIN (26)) and in ZAKHAROV (152). BERLIN and KOSMIN (26) offered an overview of the American excavations conducted in Sardis and EVANS (62) published the remaining, unpublished numismatic material from the site addressing interesting questions on the role of coinage in the city (but with some problems of method and methodology to be taken under consideration). ZAKHAROV (152) recorded 10 new Seleucid bronzes dating from Seleucos I to Antiochos III (four of the latter) found during the survey of Kelainai-Apameia Kibotos.

For the Seleucid East, material was added in BOPEARACHCHI (28, 29) where the author argued that the main mint in the region was to be located to Bactra. GORIN (71) discussed four bronze coins with new types (Crab/bee) in the name of King Antiochos from Afrasiab; he dated them either to the reign of Antiochos I or II and pointed out the importance of a local mint in Samarkhand. The role of this mint was also addressed in NAYMARK (125).

Hoards

A few new hoards were recorded while a larger database gathered all known hoards with Seleucid numismatic material. IOSSIF (86) gathered 253 hoards (with more than 12,000 coins) in his "Seleucid Hoards Database" (SHD) exploring the possibilities this type of database offers for numismatic, historical, and quantitative methods. The potential of SHD was further explored in IOSSIF (89) (a quantitative analysis of Antiochos III based on the SHD), IOSSIF (91) (the same type of analysis for Antiochos IV), IOSSIF (92) (used to define the events and numismatic policy of the Late Seleucids) and IOSSIF and LORBER (95) where the quantitative perspective followed the discussion already introduced in IOSSIF (86) and offered a comparative perspective with the Ptolemaic Empire. IOSSIF and LAUWERS (94) recorded a hoard in commerce composed of 37 Seleucid bronzes (from Antiochos III to Diodotos Tryphon) and two Aradian, non-Seleucid bronzes. The authors introduced a new approach to the understanding of the hoard by attributing a "wear degree" to each hoard by establishing a matrix for the method; they also applied a method based on cumulative percentages and the SHD profiles in order to determine the numismatic profile to which the hoard might have belonged (provenance: close to the border between modern Israel and Lebanon; Gamla?). Contrary to what has been observed in IOSSIF and LAUWERS (94), two bronze hoards from excavation contexts were recorded and enriched the material. ARIEL (17) published a hoard (L197) of 43 bronzes (42 of Antiochos III; types *SC* 1055-1059) found in the excavations of complex 169 from Maresha; HOOVER (81) considers the possibility that the coins from Ascalon were actually part of a hoard (with a peculiar coins of Gaza); and LICHTENBERGER and TAL (107) published a small hoard from Tell Iẓtabba composed of ten bronzes of Alexander II Zabinas. Five coins are dated to SE 184 and 185. The authors compared this hoard with other small, contemporary hoards but they did not connect this hoard with an otherwise unknown destruction of the city (the forthcoming publication of the large bronze hoard of Alexander II Zabinas in the Israel Museum by P. Iossif will shed more light to this evidence and the events of the period). IOSSIF and OLIVIER (96) published a unique hoard composed of one Ptolemaic didrachm dated 156/55 BC and six Seleucid didrachms minted in Tyre and dated to the first reign of Demetrios II, that of Antiochos VII, and the second reign of Demetrios II.

Hoardings are also discussed in their wider context by numerous studies. DUYRAT (53) offered a useful methodological tool on how to understand hoards in the historical context while she convincingly connected the hoarding process with military operations; DELRIEUX (48) also discussed a series of hoards containing Seleucid material while addressing the role of the last Alexanders issued in Western Asia Minor offering important insights on these posthumous issues and stressing their role serving the needs during Antiochos III's (and Philip V's) military operations in the area. Hoards are also central in LORBER (110) (using the hoard evidence, the author excludes the various influx of Ptolemaic silver in the closed economy of the Seleucid Coele-Syria and Phoenicia as related to trade (ports), addresses the role of Ptolemy VI in helping the Maccabees in their revolt against the Seleucids, and also involves the Tobiad tax); the same analysis and method are used in LORBER (112) and OLIVIER (129) (addressing the dating and role of the Ptolemaic "uncertain era" didrachms). Also, VĀDAN (149) proposed a series of new dating of a series of hoards while studying the role of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander during the events of 170s and 150s.

Die studies

A few die studies were added to those already published, adding to our deeper knowledge of the production of given mints and/or kings. LORBER (109) published one of the largest Seleucid die studies on the tetradrachms issued in Antioch under Antiochos VII, offering an exemplary model on how to conduct a die study, and completing her initial work on the Cappadocian imitations of these coins. She recorded 1035 tetradrachms and observed 116 obverse dies. MAREST-CAFFEY (114) (with a summary in MAREST-CAFFEY (115)) revised a previous die study of the so-called "trophy coins" of Seleucos I from Susa. Her study is an excellent demonstration of how misleading some die studies might be since she recorded 191 coins compared with 105 in the older study and observed 26 obverse dies instead of the 67 in the previous study. Her conclusions fit much better with the evidence available for Susa and render obsolete previous conclusions based on erroneous data. SCHWEI (135) studied the tetradrachms and drachms produced during Demetrios II's reign in Antioch (n=163, d=13; n=38, d=4 for the drachms) and Damascus (n=134, d=17). His analysis will be completed by IOSSIF and GERRITSEN (93) in order to understand the events and the reactions of the local workshops when there was a change in authority. IOSSIF and GERRITSEN (93) published the die study of Alexander II Zabinas in Damascus (n=110, d=14 for the tetradrachms) along with a detailed metrological analysis. Taylor was by far the most prolific scholar in terms of die studies and offered important insights on the mints of Susa and UM 6A. TAYLOR (144) is a large die study (n=251, d=58) of the production of a mint located somewhere in Babylonia and which served as a mobile facility under Seleucos I. The author convincingly argues that this was the first mint with issues bearing the royal name of Seleucos I while he assigns to this mint the production of UM 1. TAYLOR (146) studied Alexander's Price types 3853-3860, now dated to 311/0-309/8 and identified as the earlier issues of Seleucos I at Susa (n=103, d=8). The author notably observed a recut reverse die (his P34), now with the anchor over the erased wreath thereby dating the coinage to the first years of Seleucos I. TAYLOR (147), which completed TAYLOR (145), while TAYLOR (146) is the study of Alexanders from Susa and corrected the dating of the last issues produced in the name of Alexander to 305/4 (group 7). TAYLOR (145) offered a nice example of use of a pair of dies by two successive authorities, a phenomenon which was also observed, in a broader perspective, by LANNIN (104). The author identified a regional pattern on the reuse of obverse dies in case of succession limited to small and remote mints far from the center(s) of the Empire. ALINEZHAD, HOUGHTON and DEHPAHLAVAN (5) studied UM 65: 31 coins divided in four groups. Based on the die study, the authors relocated the mint somewhere in eastern Mesopotamia or the far northwestern Persia. Their analysis also identified this mint as a regular facility. Nevertheless, the evidence remains thin on the location of the mint. The same issue was also addressed in Persian in DEHPAHLAVAN et al. (46). VĀDAN (149) addressed the role of the Seleucid mint of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander and thoroughly examined the hoard evidence relating the latest Magnesian tetradrachms with the Seleucid dynastic conflicts of 170s. and 150s. Two important non-Seleucid die studies had important consequences for our understanding of Seleucid monetary policy and the history of the dynasty with its neighbors: CARLEN and LORBER (36) published the die study of the so-called 'main series' of coins of Ptolemy V during the Fifth Syrian War; GLENN (69) studied the coins of the Greco-Bactrian kings but offered important conclusions on the dating of the Seleucid presence in the area.

Economic and monetary policy

APERGHIS (6) established a complex model for the Seleucid economy, especially of that under Antiochos III based on a debatable pattern of estimates and extrapolations using coinage as their basis; IOSSIF (86) by introducing his SHD,

arrived at conclusions on the monetization of the Seleucid economy corroborating previous studies, showing that such monetization was quite low (in fact, less than 2-3% of their annual revenues were monetized). A comparison with the Ptolemaic Empire seems also to confirm this conclusion. The monetary policy of individual kings based on a quantitative approach of the SHD and SED was offered in IOSSIF (89) (Antiochos III), IOSSIF (91) (Antiochos IV) and IOSSIF (92) (Late Seleucids). DUYRAT (53) (and the short DUYRAT (54)) is important for our understanding not only of monetary policies of the Seleucids but also of the patterns of coin loss. DE CALLATAÏ (34) argued against Aperghis' thesis that the Seleucids founded new cities in order to monetize a given area. By well-built numismatic arguments based on the output of different mints and comparison with other contemporary authorities, the author arrived at the conclusion that the monetization of the Seleucid economy was very low. HOOVER (80) addressed the *lex Seyrigiana* by referring to a series of examples of royal issues with "civic" characteristics both in silver (e.g. Simyra under Seleucos II) and bronze (the so-called quasi-municipal issues). His conclusion was that it is necessary to dismiss all modernist interpretations of a centrally organized coinage; on the contrary, the Seleucid coinage should be considered as an *ad hoc* phenomenon both in the early and the late phase of the dynasty. DE CALLATAÏ (34), HOOVER (80) and IOSSIF (85) are to be read as complementary. HOOVER (79) discussed the way Alexanders were issued by the Seleucids as a "necessary evil" because of the reputation they enjoyed among mercenaries. The author pointed out the role of Babylon in the emission of early Seleucid Alexanders and advanced the hypothesis that Susa and Laodicea served as payment hubs for the mercenaries in their respective regions. The late Alexanders of the cities of Western Asia Minor and their relationship to the Seleucids were considered in DELRIEUX (48). BRESSON (31) used coins as a background element to discuss the economic life of Kelainai-Apameia (to be considered together with ZAKHAROV (152)). The monetary and economic role of the Seleucid coinage and the Ptolemaic silver in Coele-Syria and Phoenicia was analyzed in LORBER (110) and OLIVIER (129) both insisting on the role of Ptolemy VI fueling the closed economy with silver in the region mostly in support of local rebellions against the Seleucids (and both dismiss an explanation based on commercial routes for this silver entering the region). Economic aspects, especially the tribute in Judaea, were addressed in GIRARDIN (68), while the economic life of Babylonia was the main focus of numerous studies. MONERIE (122) offered a general analysis of the economy of the province with extensive, detailed and well documented use of monetary sources focusing on the role of bronze coins in the local economy. The role of bronze in the local economy was also extensively discussed in MONERIE (123): the author determined the importance of the introduction of bronze in Babylonia and the evolution imposed by the introduction of counted silver by the end of the 4th c. Bronze in Babylonia was introduced in a three-step process: 1) a small initial introduction in 274/3 faced negative local view; 2) c. 250-225 when bronze replaced the traditional monies in the area; 3) in the second century, when bronze was used in daily transactions with important role of the Greek poleis, esp. of Uruk. The same questions of the local economy of Babylonia were addressed in PIRNGRUBER (130) and PIRNGRUBER (131) where the role of silver influencing the prices of products is considered. Comparable analyses and methods were proposed in VAN DER SPEK (141), VAN DER SPEK (142) and HUIJS, PIRNGRUBER and VAN LEEUWEN (83). An original and daring article was published by VAN LEEUWEN, IOSSIF and FÖLDVARI (106) who, based on the SHD and SED evidence, compared the velocity of coin circulation of the Seleucid Empire and the Eurozone.

The role and purpose of coinage(s)

APERGHIS (6) (with the model for the Seleucid economy under Antiochos III heavily dependant on coinages for the payment of soldiers) and APERGHIS (7) (with the highly disputable interpretation of symbols on coins as indications of the end-users) relaunched the debate on the purpose of Seleucid coinages. First and convincing answers came in DE CALLATAÏ (34), HOOVER (80), and IOSSIF (86). Regardless of the exact model of coin production, there seems to exist a general consensus on the reason the Seleucids produced coins both in precious and base metal: for military payments (DE CALLATAÏ (34), COŞKUN (39), DELRIEUX (48), HOOVER (79, 80), IOSSIF (86, 87) (where bronze coinages are associated with garrison duties and payments), IOSSIF (89, 91, 92), IOSSIF and GERRITSEN (93), IOSSIF and LORBER (95), JURKIEWICZ (100), RUTTER and GLENN (70)). The so-called "war hypothesis" sometimes finds excessive use, as in the case of JOHANANOFF (99) where Sidean bronzes in Southern Levant are almost immediately interpreted as military payments but without strong evidence.

Religion and Iconography

Seleucid "religion", i.e. the way Greek and Oriental gods are represented on Seleucid coins was a trendy topic

in previous years. ERICKSON (61) published his PhD thesis arguing in favor of a connection between coinages and religion. Nevertheless, the problematic use of numismatic methodology, a rather broader tendency in non-specialist studies, makes most of the author's conclusions questionable. For instance, the Medusa/humped bull bronzes issued by Seleucos I in numerous mints across the Empire are considered as being heavily influenced by a rather small and limited in circulation coinage of Parion. This analysis is exclusively based on iconographic evidence and ignores the fact that most of the Parian issues circulated in Thrace. ERICKSON (59) revisited the topic of the role of Zeus and Apollo in the royal religion through coins and ERICKSON (60) discussed the royal cult of the Seleucids. The role and the importance of Apollo as a dynastic *archegetes* following the analysis of a 2011 article by Iossif were also addressed in BEAULIEU (25) (Apollo associated and/or identified with Nabu), BRUMBAUGH (32) and LERNER (105) (who discussed the role of Seleucid Apollo in the creation of the Parthian archer type under Mithridates I). BONNET (27) analyzed the religion in Phoenicia, especially under the Seleucids using their coins as important elements for both their religious and the civic character (to be read in connection with IOSSIF (88)). Seleucid coins issued by Phoenician mints depict the kings on the obverse with draped busts and this topic, especially for the earlier Seleucids, was considered in LORBER and IOSSIF (113): the authors survey all early (ante-Antiochos III) Seleucid coins where the king is portrayed on the obverse wearing a chlamys. LORBER and IOSSIF associated these coinages with the horned portraits of the kings (implying divinity and divine kingship in the East) and their campaign beards (the king as commander in chief of the army under divine protection). The chlamys of these portraits is closely associated with cavalry in the pure Macedonian tradition. An interesting article is D'AGOSTINI (42) where the author observed an interesting parallel between Achaïos-Laodice on the one hand and Hector-Andromache on the other hand in Polybios' account. Using coin finds in Sardis, the author followed Le Rider's older suggestion that the usurper re-founded the city when proclaimed himself king. This study is to be completed by D'AGOSTINI (44) on the same Achaïos and his occupation of Sardis. Seleucid religious aspects were also considered in COŞKUN (40), especially the role of the Seleucids (mostly of Antiochos IV) in the religious practices in Jerusalem (to be considered in parallel with SCOLNIC (136) and SCOLNIC (137)). IOSSIF (90) discussed royal (including Seleucid) portraits bearing divine attributes and concluded that this was a limited phenomenon involving almost exclusively bronze coins (with the effects on the target audiences and the purposes of these issues). MESSINA (120) interpreted coins as media for propaganda (*sic*) especially well-suited for the diffusion of royal image. As such, they were compared both to seals and the stelae the Great Kings dispatched in their territories in a process of ideological appropriation of the land. The article presents the merit of addressing the notion of targeted audiences by different denominations and media; a comparable approach is to be found in IOSSIF (84) comparing the numismatic production of Seleucia on the Tigris with practices involving seals observed in the same city. SMIRNOV (138) proposed an interesting iconographic analysis of the helmeted portraits of the Seleucids while WÓJCIKOWSKI (151) studied the Zeus Aetophoros type introduced by Seleucos I (albeit with methodological and bibliographical gaps in the analysis). MEYER (121) used coin portraits in order to investigate the reasons behind the paucity of female Seleucid numismatic portraits; this study needs to be complementary with the reading of AGER and HARDIMAN (2). LORBER (111) used coinage as a comparative element with an interesting seal impression belonging to the Edfu hoard (now at the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam). The author argued that the motif of the eagle above an elephant is an iconographic translation of the subordination of the Seleucid to the Ptolemaic power.

Regions, Mints, and Individual Reigns

Regional studies of given coinages cover almost the totality of the Seleucid realm but with a concentration of studies for the regions of Coele-Syria, Phoenicia, and Judaea. DUMITRU (50) discussed the Seleucid presence in Thrace by using, among other, the numismatic evidence from that region. The relationship of the Seleucids to the Mithridates was considered in D'AGOSTINI (43) with an interesting proposal that the gold staters issued in the name of King Mithridates were, in fact, part of the dowry of Laodice, daughter of Mithridates II, for her wedding with Antiochos III. COŞKUN (38) made extensive use of numismatic evidence in order to reconstruct the use of the title of *archiereus* by Simon in the context of Seleucid involvement in the area under Antiochos VII. For the same region and focusing on the production of the mint of Jerusalem under the same Antiochos VII, ARIEL (18) discussed the role of John Hyrcanus I in the bronze coinages issued there (see above). The title of "high priest" and the contribution of the numismatic evidence was explored in ECKHARDT (56) and HONIGMAN (75). Studies on the coinages of Antiochos IV in the region are those of SCOLNIC (136, 137); ECKER, GORRE, HONIGMAN and SYON (55) discussed coinage and coin finds in Southern

Levant to understand the modes of occupation and integration of a newly occupied territory in the Empire. The most thorough study of the Seleucid (and Ptolemaic) coinages of this area in relation to the history of Judah was by LORBER (112): the author examined the hoard evidence and convincingly concluded that the supposed violent persecution of the Maccabean revolt by Antiochos IV is not represented by the evidence. Hoard loss patterns in the area were, on the other hand, affected by the invasion of Ptolemy VI and the death of Antiochos VII.

Phoenician coinages attracted a lot of interest in exploring the role of civic coinages produced for the kings, especially at Tyre and Sidon. IOSSIF (85) and LORBER (108, 110) interpreted mintmarks and Seleucid era dates on the coinages produced in these cities under the Seleucids as part of an “obligation” and annual tax payments. OLIVIER (129) also addressed questions of the involvement of Ptolemy VI in the area but mostly from a Ptolemaic point of view. BONNET (27) explored Seleucid numismatics to establish the relationship of Phoenician cities with the royal authority and these elements are also pointed out in IOSSIF (88). IOSSIF and OLIVIER (96) considered the role of the Phoenician cities under the Seleucids (and the Ptolemies) based on hoard evidence. APICELLA (8, 9, 10) also studied the role of numismatics in Phoenicia inscribed in the broader administrative organization of the province. The role of Damascus was put forward in the die study of Alexander II Zabinas by IOSSIF and GERRITSEN (93), while the same mint (and Antioch) under Demetrios II was considered in SCHWEI (135). The coinages of these mints are also used in the studies devoted to the reigns of Cleopatra Thea (D’AGOSTINI (45)) and Cleopatra Selene (DUMITRU (51)). The area of central Asia Minor was the focus of COŞKUN (39) where the author used the numismatic evidence to clarify the events surrounding the final phases of the Third Syrian War, especially the fratricide battle between Seleucos II and Antiochos Hierax. MARCELLESI (116) proposed a general overview of royal coinages after the reign of Antiochos IV; given the shrinking of royal territories during this period, most of the coinages under discussion were produced in Phoenicia, Coele-Syria, and Syria.

Babylonia was the focus of MONERIE (122, 123), while Susa and its region (including the Elymais) were the focus of MAREST-CAFFEY (114, 115), MARTINEZ-SÈVE (117), TAYLOR (144, 145, 146 and 147). The role of a local governor, Andragoras, in a province of the Empire, Hyrkania, was addressed in OLBRYCHT (128), while the usurpation of Timarchus was discussed in JAKOBSSON (98) with the intriguing hypothesis that Demetrios I was proclaimed king in Babylonia before Timarchos’ invasion. The role of Persia was stressed in the studies of ALINEZHAD, HOUGHTON and DEHPAHLAVAN (5) and DEHPAHLAVAN and RAZIPOOR (47) (with special attention paid to the Frataraka issues). The Frataraka coinages were also extensively considered in ENGELS (58) (a reappraisal of their coinage and the relations of the early Seleucids with local dynasts), GHOLAMI (67). ASSAR (24) used the coinage of Antiochos VII to follow the campaign of the king in Parthia; he concludes that the king had vast quantities of coins in his war treasury brought from the West and that this explains the rarity of his Seleucian issues. Furthermore, a western style, due to the presence of a western engraver, is attributed to Antiochos VII’s issues. The rare bronze and dated issues of Antiochos III from Seleucia, Susa and Uruk are also brought into discussion indicating that year 130 BC was that of Antiochos VII’s Parthian campaign.

Coin production in Bactria was discussed in BOPEARACHCHI (28, 29), MARTINEZ-SÈVE (118) and GLENN and RUTTER (70). The latter, a short article, analyzed the production of the larger bronze denominations issued by Antiochos III (and Seleucos IV) at Ecbatana and connects their production with the king’s oriental Anabasis. The funding of this same expedition was briefly addressed in DUMKE (52). Sogdiana was the main topic in GORIN (71) and NAYMARK (125).

Technological and metallurgical studies

In the field of the technology used to strike coins, ARIEL (14) offered an important article where he examined more than 3,000 bevelled coins from Jerusalem (102 Seleucid coins) and showed that the local issuing authorities systematically positioned the head on the bevelled side of the coins. He also offered important comparisons with Ptolemaic and Hasmonean practices. BRESSON (30) published a brilliant analysis of the countermarking phenomenon of Helios and anchor on Pamphylian issues which found their way to the Seleucid kingdom and dated the practice to c. 175 BC. DE CALLATAÏ and IOSSIF (35) discussed the rare and interesting case of a coin of Lysimachus overstruck on a rare Antiochos I coin (SC 322) with the horned horse types. This overstrike offered evidence for a new chronological sequence and for locating the mint of the Seleucid issue. Another important overstrike was discussed in MEADOWS (119): a coin which appeared in the market with the types of Philetairos Westermark Type VII was overstruck on a Antiochos IV coin SC 1396-1397 or 1398-1400 from Antioch. In the author’s interpretation, this overstrike seemed

to reinforce his argument for the dating of the introduction of the cistophoric coinage in the 160s. HOOVER (76) rightly observed a case of obverse die-clashing in two tetradrachms of Philip I Philadelphos, showing that sometimes more complex explanations than overstrikes can be considered; HOOVER (78) addressed the complex phenomenon of plated coins and of imitations in general under the Seleucids and arrived at the conclusion that most of these imitative coins were struck, mainly, as a stopgap to meet demands in local circulation (with a special focus on the imitative issues of Antiochos VII in Cappadocia). ALINEZHAD, DEHPAHLAVAN, RASHTI and OLIAIY (4) used the PIXE method to analyze 72 Seleucid coins from the Hamadam museum. The authors focused their analysis on four mints (Antioch, Seleucia on the Tigris, Susa, and Ecbatana) and concluded that Eastern mints seem to have used different ores from Western mints (i.e. Antioch). Furthermore, they pointed out, based on the sole metallurgical analysis, that there was a uniform monetary policy from Seleucos I to Alexander I Balas, while the changes they observed are to be dated to the first reign of Demetrios II. The sample is admittedly small and needs to be extended with further analyses in the future but offers an important starting point. ALINEZHAD, HOUGHTON and DEHPAHLAVAN (5) also offered results from metallurgical analyses in their die study of UM 65. SMIRNOV (140) published a lead, coin-shaped object from a private collection in Moscow bearing the types of coins of Demetrios II and interpreted as a token or test-piece.

Collections and Museums

The Seleucid coins from museums and (public and private) collections concern material coming from Russia and Iran. ALIZENEHAD and DEHPAHLAVAN (3) and DEHPAHLAVAN and RAZIPOOR (47) published the Seleucid material from Tehran and Malek museums while the metallurgical analysis in ALINEZHAD, DEHPAHLAVAN, RASHTI and OLIAIY (4) analyzed 72 coins from the Hamadan Museum adding them to the general record. An ongoing research project in Russia aims at publishing all Seleucid coins in Russian collections. ZAKHAROV and SMIRNOV (153) published 115 Seleucid coins from the State Historical Museum of Moscow and updated by ZAKHAROV and SMIRNOV (155) with 76 additional coins (including unknown varieties and types) from the same museum. ZAKHAROV and SMIRNOV (154) recorded 23 new types and one unknown bronze coin of Alexander I Balas from the Ivanovo State Museum of Local History; SMIRNOV (140) discussed three new silver types (a tetradrachm of Alexander I Balas similar to SC 1784.2; a Baal stater from Babylon similar to Nicolet-Pierre 2; an 1/8 stater from Susa with similarities to SC 90) from Russian collections, and MORZHERIN and SMIRNOV (124) added five Seleucid coins from the Saratov Regional Museum. A lead, coin-shaped object was published in SMIRNOV (140) (see above).

General Historical Perspective (including monographs)

Some important monographs dealing with the Seleucids and their coinages were published. CHRUBASIK (37) used coins as the basis for understanding the role of usurpers; in ENGELS (57), coins were used for illustrating this collection of articles; FEYEL and GRASLIN-THOMÉ (63, 64 and 65) collected important papers and general studies on the history of Antiochos IV, Antiochos III, and of the Late Seleucids respectively. HANNESTAD (73) and OGDEN (127) published two biographies of Seleucos I, where the king's rich numismatic material is poorly explored. HOCHARD (74) offered an exemplary analysis of the monetary production and circulation in Lydia where the numismatic production of the Seleucids is secondary, but the broader study offered important insights of the historical understanding of the dynasty as well. HONIGMAN (75) put Antiochos IV (and his coinages) in the heart of the debate of the revolt of the Maccabees. KOSMIN (102, 103) were two of the most influential books on the Seleucids written the past few years, but the numismatic evidence is quite poorly explored as clearly shown in HOOVER (82) which convincingly argues against the author's thesis that dates on coins were to be understood as a vehicle for imperial domination. OETJEN (126) gathered a series of important contributions to Seleucid numismatics (and history). A problem with this *Festschrift* was that lengthy preparation resulted in some articles becoming outdated by the publication date.

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PARTHIA
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As the most extensive and prolific source of primary evidence, the coinage of the Arsacid kings and their sub-rulers continues to shape our understanding of the Parthian period. The traditional paradigm that envisages a Parthian Empire in crisis – unstable at its core, weakened by internal rivals, and its power impaired by peripheral kingdoms – is a narrative that has been frequently re-assessed in recent scholarship.

The role of numismatics in discussions of Parthia’s political history and in the identification of its kings is well known. The nature of these subjects often sees the dialogue gravitate towards the royal sphere; some studies, however, have shifted towards a focus on the role of mint personnel in the development of the coin production (on this subject in general, see SINISI (61)). The following works are largely ordered in chronological sequence according to their subject matter.

CURTIS, MAGUB, PENDLETON, and HOPKINS (16) present the second volume of the *SNP* series, which covers the coinage of Mithradates II. Close to 9,000 coin specimens were examined, with 1,997 catalogued and illustrated in the published volume. The numismatic material is divided into four chronological phases according to typological changes – some, like the introduction of the title ‘King of Kings’ and the Parthian tiara, concern ideological developments; others reveal choices made by the mint for administrative purposes and evidence a period of increased centralisation in the organisation of the mints. Other primary and secondary textual sources are examined in this volume and are incorporated into the overall reconstruction of the coin production during Mithradates II’s reign.

OLBRYCHT (51) remarks on the two decades that followed Mithradates II’s rule, with an emphasis on the tiara types that appeared on the coinage at the inception of the so-called Parthian Dark-Age.

ASSAR (4) revisits the contested issue of Parthian gold coins, here dealing principally with a gold variety of a S31.6 drachm type in the author’s own collection; he attributes this coin to Mithradates III. ASSAR’s argument for the coin’s authenticity examines the shared dies between the gold and silver specimens, metallurgy, weight and manufacturing technique. The article proposes that gold coins of this type were struck in order to procure external military aid during the Parthian war against Tigranes of Armenia in 85/84 BCE.

SINISI (65, 66) scrutinises the so-called royal wart that first made its appearance on coin portraits of Orodes II, and its last appearance on those of Vologases I and Vardanes II/Son of Vardanes. Previous scholars have often interpreted this facial mark in the context of the dynastic struggle between Phraates IV and Tiridates, assuming it held some political significance. SINISI demonstrates that the facial mark was part of a wider group of devices employed by the mint workers to distinguish between different series or sub-series of coinage; the facial mark, therefore, does not stem from any royal intervention in the coin production. Further analysis for the period of Phraates IV to Orodes III in the forthcoming *SNP* 5 volume is much anticipated.

ASSAR (2) examines the iconography of Artabanus II’s S62.1–5 tetradrachms that were minted in 23–24 CE in the context of the Jewish Revolt of 22 CE, as described in Josephus *Antiquities*, 18.305–379, Tacitus *Annals*, 6.31–44 and Cassius Dio, 58.26.1–4 (the issuing king is identified as Artabanus IV by the author). The kneeling figure that extends a diadem band to the enthroned king is identified as Asinaeus, the Jewish governor of Mesopotamia. An addendum to this contribution outlines Assar’s argument for revising the end date of Artabanus’ reign to 41 CE.

OLBRYCHT (48) and Sinisi (66) revisit the S72 coin types, once thought to have been issued under a usurper “Vologases II” during the early years of Pacorus II’s reign. In fact, the numismatic evidence establishes that this series was struck for Vologases I contemporarily with the S73 coin types that were produced for his chosen successor, Pacorus II. SINISI highlights variations in the detail of the coin typology that distinguish the outputs of different rulers.

SINISI (67) provides a fresh examination of the rare S88 tetradrachm specimens of Vologases V/VI bearing the supposed date of ΦΛΘ or 539 of the Seleucid Era (227/8 CE). Noting that the iconography and devices on these

specimens remains unchanged despite a gap in the series of 5 or 6 years, as well as the manner in which the letters of the date are rendered, SINISI argues that the Λ is more probably a K with the upper arm element missing. The tetradrachms can therefore be dated to ΦΚΘ or 529 of the Seleucid Era (217/8 CE), and were struck well before Artashir's victory over the Arsacid dynasty in 224 CE. Looking also to the end of the Arsacid period, CHENEVIER (8) evaluates the final S88 and S89 drachms issued under Vologases V/VI and Artabanus IV/V respectively, highlighting some additional mule types that have come to light.

Numismatic sources have also demonstrated their value in other disciplines: LUTHER (40, 41) draws on the royal titles and epithets that appear in coin legends to re-evaluate several important documents from the Parthian period: the Greek inscription engraved above the Parthian relief at Bisotun (traditionally attributed to Mithradates II, but here ascribed to Gotarzes I), and the three Greek-Parthian parchments from Avroman (attributed by the author to Phraates IV, Gotarzes II or Vardanes I, and Vologases I).

A number of studies have taken a broad perspective on coin production in the Parthian period. HAUSER (31) hypothesises on the political structure of the Arsacid dynasty and how this may be reflected in mint activity. Starting in the 1st century CE, he proposes that the mint of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris in Babylonia produced coinage exclusively for the King of Kings, while the mint of Ecbatana principally struck coinage for the King of Media. With this view, discrepancies between the issuing authorities of contemporary tetradrachm and drachm series need not be understood in the first instance as evidence of a dynastic struggle.

SINISI (66) examines various overarching phenomena that are apparent in the production of Parthian coinage from the mid-1st century BCE onwards. These include the bifurcation of tetradrachm and drachm production and their separate pathways towards debasement, the centralisation of drachm production in Ecbatana, the increasing quantity of bronze series and the role of peripheral systems of coinage. The author argues that these developments did not occur in reaction to a long-enduring crisis or process of political disintegration, but came about as part of a conscious strategy to adapt the monetary system as practices evolved. Questions concerning the technique of die engravers and the arrangement of iconography on coinage are addressed by SINISI (60) in a contribution that focuses on Arsacid art and its continuity into the Sasanian period. While the technical knowledge of engravers working in the early Parthian period was rooted in the tradition of the Seleucid court, a movement towards linearism in the style of engraving demonstrates that a new visual culture was soon underway. Eventually the art on Arsacid coinage had departed from its original Greek context, becoming “an Iranian art for an Iranian audience”. Moreover, the royal and divine figures depicted on the reverse of Arsacid tetradrachms begin to show a mixture of frontal and profile perspectives. A direct connection can be drawn here between iconography on Arsacid coinage and Sasanian imperial art. The author emphasises that Sasanian art was not produced in opposition to that of their predecessors, rather the output of the two dynasties represents “two chronological stages in a single evolutionary process”.

Various scholars have addressed aspects of the ruling dynasty's political and religious outlook. These studies examine a broad range of numismatic, archaeological, epigraphical and literary evidence to provide the contours of an overarching ideological programme. From the same volume on the theme of *Persianism in Antiquity*, STROOTMAN (68), CANEPA (6) and SHAYEGAN (59) broadly consider the Arsacids' inheritance from the Hellenistic Seleucids and the Persian Achaemenids. STROOTMAN (68) proposes that the rise of the Arsacids (as well as other local dynasts, such as the Frataraka in Persis) came about during the re-organisation of the Seleucid political networks under Seleucus II and Antiochus III. Under these kings, unruly governors from the Greco-Macedonian elite were replaced by a new system of indirect rule through local dynasts (note also ENGELS [26], who suggests that the Seleucids' allowed the Arsacid-Parni to invade Parthia in order to subvert the unruly satrap Andragoras). STROOTMAN states that the new localised rulers were encouraged to create their own dynastic identity: on their coinages this was expressed through the assimilation of Achaemenid satrapal imagery, in particular the adoption of the *kyrbasia* headdress that indicated their subordination to their Seleucid overlords. This “badge of office” was combined with an autocratic or royal title that secured the dynasts' new position. The author concludes that the coin types of the Arsacids and Frataraka were not formulated in opposition to Hellenism, but were developed under the aegis of the Seleucids in a process of “cultural entanglement”. CANEPA (6) takes the view that the intervention of Alexander and the Seleucids in Iran prevented a direct continuity between the Achaemenids and the Iranian dynasties that emerged from the mid-3rd or early 2nd century BCE. The coin iconography of these local dynasts was the product of “creative conflict, collaboration and exchange that arose

from the interchange among the Arsakids, Perso-Macedonian dynasties and the Hellenistic and Roman west”, the end product being a new Middle Iranian style of kingship (discussed also in CANEPA [7]). In his contribution, SHAYEGAN (59) reflects on the survival of various Achaemenid titles on the coinage of Persid and Arsacid rulers, as well as these rulers’ reception of the past.

ENGELS (26) observes the titulature that was adopted on coinage as the Arsacid dynasty advanced its imperial aspirations. The shift from the royal ‘King’ to the imperial ‘Great King’ under Mithradates I is noted in the context of his conquests of Media and Babylonia in c.147 and 141 BCE respectively. Although the latter title was used under the Achaemenids, the author rejects the notion that it was introduced in order to overtly oppose Hellenism, but rather as a matter of political pragmatism (see also MARTINEZ-SÈVE [44] and STROOTMAN [69]; KEALL [35], however, interprets this title as an Achaemenid revival). Later in c.111 BCE, the grander title ‘Great King of Kings’ was introduced on the coinage of Mithradates II. While this was the title’s first appearance since the Achaemenid period, Engels argues that its combination with ‘Great’ was viewed as a merging of both Hellenistic and Iranian traditions. Also looking at the coin legends, WIESEHÖFER (71) has touched on the application and absence of the epithet ‘Philhellene’ in terms of relations between the Arsacids and their Greek subjects.

Delving into the concept of a sacral kingship, DAŁBROWA (19, 20, 22, 23) places particular emphasis on the Greek epithet ‘Epiphanes’ (“revelation [of god]”), which was used only sporadically under the Seleucids, but became a fixed component in Arsacid coin legends from the reign of Artabanus I. The author seeks to reconcile the concept of a divine kingship with the Iranian religion of the ruling dynasty by postulating whether the allusion to divinity was not so much directed at the king himself, but expressed the overarching divine character of the dynasty.

OLBRYCHT (49, 50) considers a number of features in Arsacid coin legends and iconography that suggest continuity with Achaemenid royal ideology, in particular the Avestan concept of the *khvarnah* (Kingly Splendour) and the royal fire cult. CURTIS (11, 12, 13) also discusses pre-Hellenistic influences in the ideology of the Arsacid dynasty, highlighting the variety of motifs that were applied to coinage in order to associate the ruler with the *khvarnah*, as well as the divine beings who were the guardians of this Kingly Splendour.

The identity behind the iconic Parthian archer motif predominantly depicted on the reverse of Parthian drachms has been considered by LERNER (38), who regards this figure as a symbol of the Arsacids’ divine kingship. He draws a parallel with the archer Apollo as the divine ancestor of the Seleucid dynasty and the emblematic motif on Seleucid coinage. From the time of Mithradates I, LERNER adds, the Parthian archer may have been associated with the legendary archer Ǝrəxša of the Avestan tradition (*Yasht* 6.8), as well as the divine being Mithra. PANAINO (53) introduces a linguistic aspect to the discussion, and connects the figures of Ǝrəxša and Kavi Aršan (*Yasht* 19.71) with the Parthian archer motif. He suggests that the two mythological figures were eventually amalgamated into one, and was understood to be the dynastic ancestor of the Arsacids.

Religion in the Parthian period continues to produce much scholarly debate, particularly with regard to how images of the divine should be interpreted. Discussions that focus on the coinage specifically highlight the multivalency of this iconography within varied religious traditions and evolving artistic conventions. SINISI (62) re-examines a seal impression that was found in the 1950s JuTAKE excavations at the site of Old Nisa/Mithradatkirt in southern Turkmenistan, and appears to depict the god Apollo in an investiture scene. With comparisons made to coin evidence, SINISI reasons that this deity could also represent the divine being Mithra of the Zoroastrian tradition – and this was probably his primary identification in the context of Old Nisa/Mithradatkirt. INVERNIZZI (32, 33) discusses the image of the goddess Tyche on Parthian coinage. His earlier article re-visits the controversial S17 bearded Tyche type that was struck in Seleucia under Phraates II, and he states that the goddess should be understood as a representation of Babylonian Nana in the first instance. INVERNIZZI’s second article (33) focuses on the S70.15 bronze coin type of Vologases I from Ecbatana, depicting a goddess standing between two columns and wearing a mural crown. While this deity has been identified as a representation of Anahita-Nana in Sinisi’s more recent *SNP* 7 typology (Type 6), INVERNIZZI prefers to see here a local goddess of a lower rank in the guise of Tyche.

DARYAEE (18) examines the use of elephant iconography on Parthian bronze coinage following Mithradates I’s victory against the Greco-Bactrian Eucratides I in the 160s or 150s BCE. Consulting later literary evidence, DARYAEE concludes that the elephant had become a symbol of kingship in Parthia by way of India and the Indo-Iranian borderlands in the beginning of the 1st century CE. Also looking eastwards, SINISI (63) analyses the transmission of canonised

representations of kingship from Arsacid Parthia to Kushan Bactria during the reign of Vima Kadphises in the early 2nd century CE. He considers also the numismatic material from Chorasmia (SINISI [64]), stating that this kingdom was first exposed to Arsacid iconographic models, but increasingly drew influence from the Kushan Empire from the 1st century CE.

Regarding the regional coinages struck by the sub-kings within the Parthian Empire, several studies can be highlighted. The coinage of Elymais has been examined in the research of the Iranian-Italian Joint Expedition in Khuzistan, co-directed by V. Messina and J. Mehr Kian. MESSINA (45) compares the royal portraits on Elymaean coinage to new laser-scanning and 3D modelling of the figures on the Hung-e Azhdar rock relief in the Izeh plain, and suggests new attributions for the principal figures in the original relief (which he dates to the first half of the 1st century BCE) and its later re-sculpting (dated to the first decades of the 2nd century CE). DĄBROWA (21) considers the political relations between Elymais and the Arsacids, asserting that this kingdom in the mountainous eastern part of Khuzistan remained firmly within the Arsacid sphere from the mid-1st century BCE until the rise of the Sasanians. DĄBROWA argues against le Rider's assessment that the Elymaeans annexed Susiana and its mint at Susa in 45 CE (in *Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes. Les trouvailles monétaires et l'histoire de la ville* [Paris, 1965]), finding no definitive evidence in the surviving epigraphic or numismatic evidence to support this.

On the kingdom of Persis, MÜSELER (47) maintains his argument for a high chronology in the dating of the Frataraka coins. The subject of chronology is examined also by GHOLAMI (30), who attributes to Vahbarz the under-type design on a tetradrachm of Baydad. A contribution by ENGELS (27) examines the peculiar tetradrachm and drachm types that depict a Persian figure slaying a Greek soldier on the reverse from the time of Vahbarz. Following a high chronology, he argues that this image does not represent a serious conflict with the Seleucids, but rather a Persian victory over Ptolemaic, Andragorid or Bactrian troops in support of the Seleucids. CURTIS (10, 11, 12) provides a broad overview of the iconographic developments on the coinage of Persis, noting the significant Parthian influences in their royal representation from c. 100 BCE. The close link between kingship and the Avestan concept of the *khvarnah* is emphasised in the iconography. REZAKHANI (55) examines the epigraphic developments from Aramaic to Pahlavi in the coin legends. He finds similarities between the script as it appears under the last Persid and early Sasanian kings, and the script used on the coinage of the Indo-Saka kingdom. His supposition on an eastern origin for the Sasanian dynasty is echoed by OLBRYCHT's contribution in the same volume (17). Turning to Characene, ASSAR (3) brings to light a new tetradrachm type issued in the name of a "King [Hyp]pokrates, Autocrat (and) Bearer of Victory" in the Seleucid year 232 (81/80 BCE). He postulates that this [Hyp]pokrates was a Characenean usurper who had briefly seized power in the Arsacid vassal state, or alternatively a Seleucid functionary (favouring a Seleucid identification is EHLING, K., PANGERL, A. and WÜNSCH, J., Hippokrates, ein neuer Seleukidenkönig, *JNG* 69/70 [2020], pp. 35–48).

In addition, MARCIAK (42) and MARCIAK and WÓJCIKOWSKI (43) have touched on the scarce Parthian period numismatic material from the kingdoms of Adiabene and Sophene. KOVACS (36) has produced an extensive catalogue on Armenian coinage, including those issued under Arsacid hegemony; while MOUSHEGHIAN (46) discusses monetary circulation in the region.

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GRAECO-BACTRIAN AND INDO-GREEK KINGDOMS

Simon Glenn

The number of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins appearing on the market has increased since the mid-1990s, reaching a peak in the early 2000s, a phenomenon linked to the political situation in Afghanistan and Pakistan. This new material, in addition to the discovery of coins in renewed archaeological excavations in Central Asia, as well as the great importance of coins as the best, and in many cases only, primary source of evidence for the rulers of these kingdoms has led to significant numismatic scholarly attention on this period in recent years. Since the last Survey, GLENN (18) has appeared as an attempt to provide a comprehensive bibliography of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins with a small commentary.

Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins have long been considered interesting for the iconography they employ as well as the high quality of the portraiture of the rulers under whom they were struck. The lack of evidence of other visual media has often led the imagery of the coins to be considered in isolation. ABDULLAEV (1) addresses this lack of comparison by detailing the ways in which coin portraits interacted with other forms of art, seeing the portraits as an ‘iconographic reference’ which might follow the model of other genres of fine art, with the focus on the posthumous Central Asian imitations of tetradrachms of Alexander the Great. Similarly, BOPEARACHCHI (5) traces the influence of the image of Alexander on the numismatic portraits of Seleucid, Graeco-Bactrian, and Indo-Greek kings. (An impressive collection of Bopearachchi’s earlier works is now available (BOPEARACHCHI (4)) providing English translations from the original French publications of many of his important contributions to the subject.) DUMKE (8) reviews the way in which the iconography and the physical properties of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins may have been aimed at particular groups of users, fitting into the wider coinage traditions in Central and South Asia. Studies of the iconography of coins have not been limited to broad reviews. SMIRNOVA (29) provides an analysis of the large coinage of Eucratides I and the coinages which imitated it, describing changes in the coin types and legends and how they reflect the king’s policy as well as the significant impact of Eucratides’s choices on the coinages of successive rulers.

Although there are few catalogues of collections devoted solely to Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins, the collection of the National Museum, Prague has now appeared as volume 10 in the *SNG* Czech Republic series. MILITKÝ and MAŠEK (25) presents the 333 Graeco-Bactrian, Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, and imitation coins in the collection. A large proportion (201) of these coins was acquired from commercial sources from 2002 onwards. The collection as a whole has most rulers represented with only those whose coins are particularly rare absent. As well as the scholarly presentation of a broad collection the authors include the results of XRF analysis of 174 of the coins, providing the largest published sample of composition analysis in the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek series to date.

In addition to recent collecting, the lasting results of the approach taken by nineteenth century scholars, such as Alexander Cunningham, has been analysed by BHANDARE (3). In particular the ‘Essentialist’ position taken by such scholars which led to coins of similar types to be divided into ‘Greek’ and ‘Indian’ groups on the basis of different features, such as the inclusion or omission of a legend. With the evidence of overstrikes of these so-called ‘Taxila’ types on coins of Apollodotus I, Bhandare suggests that these issues were produced during the ‘Indo-Greek’ period of the city and shows that the previous dating of these coins to a period during which Taxila was apparently an ‘independent state’ is incorrect and that such a situation may never have existed. Coins without inscriptions often cause difficulty in attribution. GLENN (17) suggests removing a group of small, rare gold coins from the Graeco-Bactrian king Demetrius I where they had tentatively been placed and moving them to a later, although still uncertain date. The rejection of a simple ‘Greek’ or ‘Indian’ identity for Indo-Greek coins has also been demonstrated with regard to the rectangular silver coinage of Agathocles. BARALAY (2) argues for a more nuanced view of these coins on the basis of iconographic and metrological analysis, seeing them instead as hybrid issues.

Unpublished types have continued to appear with the large numbers of new coins on the market. GAWLIK and

MIRZA (15) present an unpublished drachm type of Zoilus II while SENIOR (28) uses the evidence of new types of later Indo-Greek kings, in particular Apollophanes, to give a new interpretation of the relationships between the kings at the end of the Indo-Greek period. The kings of this period have also received from JAKOBSSON (21). TANDON (30) presents a new type of a bronze 'quadruple unit' of Amyntas with unusual features, highlighting a major problem facing the study of coins of these kingdoms: the authenticity of new pieces. Although Tandon considers this new type to be genuine, he also presents troubling evidence of coins of Apollodotus retooled so that they appear to be much rarer issues of Apollophanes. An additional coin is presented as a clear modern forgery thanks to errors in the legend and type. Other methods of forgery are of course still prevalent, as GAWLIK (12) demonstrates with evidence of cast forgeries of Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, and Kushan coins.

More encouragingly the results of excavations in Central Asia have been published recently, increasing considerably the number of coins known from archaeological contexts. BORDEAUX, BESEVAL, MARQUIS, and RASSOLI (7) present 113 coins found during the Franco-Afghan excavations at Balkh (ancient Bactra) in Afghanistan between 2004 and 2008. Of these coins 14 are of the Hellenistic period, mainly issues of the Graeco-Bactrian king Euthydemus I, while the remainder belong to the Kushan era. Another major excavation of the Hellenistic fortress of Uzundara on the border of Northern Bactria in the modern Boysun region of Uzbekistan has also produced many coin finds (DVURECHENSKAYA, GORIN, and SHEIKO (10, 11); GORIN (19)). Coins of the Seleucid and Graeco-Bactrian periods were found along with imitations of Heliocles I and Kushan issues. Excavations at the ancient city of Kampyrtepa in the Surkhandarya region of Uzbekistan from 1979–1991 and 1999–2010 unearthed 38 Seleucid and Graeco-Bactrian coins (RTVELADZE and GORIN (26, 27)). Although the coins at these northern sites generally followed the same pattern as finds at similar sites with a preponderance of bronze coins of Euthydemus I and other early Graeco-Bactrian kings, a poorly-preserved illegible rectangular flan may be a bronze issue of the later king Agathocles. If the identification is correct this would be the first find of one of this king's coins north of the Amu Darya. The publication of all these site finds has important implications for our understanding of the geographical and chronological extent of Graeco-Bactrian rule in the north of the region and it is to be hoped that more coins continue to appear from similar systematic excavations.

The rather less certain evidence of coins from hoards has also continued to appear over the period covered by this Survey, with all the attendant difficulties of establishing the original find spot and composition of the assemblage after discovery and dispersal of the material. GAWLIK (13) provides details of a hoard of 127 silver drachms of Apollodotus II, Zoilus II, Zoilus III, Strabo II and III, and Bhadrashya which appeared on the market in March 2017, perhaps coming from the area of Taxila in the Punjab province. The same author published a second note (GAWLIK (14)) on 216 bronze coins offered in smaller lots but with a similar composition of rulers to the silver hoard, indicating a single original find.

A comparable level of uncertainty, in terms of find spot and composition, surrounds the Vaisali hoard of early Graeco-Bactrian gold staters of the Diodotids and Euthydemus I apparently from Bihar State in north-east India and originally reported in 2001. The hoard, because of its location and apparently large number of high value coins, is of considerable importance for our understanding of the early period of Graeco-Bactrian history and in particular the theory, originally proposed by Jakobsson in 2010, of a third (previously unidentified) king called Antiochus Nicator ruling after Diodotus I and Diodotus II. Jakobsson reattributed coins with the types of the Diodotids, but bearing the name of 'Antiochus', from their traditional place in the sequence as issues produced by the Diodotus I as a satrap of the Seleucid king Antiochus II. The discovery of die links between staters, apparently from the hoard, of 'Antiochus' and those of Euthydemus I strengthen the Nicator theory (ZENG (32)). KRITT (23) and BORDEAUX (6) have made arguments, on the basis of reconstructions of the production systems of the Diodotids, against the existence of a Bactrian king Antiochus and it seems likely that this question will remain unsettled for some time.

The reinterpretation of numismatic evidence in a broader historical reconstruction has allowed important conclusions in the period of this Survey. The lack of any non-numismatic evidence can lead to dramatically different rearrangements of coinages. The Heliocles and Laodice coins have been removed from the issues of Eucratides I and given to Heliocles and Laodice themselves as the rulers under whom they were struck. JAKOBSSON (20) argues that Heliocles was to become Heliocles I, who is known from other coins, and rejects Tarn's suggestion that Heliocles and Laodice were the parents of Eucratides. GLENN (16) also rejects this proposed relationship and uses the evidence of

a die study of the coins to confirm that Heliocles and Laodice appear on the obverses of the coins, suggesting they were the issuers, although he remains reticent about their own relationship or position in the Graeco-Bactrian series. DUMKE and GRIGO (9) have undertaken a similar reexamination of the coins of Agathocleia and Strato I concluding, through an analysis of the organisation of production and the iconography of the coins, that the relationship between the two figures on the coins was one of husband and wife rather than mother and son.

This Survey marks the first time that the die study methodology has begun to be used by multiple scholars. As well as the relatively small and self-contained coinage of Heliocles and Laodice, the issues attributed to Sophytes have received considerable attention. These coins all into three distinct series: imitations of Athenian tetradrachms with a head of Athena on the obverse and an owl on the reverse; an ‘eagle group’ with the head of Athena retained and an eagle on the reverse; and a group with a male head wearing a helmet on the obverse and a reverse type of a cockerel along with the legend ΣΩΦΥΤΟΥ. The date and circumstances of the issue of these coins is unclear, as is the identity of the issuer, Sophytes. The evidence of die studies and other technical numismatic analysis has led to multiple suggestions for dating: JANSARI (22) concludes that Sophytes was a ruler in the Punjab and a contemporary of Alexander the Great. KRITT (24), through comparison with the helmeted male head of the Susa trophy coinage of Seleucus I, as well as his models for Seleucid coin production in Bactria, assigns a date from c. 295/3–270 B.C. for the three groups. TAYLOR (31) prefers to associate the Sophytes coinage with Andragoras and suggests that Sophytes was satrap of Parthia following the death of Andragoras leading him to date the coinage between c. 250 and 238 B.C.

The most expansive use of the die study methodology and the broadest contribution, running from the beginning of the Graeco-Bactrian period to the end of the Indo-Greek, during the period covered by this Survey is the monograph of BORDEAUX (6). The work consists of die studies of six kings: Diodotus I and Diodotus II, Euthydemus I, Menander I, Eucratides I, and Hippostratus. Bordeaux was thus able to bring a huge new body of evidence (4,117 coins) to bear on parts of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek series which had been subject to significant historiographic interest in the past and to test theories against the objective evidence of his studies. Although these coins have waited so long to be the subject of such large-scale studies, the appearance of large numbers of coins since the beginning of the millennium have made die studies viable and the subject will clearly benefit from the application of this approach.

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3. CELTIC AND ROMAN COINAGES

INTRODUCTION

Roger Bland

Roman and Celtic coins have, along with those of the ancient Greek world, been studied for longer than any other types of coin, at least since the early Renaissance period. The study of these coins is therefore a mature field of scholarship. Some trends, however, can be discerned with the last generation. The publication of finds of coins of this period, hoards, coins from excavations and stray finds has long been a concern of numismatists, but as the number of discoveries has increased, so has the number of publications devoted to them.

This increase in discoveries is partly a reflection of a general increase in human activity (construction and agricultural) across the world, but it has been particularly fuelled by the growth in the use of metal detectors, which has led to great increases in the numbers of coins being discovered. In countries with more enlightened policies many of these new discoveries are reported to the relevant authorities and made available to numismatic science. In other countries where fewer new finds are reported the coins are likely to find their way into the trade.

The development of the Internet in the 1990s has meant that increasingly these new finds appear online, either through academic projects to record coin finds in online databases (e.g., the Portable Antiquities Scheme in England and Wales, <https://finds.org.uk>, or the Oxford Coin Hoards of the Roman Empire project, <https://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk>), or in the coin trade, which is now largely conducted online, and hence visible to researchers. It should also be noted that an increasing number of museum collections are also available online, as are some private collections.

Some numismatic circles may have been slow to appreciate the importance of recording new coin finds in their contexts, but that is now generally appreciated. However, there is no doubt that enormous numbers of new coin finds are also appearing in the trade, normally without their contextual information. Because so much of this is now conducted online, these coins are also available for recording and the two websites which aggregate results from dealers, Coin Archives (<https://www.coinarchives.com>) and AC Search (<https://www.acsearch.info>), greatly facilitate this process.

Another trend in this field that stands out is the greatly increased academic interest in the enormously diverse coins now known as Roman Provincial coins (a much better term than 'Greek Imperial coins' which it replaced). This is largely due to the great progress being made in the enormously ambitious project to publish a systematic catalogue of all these issues, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, initiated by Andrew Burnett and Michel Amandry. Five volumes have now been published (I, II, III, VIIa and IX), while all the remaining volumes are in active preparation. This project too has an online presence as well as a hard copy one. As a result of the increased scholarly interest in these coins two chapters have been devoted to Roman Provincial coins (one covering western issues and the other eastern) in the previous Survey and this one, when previously a single chapter sufficed.

All these factors have meant that the way in which numismatic research is conducted has changed enormously over the last generation, with a great increase in the material available for study and changes in the means by which the study of this material can be conducted. This is illustrated by the fact that this Survey of Research will principally be published online, with printed copies made available through print on demand technology.

LES CELTES DE L'OUEST

(Britain, nord, centre et sud de la Gaule, Allemagne, Italie et Suisse)

Julia Genechesi, Eleanor Ghey et Eneko Hiriart

Monographies et Catalogues

AYACHE *et al.* (1) publient le catalogue de l'exposition qui a été présentée en 2018 à Bibracte. Dans le cadre d'une exposition proposée à Lausanne, GENECHESI et PERNET (9) coordonnent un ouvrage qui recueille les contributions de nombreux auteurs. L'ouvrage vise à expliquer à un large public l'apparition de la monnaie chez les Gaulois et son évolution à travers les siècles. MARTIN (15) consacre une étude détaillée du passage de la monnaie gauloise à la monnaie romaine. En confrontant les données (numismatiques, archéologiques, littéraires, épigraphiques), l'auteur propose une analyse croisée de la monétarisation et de la romanisation dans la Gaule du Nord et de l'Est. Un ouvrage dirigé par MARTIN (16) cherche à comprendre comment la monnaie circulait dans le monde rural de la Gaule du Nord, à travers une série d'études de cas. DOYEN (7) dédie un ouvrage à l'économie des Celtes et s'interroge sur les marchés, leur émergence, leur forme et leur complexité. Les questionnements liés à la production monétaire en Gaule du Nord et sur le temps long sont traités par LAUWERS (13). OVERBECK (18) étudie le trésor celtique découvert à Neuses en Haute-Franconie (Allemagne), lot mixte composé de 443 pièces. WEIS (20) consacre une étude au dépôt de Riegel (Allemagne), découvert lors d'une fouille menée en 2001, daté de LT D1 et composé de 27 monnaies d'or. L'auteur étudie également toutes les trouvailles monétaires du site en les replaçant dans un contexte régional. WIGG-WOLF (21) établit le catalogue des monnaies mises au jour en contexte romain, sur le site du Martberg. Celui-ci a livré de nombreuses monnaies celtiques.

BARAY (2, 3) explore les principales facettes du mode de fonctionnement du mercenariat celtique. Il établit pour la première fois une synthèse précise et complète de nos connaissances sur un sujet jusqu'alors pas ou peu abordé. Les monnayages du territoire des Sénons ont fait l'objet de plusieurs articles dans BARAY (éd.) (4) qui a assuré la coordination d'un ouvrage sur ce peuple. DENGIS (5, 6) effectue le recensement des trouvailles monétaires gauloises et romaines effectuées en Belgique. FOUCRAY et BULARD (8) réalisent un ouvrage de synthèse sur les émissions de bronze des peuples gaulois d'Île-de-France. NICK (17) publie un inventaire des trouvailles monétaires suisses.

Plusieurs monographies sont dédiées aux monnayages de Gaule méridionale. Les monnaies de la colline Saint-Jacques de Cavaillon (Vaucluse) ont fait l'objet d'une publication de synthèse par GENTRIC *et al.* (10) et celles du site d'Ensérune par RICHARD RALITE et GENTRIC (19). Deux ouvrages ont été consacrés aux monnaies à la croix, le monnayage le plus abondant et caractéristique de la Gaule méridionale. LOPEZ (14) propose un répertoire inédit des coins et aborde les questions liées à la production monétaire, la métrologie, la chronologie, l'usage de la monnaie et l'identification des ateliers. HIRIART (12) publie un catalogue exhaustif de ces monnayages qui se fonde sur une approche pluridisciplinaire associant données typologiques, métrologiques, cartographiques, historiques et surtout archéologiques.

GRICOURT et HOLLARD (11) abordent la mythologie celtique en s'appuyant notamment sur les textes et sur l'iconographie monétaire.

Actes de Colloques, Mélanges

Publiés en 2018 par HIRIART *et al.*, les *Mélanges en l'honneur de Katherine Gruel* (25) ont rassemblé 91 chercheurs. Les contributions variées ont abordé de nombreuses problématiques en lien avec la numismatique celtique comme les outils de la recherche, l'iconographie, les pratiques rituelles ou encore l'économie. Plus largement, elles ont permis de dresser le portrait renouvelé de la société celtique, à la lumière des découvertes archéologiques les plus récentes.

Grâce aux actes du colloque intitulé *Que reste-t-il du Traité de numismatique celtique ? Relire l'œuvre de Jean-Baptiste Colbert de Beaulieu (1905-1995) vingt ans après*, édités par GUIHARD et VAN HEESCH (24), il est désormais possible de mesurer l'apport et les conséquences des travaux menés par Jean-Baptiste Colbert de Beaulieu, grand

précurseur de la discipline. Grâce à de multiples examens critiques, les chercheurs sont tour à tour revenus sur la méthodologie mise en place par Colbert de Beaulieu, en retraçant l'évolution épistémologique de la numismatique celtique, parfois à l'échelle d'un territoire en particulier. Sur cette thématique, nous pouvons également évoquer la contribution de GUIHARD (114).

Quelques articles liés aux monnaies gauloises viennent également émailler les *Mélanges de numismatique et d'archéologie en mémoire de Marc Bar*, édités par DOYEN et GENEVIÈVE (23), ou encore les *Studies in honour of Johan Van Heesch*, dirigés par STROOBANTS et LAUWERS (26). Ils abordent le plus souvent des questions ponctuelles, comme la découverte d'un nouveau type, l'attribution récente d'un monnayage, ou évoquent les dernières considérations scientifiques en matière d'atelier et de fabrication monétaire.

Dans les actes du 15^e congrès international de numismatique de CACCAMO CALTABIANO (22), le profil des contributions est sensiblement différent. Les auteurs ont fait cette fois la part belle aux synthèses territoriales d'envergure qui permettent de retracer l'avancée de la recherche au sein de chaque région.

Britain

A new digital research tool launched in 2020, *Iron Age Coins in Britain* <https://iacb.arch.ox.ac.uk/>, allows records from the Celtic Coin Index (CCI), the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) and museum collections to be linked to a typological database using stable numismatic identifiers and linked open data methodologies established by the *Nomisma.org* project. Individual finds of new coins and hoards continue to be recorded by the PAS <https://finds.org.uk/database>, with a summary of new hoards and notable coins published annually in the *British Numismatic Journal*.

A comprehensive corpus of Iron Age hoards found in Britain was published by DE JERSEY (50). This meticulously researched volume includes reconstruction of a number of large historic hoards that were dispersed in trade, linking them to individual coins recorded on the CCI using current typology. It also contains an overview and analysis of hoarding patterns. The longer term patterning of hoarding and deposition in the landscape was also the subject of papers by BLAND (30, 31), FARLEY (37), HASELGROVE (42) and a major research project culminating in a monograph covering the Iron Age and Roman period BLAND ET AL. (32). Wider debates on the function of hoarding and deposition in later prehistory are represented by COOPER, GARROW, and GIBSON (34), JOY (54), NICK (66) and WIGG-WOLF (79). Further archaeological work was carried out at the findspot of the lost Sark hoard in the Channel Islands, the discovery of which is discussed by AXTON (29). Survey work providing a wider context for the Hallaton hoards was summarized by HASELGROVE AND SCORE (46).

Articles on recent discoveries of hoards include important finds of North Eastern coins from Riseholme, Lincolnshire ANDREW (28), the Malpas hoard of Iron Age and Roman coins MOORHEAD (63) and a hoard of inscribed Southern staters from Chawton, Hampshire RUDD (72). HOLMAN (49) published a new potin hoard alongside reassessment of an earlier find. The exceptionally large Le Câtillon II find of Gaulish coins from the Channel Island of Jersey, MILES AND MEAD (62), continues to be studied, with preliminary numismatic results and interpretation from DE JERSEY (51, 52, 53 and online updates) as well as the conservators MAHRER, KELLY AND LE QUELENEC (61). Significant single finds include gold staters inscribed SAM AND CARAT, the latter thought to be the first gold coin of Caratacus RUDD (73, 74).

A major study and corpus of the gold coinage of southern Iron Age Britain was published by SILLS (75). Supported by evidence from die-studies, distribution and metrology, the volume sets out a comprehensive structure for early regional coinages, tracing their development from Continental coinage and the first insular types. Die-studies are also the foundation of another major monograph, by TALBOT (77) on the coinage of East Anglia. As well as presenting a comprehensive typology of the coinage, the author's findings make a significant contribution to our understanding of the wider context of production and use of Iron Age coinage. Preliminary results of the same author's work on South Western British coinage are also of interest (78). Other substantial contributions to typology include a complete revision of the Kentish Flat Linear potin series by HOLMAN (48) and KRETZ on the bronze coinage of Tasciovanos (55). RICH (69) presents a study of the North Eastern silver coinage. An article by WOODS (81) reinterprets a stater type of Cunobelin.

The chronological development of the coinage continues to be the subject of debate surrounding the extent to which this can be aligned with the historical record. An important article by HASELGROVE (45) considers the implications of archaeological refinement of the chronology of the later La Tène period. A major British Museum exhibition

explored the historical background to the construction of Celtic identity and the evidence for regionality in Iron Age material culture FARLEY AND HUNTER (38). A critical approach to tribal identities in Southern Britain is also taken by CREIGHTON AND FRY (35) and LEINS (60). LAMB (56) considers the relationship between the Iceni and Rome with reference to late period silver hoards.

Iconographic studies of British Iron Age coinage include articles by DAVIES (36) on East Anglian coinage. FEIDER, HAMBLETON AND MALTBY (43) look at the symbolism of poultry on coin designs. PUDNEY (68) considers the wider symbolism of the Western British coinage. Articles by ROWAN AND SWAN (71) and SWAN (76) compare the use of imagery in Roman Republican and Iron Age coinage. Two articles by WOODS discuss aspects of the Southern coinage (80, 82). NASH BRIGGS has published a study of East Anglian coin inscriptions (64) and a useful overview of the wider subject of writing in the Iron Age (65).

A number of important site assemblages have been recently published, notably the coins from the oppidum and Roman town of Silchester HASELGROVE (44), FULFORD, CLARKE, DURHAM AND PANKHURST (40) and large assemblages from Heybridge, Essex HOBBS (51) and ritual sites from Ashwell, Hertfordshire GHEY (41) and Urchfont, Wiltshire ROBERTS, MOORHEAD AND ROBINSON (70). BRINDLE (33) provides a useful overview of the Iron Age coin evidence from rural settlement sites in the context of a major project on Roman rural settlement, highlighting its scarcity from this category of site.

A number of publications represent significant developments in our understanding of the production of Iron Age coinage. LANDON has produced a useful corpus of coin moulds from Britain with new insights into the methods used to produce coinage (57). New discoveries of mould material from excavations at Bagendon and Scotch Corner have also since been published by LANDON AND MORLEY-STONE (58) and LANDON, MORLEY-STONE AND PONTING (59), and ALLEN (27) publishes the mould evidence from excavations at Silchester. The implications of this growing body of evidence are also discussed by HASELGROVE (43). LA NIECE, FARLEY, MEEKS AND JOY present a study of Iron Age gold metallurgy with reference to coins and artefacts (67).

Études supra régionales et généralités (nord, centre et sud de la Gaule)

L'ouvrage de BUCHSENSCHUTZ *et al.* (87) propose une synthèse majeure sur l'âge du Fer, et compte une contribution synthétique de K. GRUEL sur la numismatique celtique. L'usage monétaire en Gaule au second âge du fer est également abordé dans GRUEL (108). WIGG-WOLF (140, 141) traite du développement des pièces gauloises, du rôle des élites et des changements que la monnaie a entraîné au sein des sociétés celtiques. GRUEL et HIRIART (110) montrent comment les pièces de monnaie celtiques nous permettent de retracer l'évolution des élites celtiques. La nature et l'exercice des pouvoirs émetteurs en Gaule est traitée par LAUWERS (123), qui cherche à identifier les pouvoirs émetteurs gaulois de la Guerre des Gaules, et par DELESTRÉE (92) qui envisage l'absence de monnayages civiques des origines jusqu'à l'époque augustéenne.

Plusieurs travaux ont contribué à renouveler notre vision des débuts des monnayages celtiques. NIETO-PELLETIER et OLIVIER (138) proposent un regard croisé sur les statères aux types de Philippe II de Macédoine et sur leurs premières imitations celtiques. L'article fait le point sur les données existantes et sur les différentes hypothèses avancées pour expliquer l'arrivée des philippes en Gaule. L'introduction de la monnaie d'or frappée en Gaule au III^e s. a.C. est également abordée par NIETO-PELLETIER (136) qui propose des pistes de réflexion sur la fonction des premières émissions gauloises en or. HIRIART (118) s'intéresse aux éléments déclencheurs de la monétarisation de l'économie dans les sociétés protohistoriques. L'auteur souligne le lien étroit qui existe entre le développement des monnayages et celui des agglomérations artisanales au cours du III^e s. a.C. (117). HIRIART *et al.* (119) cherchent à appréhender l'apparition de la monnaie à l'échelle de l'Europe celtique, entre la Gaule et l'Europe centrale. L'article propose un premier bilan sur les plus anciens contextes archéologiques disponibles, sur la circulation des premières pièces celtiques et sur leurs usages.

Le développement de l'économie monétaire en Gaule est discuté par MARTIN (131) qui souligne que l'usage monétaire est fermement enraciné dans les sociétés laténiennes et que l'intégration à l'Empire romain ne semble pas provoquer une hausse générale de la monétarisation. En se fondant sur les données archéologiques, MARTIN *et al.* (133) étudient la circulation monétaire dans les campagnes gauloises.

La question militaire a été abordée par HASELGROVE (115) qui livre une analyse critique de la manière dont la guerre des Gaules a conditionné, dans l'historiographie, la datation et l'interprétation des monnaies gauloises et

britanniques. MARTIN (129) aborde le problème des raisons de la frappe des deniers gaulois et le recrutement des auxiliaires. L'auteur revient sur l'utilisation des découvertes de bronzes pour identifier l'origine des troupes (132).

Plusieurs travaux sollicitent l'archéométrie. BLET-LEMARQUAND *et al.* (85, 86) s'intéressent aux questions de provenance des métaux précieux monnayés (or et argent) et de refontes, à partir de l'archéologie expérimentale et des méthodes d'analyses élémentaires et isotopiques. NIETO-PELLETIER (135) pose les fondements d'une recherche concernant les pièces gauloises en orichalque. Dans le cadre d'une réflexion portant sur la circulation de l'argent en Méditerranée occidentale, PARISOT-SILLON et SARAH (139) analysent la signature physico-chimique des monnayages rutènes et explorent les relations entre exploitation minière et activités monétaires. PARISOT-SILLON *et al.* (dans 22) mènent une étude comparative des propriétés métrologiques et métallurgiques des principaux monnayages d'argent frappés entre Pô et Rhône. Un examen des sources numismatiques, archéologiques et littéraires est proposé par LAUWERS (125) en vue d'identifier les sources de l'or monnayé par les Gaulois.

L'apport des contextes stratigraphiques pour appréhender les monnayages celtiques et plus largement l'histoire monétaire est mise en exergue par MARTIN (130). Un essai de synthèse sur la notion de contexte archéologique est également proposé par DELESTRÉE (88). Deux articles, par DELESTRÉE et FERCOQ DU LESLAY (95) et par DELESTRÉE et LE BÉCHENNEC (94) publient des découvertes monétaires dans des contextes stratigraphiques datés du III^e s. a.C. GRUEL (dans 24) souligne l'impact des progrès des datations archéologiques sur les chronologies monétaires de l'âge du Fer. L'auteur met l'accent sur la stratigraphie des sanctuaires et le piège chronologique qu'elle constitue pour les monnaies (104). HASELGROVE et WEBLEY (116) comparent les contextes archéologiques dans lesquels les pièces de monnaie ont été mises au jour sur une sélection de sites majeurs de l'âge du Fer en Europe, dont Manching, Martberg, Titelberg et Acy-Romance. ZIEGAUS (144), quant à lui, mène une recherche sur les différents récipients qui ont livré des pièces de monnaies.

La fabrication des monnaies celtiques a fait l'objet de plusieurs articles. GRUEL *et al.* (112) fait le point sur les éléments qui permettent d'évaluer des indices de métallurgie monétaire au second âge du Fer en Gaule. ZIEGAUS (143) livre un bilan complet des différents outils utilisés lors de la frappe monétaire et s'appuie sur l'archéologie expérimentale. LAUWERS (122) propose un inventaire des coins monétaires et des outils de frappe celtes, des Balkans jusqu'en Grande Bretagne, et essaie d'identifier les ateliers monétaires (124). DELESTRÉE (dans 23) livre un essai de synthèse sur la nature et l'organisation des chaînes monétaires en Gaule. NIETO-PELLETIER *et al.* (137) analysent des résidus métalliques issus de creusets et "lingotières". Concernant les outils employés, LOPEZ (126) démontre que les coins de droits à empreintes multiples étaient utilisés en Gaule ; GRUEL (107) documente la fabrication à la cire perdue de monnaies VERCA tandis que DELESTRÉE et PILON (101) publient un moule à potins en bronze.

Le lien entre monnaie et croyances a été traité. NICK (134) s'interroge sur l'utilisation de pièces dans les pratiques rituelles, alors que GRUEL (105) revient sur la pratique des jets de monnaies dans l'eau en Gaule, qui s'avère davantage romaine que celtique. WIGG-WOLF (142) étudie les preuves archéologiques des dépôts rituels et la manière dont le geste religieux peut être reconnu au travers des données archéologiques.

Les études iconographiques se sont attachées à saisir la place des représentations féminines, dans GENECHESI *et al.* (103), du "cheval cornu", dans GRUEL et LEJARS (111) ou celle de la nudité, dans HOLLARD (120). HOLLARD (121) souligne la continuité d'un thème iconographique entre les Sénons d'Italie et les Sénons de Gaule. ARBABE (84) s'interroge sur la récurrence d'un symbole, composé de trois cercles, probablement lié à la sphère martiale. L'épigraphie des pièces gauloise a fait l'objet de plusieurs articles, notamment par ARBABE (83) et par DELESTRÉE *et al.* (90, 91, 93, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102).

La base de données monétaires développée par GRUEL a fait l'objet de deux articles (106, 113). LOPEZ et LE BRAZIDEC *et al.* (127) publie une ontologie qui permet la diffusion des données numismatique sur le web sémantique. Via l'exploitation de la BaseFer, BUCHSENSCHUTZ et GRUEL (88) explorent la corrélation entre les monnaies et l'artisanat sur les habitats isolés. La restitution virtuelle des coins monétaires grâce à la numérisation 3D est développée par GRUEL (109) comme outil de compréhension de l'histoire de l'art et de l'économie gauloise. LOPEZ (dans 22) et LOPEZ et RICHARD (128) introduisent la technique de reconstitution d'empreintes monétaires assistée par ordinateur comme outil d'analyse des liaisons de coins.

Nord de la Gaule

Grâce au travail de DOYEN *et al.*, la *Revue du Nord* publie chaque année dans ses chroniques numismatiques

une compilation des découvertes monétaires, inédites ou non, mises au jour dans une vaste zone septentrionale (170). Au sein de plusieurs volumes, DOYEN, DUCHEMIN, DUFRANES, LEBLOIS, PARENT et VANCAUWENBERGHE (165, 166, 167, 168, 171, 172, 185) s'attachent à décrire et analyser les trouvailles monétaires réalisées sur différentes communes comme Beloeil (Hainaut), Bernissart (Hainaut), Boviollles (Meuse), Harfeur (Seine-Maritime), Isles-sur-Suippe (Marne), Saint-Ghislain (Hainaut), Vaux-Champagne (Ardennes). DELESTRÉE *et al.* (94, 95, 152, 156) décrivent les découvertes de plusieurs hémistatères, dont l'un provient du site de Thézy (Somme). DENGIS (162, 163) présente la découverte d'un dépôt de trois statères trévires à Huy (Liège) et celle de plus d'un millier d'anneaux coulés en bronze ou en potin. Un statère inédit "au bouclier" attribué aux Sussions est mis en lumière par GENDRE (175). HOLLARD (180) évoque un bronze gaulois à légende SOLITOS trouvé en Alsace et GUIHARD (178) revient sur la découverte d'un statère des *Parisii* dans le Calvados. SEGUIN (195, 196, 197, 198, 199) s'intéresse à plusieurs types monétaires attribués aux proto-Nerviens ou en provenance de Normandie. GOUËT (273) publie un second exemplaire inédit d'une drachme normande. AUBIN (146) étudie et analyse le catalogue des monnaies mises au jour lors de la fouille de l'*oppidum* des Diablintes. Le même auteur (145), ainsi que BOSSARD *et al.* (150) livrent une étude sur la dégradation des offrandes monétaires pratiquées dans les sanctuaires, notamment dans celui de Juvigné (Mayenne). AUBIN et LAMBERT (147) présentent à un plus large public les résultats de l'étude du dépôt monétaire des Sablons, commune du Mans (Sarthe). MENEZ, NIETO-PELLETIER *et al.* (190, 192) reviennent également sur les découvertes de deux dépôts bretons, celui de Laniscat (Côtes-d'Armor) et celui de Piolaine (Ille-et-Vilaine). LEBRUN *et al.* (186) décrivent en détail les dépôts mixtes de monnaies d'or et d'orfèvrerie celtique mis au jour dans l'enclos culturel laténien des « jardins familiaux » à Sin-le-Noble (Nord).

Plusieurs découvertes sont directement liées à la production monétaire. Ainsi DELESTRÉE et PILON (160) présentent un coin monétaire d'une rare variété des statères des *Parisii*, HOLLARD *et al.* (182) évoquent les plombs monéti-formes gaulois et gallo-romains de Vendeuil-Caply (Oise) et SILLON (201) les coins monétaires du nord-ouest de la Gaule découverts en Bretagne insulaire.

Dans son étude iconographique liée à la représentation du sanglier et du sanglier-enseigne dans la numismatique celtique, BIGONI (dans 25) évoque la grande diversité des représentations dans le monnayage de potin. DOYEN et VAN EETVELDE (169) s'interrogent de leur côté sur la place privilégiée dévolue au cheval en numismatique celtique. DELESTRÉE (154) dresse la synthèse de la série en or au type du « décor bouleté » au nord de la Celtique. VAN HEESCH et MARTIN (dans 25) examinent une émission celte énigmatique du nord de la Gaule. SALICIS (194) décrit en détail un type rare de statère « armoricain » en or avec sanglier en cimier et tête humaine nue.

L'épigraphie est largement débattue dans la région nord. Ainsi DELESTRÉE et MEZIANE notamment, avec DE GOURCUFF, MANIOS, MESSAROVITCH, THIBAUT (90, 99, 153, 161, 177, 187, 188), s'intéressent de près aux légendes inédites.

Certaines séries monétaires bénéficient d'une attribution nouvelle. DELESTRÉE et KERNEUR (151, 157, 158) évoquent ainsi un monnayage en or émis par les peuples des pays de Loire, attribué indûment au peuple des Vénètes. En se fondant sur l'étude du trésor dit « d'Hennebont », GOUËT (176) défend l'appartenance d'un monnayage d'or aux Vénètes, et non plus aux Osismes. MICHEL (191) place chez les Riedones un statère d'or inconnu. GÄUMANN et MEZIANE (174) s'intéressent de leur côté à un potin longtemps donné à l'île de Bretagne, qui provient d'après leurs recherches d'une zone entre l'Angoumois et la Saintonge. Enfin HOLLARD et SEGUIN (181) affilient un quart de statère « au dragon » au monnayage des proto-Nerviens.

Plusieurs synthèses régionales ont été publiées. PARISOT-SILLON (193, 200, 202) revient en détail sur l'utilisation de l'or monnayé dans le nord de la Gaule et notamment en Gaule Belgique. BIGONI (148) s'intéresse à la partie orientale du territoire des Leuques, où le faciès monétaire celtique particulier semble mettre en évidence une zone de confins. Alors que DELESTRÉE (155) envisage l'absence d'émissions monétaires significatives chez les Médiomatrices avant l'époque augustéenne, FÉLIU (173) propose une courte analyse cartographique de la répartition des monnaies médiomatrices en regard de leur datation et de leur attribution. LAUWERS (183, 184) dresse un état de la recherche sur les monnaies des Éburons, des Nerviens et des Rèmes dans les années 50 av. J.-C. et s'attache plus généralement à décrire les différentes pratiques monétaires et commerciales en Gaule du Nord. DOYEN (dans 16, 164) revient en détail sur la monétisation des campagnes dans la cité des Rèmes et des grands domaines ruraux à l'échelle de la Gaule septentrionale. GUIHARD (179) étudie et analyse la frappe de l'or dans l'actuelle Normandie (III^e-I^{er} siècle av. J.-C.).

Certaines contributions ponctuelles permettent également d'aborder des problématiques socio-politiques. C'est le cas notamment de GRUEL *et al.* (dans 22) qui s'interroge sur l'existence d'un système monétaire armoricain basé sur le billon, à la fin de l'indépendance gauloise, ou encore MARTIN (189) qui, sur la base des bronzes lourds épigraphes des Lexoviens et des Aulerques Éburovices, évoque la transition entre système monétaire protohistorique et romain. DELESTRÉE (93) revient à son tour sur la question de ces bronzes lourds lexoviens au nom romain, qui reflètent selon l'auteur la tentative d'un monnayage civique autonome.

Enfin BIGONI (149) revient sur une collection numismatique ancienne conservée au musée de la Cour d'Or – Metz Métropole.

Centre de la Gaule

Les émissions de bronze des peuples gaulois d'Ile-de-France font l'objet d'une recherche de synthèse par FOUCRAY et BULARD (8). Les deux auteurs compilent et commentent le catalogue des potins et des bronzes frappés des *Parisii*, des Meldes, des Carnutes et des Sénons dans la région choisie. À travers les faciès céramique et numismatique, LINGER-RQUIER et TROUBADY (224) cherchent à définir le territoire des Carnutes. NIETO-PELLETIER *et al.* (228) s'intéressent, via le projet ATMOCE, au même peuple et étudient les bronzes carnutes au sein de la ville d'Orléans. Les émissions de monnaies arvernes en bronze aux II^e et I^{er} s. av. n. è. bénéficient également d'une synthèse établie par MENNESSIER-JOUANNET *et al.* (dans 25). TROUBADY (235, 236) revient sur les bronzes dits de Loire moyenne à réattribuer aux Turons et évoque en détail le faciès numismatique de l'*oppidum* d'Amboise, les Châtelliers. Un monnayage d'or attribué aux Sénons, les globules à la croix, sont présentés dans NIETO-PELLETIER *et al.* (dans 4).

Plusieurs publications abordent les problématiques liées à l'organisation socio-politique et la production monétaire. Sur la base d'un statère de Philippe II de Macédoine découvert dans la Creuse, NIETO-PELLETIER et OLIVIER (227) s'intéressent à la genèse des monnayages d'or celtiques. DELESTRÉE (208) retrace l'existence d'un notable gaulois au sud de la basse vallée de la Seine. Le même auteur (206) tente un essai de synthèse destiné à faire le point sur l'inventaire actuel des monnaies épigraphes de Vercingétorix. NIETO-PELLETIER (226) présente à son tour les monnaies au nom du chef arverne et la politique monétaire qu'il met en place, BOSSAVIT (204) évoque le cas de l'argent monnayé des peuples gaulois du Centre-Est aux II^e et I^{er} siècles av. n.-è.

La thématique associant monnaies et sanctuaire a fait l'objet de plusieurs publications. TROUBADY (dans 9, 238) examine et analyse les pratiques des monnaies sacrifiées en territoire turon notamment. Elle se demande de quelle sphère, culturelle ou économique, relèvent les mutilations observées sur les monnaies. La même auteure (dans 25, 239), avec aussi GAULTIER *et al.* (216) envisagent l'existence d'un faciès monétaire permettant l'identification d'un sanctuaire et tentent de définir celui des sanctuaires turons. GRUEL et GUICHON (220, 221) décrivent en détail les monnaies du sanctuaire de Corent et développent une réflexion sur les échanges, l'évergétisme et les pratiques de votes à travers l'étude des pièces et des jetons.

Via les découvertes monétaires récentes, de nombreuses études iconographiques ont été menées dans le centre de la Gaule ces dernières années. HOLLARD (223) interprète le revers d'un des bronzes à la légende PIXTILOS à la lumière des textes irlandais. Avec PATARIN (234), le même auteur revient sur un bronze inédit à la tête végétale et au quadrupède bondissant dont la provenance est à placer entre l'ouest de la Touraine et le territoire carnute. Dans la même zone géographique, DELESTRÉE et MEZIANE (212) étudient les statères uniface « au pégase » et les monnaies d'or provenant du Gâtinais-Orléanais. TROUBADY (237) présente le faciès monétaire du site de La Croupe, agglomération en marge du territoire carnute et occupée précocement. GENEVIÈVE (217) publie la découverte d'un rare bronze carnute effectuée en Charente, dont les trouvailles s'estiment à moins d'une dizaine d'exemplaires et dont la moitié sont d'origine inconnue. Plusieurs publications autour des Lémovices, des monnaies du centre-ouest et des trouvailles effectuées en Limousin ont été réalisées par PARVERIE et BEDEL (230, 231, 232) alors que PASTY (233) s'intéresse à la série arverne « à la volute et au bucrane ». Les monnaies des campagnes archéologiques de Bibracte ont fait l'objet de deux publications rédigées par GRUEL (218, 219). NIETO-PELLETIER précise le faciès monétaire de l'*oppidum* sénon de Villeneuve-sur-Yonne (dans 4). L'épigraphie est abordée plus en détail dans les contributions de DELESTRÉE, HOLLARD, TAITTINGER *et al.* (96, 209, 210, 215) où des légendes le plus souvent inédites sont décrites et commentées.

Plusieurs objets emblématiques liés à la production monétaire ont également été mis au jour. BET (203) s'interroge sur la valeur d'une monnaie en terre cuite à la légende VERCA. DELESTRÉE et PILON (101) étudie et examine le moule à potins en bronze de Romenay (Saône-et-Loire). HOLLARD (222) présente l'outillage de Valempoulières

(Jura) qu'il identifie comme celui d'un atelier itinérant lié à la frappe de quinaires au nom de ΚΑΛΕΤΕΔΟΥ, alors que BOSSAVIT (205) liste les défauts de frappe des monnaies d'argent gauloises du Centre-Est (II^e-I^{er} siècles av. n. è). Un coin monétaire gaulois du centre-est mis au jour dans la basse vallée de la Seine est également publié par DELESTRÉE (207). Le même auteur et MEZIANE (213) reviennent sur la découverte d'un poinçon monétaire de quinaire au nom de Dumnorix. D'après sa zone de découverte dans le pays turon, et alors qu'il est associé à un disque monétaire également lié à Dumnorix. Les auteurs envisagent que ces objets relèvent d'un atelier itinérant d'époque post-césarienne. Plusieurs disques monétaires supplémentaires mis au jour en pays arverne et en Touraine ont également été détaillés par DELESTRÉE *et al.* (211, 214)

Dans une démarche historiographique, NIETO-PELLETIER (225) revient en détail sur la construction et la déconstruction de « l'Empire arverne », concept énoncé par COLBERT DE BEAULIEU. NOUVEL (229) décrit le médailleur Bardin et les collections numismatiques antiques du musée de l'Avallonnais.

Sud de la Gaule

GENECHESI *et al.* (dans 25) s'interrogent sur la création de la province de Transalpine. Les données numismatiques et la circulation monétaire indiquent-elles la main mise économique de Rome à partir de la fin du II^e s. a.C. ? Se fondant sur des analyses statistiques et spatiales, HIRIART (274) compare les faciès des principaux sites de l'axe Aude-Garonne et établit l'existence de relations et de sphères d'influences singulières.

Plusieurs recherches se sont centrées sur la vallée du Rhône. À partir des données archéologiques et de l'étude des circulations monétaires, GENECHESI (266) propose une première synthèse de l'évolution économique et des dynamiques monétaires le long de l'axe rhodanien. Les monnayages allobroges ont fait l'objet d'articles de la part de GENTRIC et RICHARD (271) qui publient le catalogue de l'ancienne collection Müller ou de DENGIS (263) qui décrit un trésor mis au jour dans la région de Genève. La découverte d'un poinçon (DELESTRÉE et MEZIANE 262) et de deux coins monétaires (BEDEL 242 ; MANIOS 293) sont également renseignés. Les monnayages dits « au cavalier » sont traités par RICHARD RALITE et GENTRIC au regard de la publication d'ensembles issus du trésor de Saint-Blandine (308) et du trésor de Saint-Laurent-du-Pont (309). SCHEERS (318) aborde la question de la classification de ces monnaies et LEFEBVRE *et al.* (285) analysent le faciès monétaire du site de Jastres (trouvé en partie en stratigraphie). CHEVILLON consacre un article aux potins à la tête janiforme (255). BERNARD (249) met en lumière un ensemble monétaire provenant du site de Verduron, découvert au sein d'un contexte archéologique daté du III^e s. a.C.

En ce qui concerne la Provence, des contributions détaillent les découvertes effectuées en territoire voconce (GENECHESI 265), sur le sanctuaire du Chastellard de Lardiers (GENTRIC 269), sur l'*oppidum* de La Cloche (GENTRIC 272 ; VIGIE *et al.* 321) ou à Monaco (un statère de Philippe II de Macédoine ; NIETO-PELLETIER *et al.* 296). CHEVILLON expose les émissions de l'Arles archaïque (252, 256). L'auteur consacre également plusieurs articles à des imitations de drachmes et d'oboles de Marseille (251, 253, 254, 257, 258). Certains types sont aussi mis en lumière par BEDEL (245) et HONORAT (284). Des pièces rares ou inédites, attribuables à la zone provençale, sont publiées par CHEVILLON (250), CHEVILLON et AMANDRY (258) et SALICIS (317). RICHARD RALITE *et al.* (310) font un point sur les monnaies à légendes lépontiques du sud-est de la Gaule.

PARIS (299) propose un aperçu de la circulation monétaire en Languedoc central au regard d'une analyse comparative des faciès de Béziers, Magalas et Agde. Parallèlement, plusieurs articles sont dédiés à des découvertes effectuées sur des sites languedociens. PY (301) étudie un lot d'oboles massaliètes découvertes dans un dépôt rituel sur le site du Cailar. BERMOND et FEUGÈRE (248) un dépôt mis au jour à Loupian. RICHARD RALITE *et al.* présentent les monnaies découvertes sur l'*oppidum* de Serre de Brienne à Brignon (corpus 553 monnaies, 270) et sur l'*oppidum* de Montfo (corpus 1590 monnaies, 311). Un lot provenant des Terrasses-de-Montfo à Magalas a également été publié par FEUGÈRE et GINOUEZ (264) et des pièces de Villasavary par RICHARD RALITE (307). Les monnayages de l'*oppidum* de Montlaurès ont fait l'objet de deux publications par RICHARD RALITE (305) et par PARIS (298). Les oboles massaliètes et ibéro-languedociennes des avant-monts de l'Hérault sont traitées par BAGAN et PY (241). NIETO-PELLETIER *et al.* (297) consacrent un article aux collections du musée de la Romanité de Nîmes. Certaines études ciblées font référence à des émissions spécifiques, arécomiques pour CHEVILLON (255) ou longostalètes pour AMELA VALVERDE (240) et RICHARD RALITE et GENTRIC (312).

MELMOUX propose une synthèse des émissions attribuables au site de *Ruscino* (294). BÉNÉZET et SAVARESE (246) précisent la circulation monétaire de ce même site à travers l'analyse d'un lot de 214 monnaies. Également pour

Ruscino, CHEVILLON et MELMOUX (259) identifient une série ancienne en argent avec une légende qui pourrait évoquer le premier ethnonyme ou toponyme de ce site. BÉNÉZET (247) établit un corpus de 95 monnaies à la croix recueillies dans le département des Pyrénées-Orientales, ce qui permet à l'auteur de discuter de l'approvisionnement monétaire en lien avec les régions voisines au cours des deux derniers siècles a.C.

Les monnayages à la croix constituent le monnayage ayant suscité le plus d'écrits. Outre les deux monographies consacrées au sujet par LOPEZ (14) et par HIRIART (12), plusieurs articles doivent être signalés. Des contributions synthétiques sont proposées par LOPEZ et LE BRAZIDEC (291) et HIRIART (277). LOPEZ met en exergue les origines typologiques multiples des monnaies à la croix (290). D'autres études ciblent des séries particulières, la série au panache dans RICHARD RALITE (306) et la série cubiste dans HIRIART (276, 278). Les reconstitutions d'empreintes conduisent LOPEZ et RAVIGNOT à s'interroger sur l'iconographie et la classification de ces monnayages (303, 304). LOPEZ révèle une liaison de coin entre une monnaie à la croix et un exemplaire appartenant à un autre groupe monétaire (289) et se penche sur des éléments iconographiques distinctifs (287). Des types inédits sont publiés par BEDEL (243), par HIRIART (281) et par LOPEZ (288). RICHARD RALITE et LOPEZ inventorient les monnaies à la croix conservées par la Société archéologique de Montpellier (314). Des trésors ont fait l'objet de publications : le trésor de Moussan par RICHARD RALITE et LOPEZ (292) ; le trésor de Goutrens par LOPEZ (286) ; HIRIART (281) donne à connaître un trésor inédit découvert en Lot-et-Garonne.

Des nouveautés numismatiques peuvent être signalées pour le sud-ouest de la Gaule. HIRIART *et al.* (282) s'interrogent sur la singularité culturelle de l'Aquitaine et sur les relations transpyrénéennes, en confrontant le matériel numismatique et le matériel céramique, entre le second âge du Fer et le Haut-Empire. RANCOULE *et al.* (302) publient un corpus inédit de 2096 monnaies découvertes dans le département de l'Aude et livrent des constats sur le faciès régional et sur les contacts entretenus avec des territoires environnants. HIRIART (275) esquisse une synthèse de l'évolution de la circulation monétaire autour de l'estuaire girondin. SÉGUIN et DELESTRÉE (319, 320) mettent en lumière la découverte de statères inédits en Médoc. À partir de données issues de fouilles archéologiques, des fractions d'argent sont attribuées à la fin du III^e s. a.C. par GENEVIÈVE et SIREIX (268). HIRIART (279) fait un point sur la circulation monétaire en Dordogne, et plus particulièrement sur le site d'Écornebusuf. BEDEL et PARVERIE publient des types attribuables aux Pétrôcores (244) et plusieurs fractions inédites du centre-ouest (232). Des publications détaillent les faciès monétaires de certains sites, celui de Bélesta en Ariège par RICHARD RALITE *et al.* (315) ou celui de La Peyrouse en Dordogne par HIRIART (280). GENEVIÈVE (267) réalise un examen des dernières séries monétaires découvertes sur le Vieille-Toulouse et fixe l'abandon du site dans les dernières années du I^{er} s a.C. Le même auteur montre que les pièces au nom de *Contoutos* s'inspirent des premiers portraits d'Auguste (dans 25). Une série inédite est examinée par HIRIART *et al.* (283). La recension exhaustive d'exemplaires découverts sur sites archéologiques permet de proposer une attribution aux Santons et une datation tardive autour des années 40-30 a.C. LE DANTEC et OLIVIER (261) publient une nouvelle monnaie provenant du trésor de Barcus (Pyrénées-Atlantiques), tandis que NIETO-PELLETIER et GENEVIÈVE (295) présentent la découverte exceptionnelle d'un statère dans le Tarn.

Allemagne, Italie et Suisse

De nombreuses enquêtes numismatiques à grande échelle ont été menées entre 2014 et 2020. Ainsi pour la Suisse, le catalogue établi par NICK (17) fait aujourd'hui office de référence. ZIEGAUS (358) en donne d'ailleurs une recension détaillée, alors que NICK (346) décrit succinctement les résultats obtenus dans une publication destinée au grand public. À partir de l'étude des faciès successifs de sites ou de trouvailles de Suisse occidentale, GEISER (dans 9 et 336) revient plus spécifiquement sur le Plateau suisse et propose de situer les Helvètes entre Alpes et Jura à la fin du II^e siècle av. J.-C., alors que LUGINBÜHL *et al.* (344, 345) développent quelques réflexions préliminaires et pluridisciplinaires sur l'installation des Tigurins en Suisse occidentale. Des synthèses régionales d'ampleur ont également été publiées pour l'Allemagne. BLÖCK *et al.* (332) reviennent sur les différents peuplements de la période laténienne dans la région sud du Rhin supérieur et démontrent que ces réseaux peuvent être retracés grâce au matériel monétaire. WIGG-WOLF (dans 25) s'intéresse à son tour à la région du Rhin, alors que ZIEGAUS (359) étudie les plus anciens horizons monétaires celtiques dans le sud de la Bavière. Le même auteur publie un bilan (357) sur les monnaies dites « boiennes » et leur circulation dans le sud de l'Allemagne, avec des réflexions autour de leur utilisation économique. ARSLAN (322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327) a rédigé plusieurs articles généraux sur la monnaie celtique en Italie septentrionale, en orientant parfois son éclairage sur une aire géographique en particulier. GORINI (341) revient sur la présence

de pièces de monnaie celtiques et romaines dans le nord-est de l'Italie et dresse à son tour un cadre chronologique et typologique des imitations des drachmes de Marseille (340). SPAGOCCI (355) établit des parallèles entre monnaies et identités en Gaule cisalpine. BARELLO (328) présente les données du Piémont alors que BIONDANI (330) réalise le bilan des découvertes numismatiques dans la région de Vérone.

Les découvertes monétaires de plusieurs sites suisses ont fait l'objet d'une publication détaillée. GEISER (dans 9, 335) revient ainsi sur les différents faciès de Vufflens-la-Ville (VD), du Mormont (VD), du Vully (FR), de Cossonay, Bois du Sepey (VD) et de l'*oppidum* de Sermuz, Sur Châtillon (VD). Grâce à l'étude du trésor de Cossonay (VD), la typologie des quinaires à la légende KALETEDOU est revue par GEISER (337). La même auteure définit une nouvelle typologie d'oboles inédites ou rares sur la base des découvertes recueillies principalement à Vufflens-la-Ville (VD) (dans 25). Dans le catalogue édité par GENECHESI et PERNET (9), plusieurs auteurs dont NICK évoquent les données monétaires de Bâle (BS), du Belperg (BE), de Vevey (VD) ou encore de Berne (BE). Ce site a d'ailleurs bénéficié d'un autre article rédigé par FREY-KUPPER et NICK (334), en lien notamment avec les découvertes effectuées en contexte funéraire et la place particulière dévolue aux femmes dans ces pratiques rituelles. À la suite de nombreuses trouvailles effectuées entre 2016 et 2018 à Berne, NICK (352) s'interroge également sur le modèle de développement de l'habitat établi sur la presqu'île d'Enge. GENECHESI *et al.* (338) présentent brièvement la découverte d'un dépôt de potins « à la grosse tête » dans la région de Sainte-Croix (VD), alors que WOLFE-JACOT (356) effectue une analyse des trouvailles monétaires celtiques mises au jour en 2016/2017 dans le secteur de *Sur Fourches* à Avenches. Ces trouvailles sont en partie liées à l'agglomération gauloise qui se développe à cet emplacement à LT D1. NICK (348) publie un bref état des lieux de la monnaie celtique dans le canton de Soleure, et avec SCHÄPPI (353), revient sur la découverte d'un quinaire à la légende KALETEDOU dont l'avvers est identique à celui du coin du Mont Vully (FR) mais qui n'a pas été frappé avec celui-ci. NICK (350) décrit également la trouvaille d'une drachme de Cisalpine dans le canton de Lucerne et développe un commentaire sommaire sur les découvertes effectuées sur l'*oppidum* de Rheinau (ZH) (351). Dans deux publications, le même auteur (347, 349) dresse le catalogue et commente en détail la découverte d'un trésor effectuée à Merklingen dans le Bade-Wurtemberg. Daté de LT D2a, à une époque où les trouvailles de toutes sortes sont rares dans cette région, ce dépôt est constitué principalement de quinaires au rameau. En Haute-Bavière, à Fürstenfeldbruck, OVERBECK (354) mentionne la redécouverte d'une monnaie de type Regenbogenschüsselchen. GIANAZZA (339) a repris les travaux initiés par E. Arslan et complète ainsi le répertoire des découvertes monétaires italiennes. BIONDANI (330) étudie les trouvailles réalisées dans les nécropoles véronaises, où les monnaies celtiques sont présentes dans la période comprise entre LT C1 et LT D1. GORINI (342) examine en détail la composition du trésor d'Enemonzo et grâce à des analyses, propose une nouvelle chronologie des émissions du Noricum (343).

Des analyses métalliques ont été menées par CORSI *et al.* (329, 333) sur plusieurs collections dont certaines pièces du Musée national hongrois. Elles ont livré une importante quantité de données, liées à la composition de drachmes de différentes typologies et frappées en Gaule cisalpine.

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EASTERN CELTS

(Czech Republic, Austria, Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, Slovenia, Croatia, Romania, Moldova and Bulgaria)

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Within the period under review an unusually large number of works on Celtic numismatics were published for the territory of the Czech Republic. There are a number of summary accounts which also take in Austria and Slovakia (MILITKÝ (112, 118, 127), KYSELA, MILITKÝ AND DANIELISOVÁ (83)). General overviews were presented in bilingual versions of the publications accompanying the exhibition of the Celts in Prague (MILITKÝ (121, 128), KYSELA AND MILITKÝ (81, 82), KYSELA, MILITKÝ AND VENCLOVÁ (84, 85)). Our knowledge of the coin production of the La Tène B-C horizon in the Czech Republic, including the oldest staters of the Nike type, minted in parallel in Moravia and Lower Austria, has seen very significant progress. This material was published as a substantial monograph in two editions, including a complete typology, analysis of finds and also an extensive excursion to the Moravian-Lower Austrian region (MILITKÝ (119, 126)). The coinage of the La Tène C horizon was also included with the finds of glass (VENCLOVÁ AND MILITKÝ (183)). The beginnings of coins are also related to the unusual finds of gold pearls weighing 1/3 of a stater (HOLODŇÁK AND MILITKÝ (56)). For the period of La Tène C in Bohemia, the publication of the finds from the Žehuň housing estate was important both numismatically (MILITKÝ (120, 122)), as well as archaeologically (DANIELISOVÁ, KYSELA, MANGEL, KYSELÝ AND MILITKÝ (29)). In separate studies, material has also been published from other localities with a dominant share of La Tène C horizon coins: Vraclav (MILITKÝ AND VÍCH (130)), Třebestovice (MILITKÝ (117)), a hoard from an unknown locality (MILITKÝ (113)), two Skordian tetradrachms from Knín (JOHN, MILITKÝ, CHVOJKA AND VLÁŠEK (63)) and finds from other localities (FRÖHLICH (44, 51)). The typology of La Tène C horizon coins has been extended by one type which was perhaps created on Czech territory (MILITKÝ (125)).

For the chronology of La Tène C horizon coins in Moravia and Lower Austria, a study which follows, among others, ancient models of these issues is important (FRÖHLICH (46)), as is a work which provides a summary view of the typology and overall interpretation in this region (SMĚLÝ (163)). These works are complemented by other studies on the Moravian territory (FRÖHLICH (40), MILITKÝ (116)). The publication of the finds from a housing estate near Břeclav with La Tène C – D material (SMĚLÝ (162)) and a stamp deposit from an unknown location (FRÖHLICH (49)) are both important. One study deals with long-distance contacts in the finds from the housing estate Němčice nad Hanou (KOLNÍKOVÁ AND PEŠECHONOV (72)).

For the *oppidum* period of La Tène D, a key work was the monograph which published more than 2,500 finds coins from the town of Stradonice (MILITKÝ (111)); this also includes completely new typologies of the coins found there. This work followed some small partial publications of the finds (FRÖHLICH (39)). However, it also enabled the new publication of coins found at other important housing estates – Žehuň, already mentioned (MILITKÝ (120)) and Týnec nad Labem (MILITKÝ AND BENEŠ (129)), as well as other partial publications of the find material (BURSÁK AND MILITKÝ (18), MICHÁLEK, CHVOJKA, JOHN, JIŘÍK, FRÖHLICH AND MILITKÝ (91)). Special attention was also paid to some examples of imported coins found in the Czech Republic (KOLNÍKOVÁ AND ZEMAN (74, 75), MILITKÝ (115, 124)). One contribution was also devoted to metallurgical activities in the town of Třísov (DANIELISOVÁ, KYSELA, MIHALJEVIČ AND MILITKÝ (30)).

An overview of basic types of Celtic coins minted in the Czech Republic was also included in the new collector's catalogue (KOSTUR AND GÁŠPÁR (79)).

Austria (JM)

A number of publications concerning Celtic coinage from Lower and Upper Austria also appeared during the period under review. The Lower Austrian area is covered by a number of comprehensive works focused on the territory

of Moravia (eg MILITKÝ (112)). One study is also focused more generally on the coinage of the Boii (JANDRASITS (59)).

From the area of Upper Austria, an important contribution was published that concerned other material from the central housing estate of Neubau, from where a hoard of 44 staters of the Boii also come (PROKISCH AND LESKOVAR (143)). Numerous publications deal with the area of Lower Austria. The La Tène C horizon includes a unique find from the upland housing estate of Braunsberg (MILITKÝ (114)). Several works concerned typology: these are studies looking at the coin types of the La Tène D horizon in this area (JANDRASITS (60, 61, 62)). The Oberleiseberg hilltop housing estate belongs to the same chronological horizon, from where a completely unique coin assemblage comes (KARWOWSKI AND MILITKÝ (64, 65)), similar to that from Thunau (MILITKÝ (123)). Descriptions only have been published of coins found in the late La Tène settlement in Vienna (ADLER-WÖLFL AND MOSSER (1)). An interesting discovery is the existence of local Lower Austrian imitations of BIATEC coins (RÖTTGER (154)).

An overview of the basic types of Celtic coins minted in northern Austria was also included in the new collector's catalogue (KOSTUR AND GÁŠPÁR (79)).

Slovakia (JM)

Within the period under review a number of articles on Celtic numismatics were published for the territory of Slovakia. The area of Slovakia is very complicated because from the numismatic point of view it consists of several largely independent regions. So far, the most recent overall overview is a comprehensive study of the Boii with an updated list of finds (KOLNÍKOVÁ, BAKOS AND PAUDITŠ (71)); western Slovakia was then presented in a separate study (KOLNÍKOVÁ (67)).

The work on the coin production of the La Tène C horizon is of fundamental importance. The issue of coins with a lyre-like emblem was newly described (FRÖHLICH (42)). A hoard of 105 coins from Hrhov was published in a monograph, which contained gold denominations of the Boii, a half-drachm with a seated figure and three types of tetradrachm (FRÖHLICH (47)). The La Tène C horizon also includes a number of contributions publishing new coin finds (ČAMBAL (25), BUDAJ AND ČAMBAL (16), ČAMBAL, KOVÁR AND BUDAJ (28), FRÖHLICH (50, 51)).

The publication of the hoard of gold and silver coins from the archaeological context of the Celtic-Roman building I on the acropolis of the city of Bratislava (MUSILOVÁ, KOLNÍKOVÁ AND HLOŽEK (137)) is a very important contribution to the knowledge of coins inscribed BIATEC.

A number of contributions dealt with coins from the field of Púchov culture, dated mainly to the La Tène D horizon (SOJÁK AND KURPEL (167), FRÖHLICH (41, 45, 46, 53), SOJÁK (164, 165), BUDAJ (13), ČAMBAL AND BUDAJ (27), SOJÁK AND FECKO (166)).

Several papers dealt with finds of coins from the Slovak Záhorie region (ELSCHEK AND KOLNÍKOVÁ (34, 35), KOLNÍKOVÁ (68)), where a particular local type of Pohanská also appears (ČAMBAL (23, 24)). Separate attention was also paid to the Nitra region (KOLNÍKOVÁ (69)).

Special attention was also paid to some groups of imported coins in Slovakia, especially from the Dacian and Skordian areas (BUDAJ (12), BUDAJ AND ČAMBAL (17), BŘEZINOVÁ AND BUDAJ (11), KOLNÍKOVÁ AND TIRPÁK (73)).

In recent years, special attention has been paid to Celtic coin issues struck in Bratislava. In connection with new discoveries of Roman building work in Bratislava Castle, several summary overviews of the local mint were published, sometimes also discussing the archaeological context (KOLNÍKOVÁ (66), ČAMBAL, BAZOVSKÝ, KOVÁR AND BUDAJ (26), BUDAJ AND ČAMBAL (15), KOVÁR, ČAMBAL AND BUDAJ (80)) and separately the hoard found in 2009 (KOLNÍKOVÁ (70)). Attention was also paid to the finds of coins of Bratislava (BUDAJ AND ČAMBAL (14)). An unknown BIATEC-type tetradrachm with the inscription LATTV (MILITKÝ (110)) was also newly published. An alternative chronology of BIATEC-type tetradrachms has also been published (RÖTTGER (153)).

An overview of basic types of Celtic coins minted in Slovakia, including unknown types and variants, was also included in the new collector's catalogue (KOSTUR AND GÁŠPÁR (79)).

Poland (JM)

During the period under review only a few articles on Celtic coinage from Poland were published. The results of surface surveys in the area of the housing estate of Nowa Cerekwia, dating to the La Tène C horizon have been published (RUDNICKI (155, 156)). The same time horizon also includes two unique finds of East Celtic tetradrachms (ŁUCZKIEWICZ (86), FLORKIEWICZ AND KOTOWICZ (38)). The hoard of denarii of the Eravisci from Bohemia belongs

to the very end of the La Tène period (DULĘBA AND WYSOCKI (33)).

Hungary (JM)

During the period under review, several articles were published on Celtic coins from the territory of Hungary. There are several works of a more general nature (TORBÁGYI (175, 176, 177, 179, 180)). One study deals with the final horizon of Celtic coin production in Hungary (TORBÁGYI (178)). The region of the Central Tisza (TORBÁGYI AND KOVÁCS (182)) was presented briefly and the old Óhuta hoard (PROHÁSZKA (142)) was republished. One contribution is also of a typological nature (TORBÁGYI (181)).

An overview of the basic types of Celtic coins minted in northern Hungary was also included in the new collector's catalogue (KOSTUR AND GÁŠPÁR (79)). A series of short articles with a typological theme also comes from the pen of one Hungarian author (MICHELISZ (92, 98, 102, 106, 107, 108)).

Slovenia (JM)

During the period under review a few articles dealing with Celtic issues from the territory of Slovenia (and partly Austrian Styria) were published. These are typological contributions presenting small denominations of the Varaždin, Durdevac and Kugelreiter types (KOS (76, 77, 78)).

Croatia (JM)

Northern Croatia forms the southern border of continuous Celtic settlement. During the period under review, several articles were published in this area on the subject of Celtic coinage or pre-Roman monetary circulation. Several studies deal with the issues of monetary circulation in a broader context based (BILIĆ (5, 6), BILIĆ AND NAĐ (10)). Other contributions deal with local finds (BILIĆ (7, 8)). A detailed analysis of the find of a Tauriscan fractional coin in a grave from Zvonimirovo is very significant (BILIĆ AND DIZDAR (9)). One study deals with the interpretation of the head on Norican and Tauriscan coins (BILIĆ (4)).

Romania, Moldova and Bulgaria (LM)

Several hoards of imitative coins discovered on the territory of Romania have been published during the period under review. ISVORANU AND MATEI (58) examine a fragment of the hoard found at Băbeni, identified as the first deposit composed entirely of large Dumbrăveni a/Kreuzelreiter C1-2 type coins, dated to the late 3rd century BC. PURECE (149) discusses a scattered discovery from Bondoci, containing combined early Aninoasa-Dobrești/Entenschnabel and Adâncata-Mănăstirea/ Sattelkopfpferd coin types. NICULIĆ *et al.* (138) briefly report on the biggest assembling of coins of Huși-Vovriești type (c. 485 examples), uncovered at Pârteștii de Sus. GRĂMĂȚICU (54) and CONSTANTINESCU *et al.* (20) examine two small deposits, discovered in Cochirleni, respectively, and Grădiștea de Munte.

New information has come out on imitative coin hoards already known. PURECE (151, 152) and DOLFI (31) publish new coins belonging to the findings from Jiblea and Tulgheș. The discovery from Huși is reanalysed by MUNTEANU AND CHIRIAC (136). SPĂNU (168) studies the ornaments found in Epurenii treasure. ȘERBĂNESCU (159) gathers all the hoards of imitative coins found in the area of Călărași County. Also, there are mentions about isolated coins recently discovered (55, 140, 158), as well as coins preserved in collections (141). MOISIL (133, 134, 135) reports on new imitations, entered during this period in the National History Museum's collection.

New coin types and variants have been identified and some issues regarding the chronology and filiation of imitations have been explored. PURECE (148, 150) examines the iconography of Larissa coin type. TOMA (170, 171, 172, 173, 174) investigates the die links of the Celto-Dacian coins from northern and western Dacia, using their digital drawings. MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA (109) correlates the Moskon and Măcin coin types with the Celts' presence in Dobroudja, during the 3rd – 2nd centuries BC. New publications on gold and silver Koson issues (3, 19, 37, 132, 147) reflect a certain interest for this particular coins. XRF analyses on different types of coins are performed by CONSTANTINESCU *et al.* (20, 21, 22).

A review on the imitative coinage discovered on the territory of the Republic of Moldova, with a particular focus on Huși-Vovriești coin type, is attempted by VÎLCU (184). VÎLCU AND NICOLAE (185) report the only finds of this kind from the region.

In Bulgaria, new discoveries of Celtic imitations are rather scarce. SLAVOVA AND PROKOPOV (161) publish the largest hoard of Vârteju-București/Sattelkopfpferd coin type (c. 700-800 specimens, out of which only 179 were recovered), most probably discovered in the area of Ruse. MANOV (89) examines a scattered hoard from Vratsa, containing a similar type of coins. RUSEV *et al.* (157) report several imitations of Alexander III – Philip III Arrhidaios

type revealed during the excavation in *Sexaginta Prista*. Discoveries of Celtic imitations, and likely Celtic imitations, of various types (Philip II, Alexander III, Philip III, ‘head of Strymon/trident’ and Thasos), were recorded in all the volumes of the CCCHBULG series (2, 32, 36, 57, 131, 160). TEODOSIEV’s hoard inventory (169) gathers this sort of Celtic finds on the territory of Bulgaria.

Several studies debate the ethnic attribution of imitations. PROKOPOV (144, 145) differentiates between the Thasian tetradrachms of ‘bad-style’ and the rough imitations, the latter probably being manufactured with the Celts’ involvement. The same author (146) attributes to the *Bastarnae* the heavily stylized drachms bearing an amphora in the coin reverse field. MANOV (87, 88, 89, 90) re-evaluates the typology, chronology, iconography and minting places of the Galatian rulers’ coinage in Thrace. His numismatic analysis brings forward a different perspective on the history of this Celtic kingdom. PAUNOV (139) reviews the Celtic imitations from Bulgaria and estimates the quantity of this sort of coins discovered in the north and south of *Haemus*.

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THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

Charles Parisot-Sillon

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. Collections and digital resources

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

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

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

3. Structural and technical aspects

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

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

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

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

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

4. Coin finds and hoards

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. Pre-denarial coinages and the Second Punic War

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

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

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

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

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

6. The late Republic and the civil wars

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7. Imitations, copies, counterfeits

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

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

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

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

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

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

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FROM AUGUSTUS TO COMMODUS

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The compilation of an exhaustive bibliography on the diverse methods and perspectives on the rich period of imperial coinage from Augustus and Commodus is virtually impossible. The countless numismatic, historical, philological, archaeological, metallurgical, and other scientific journals and book presses that publish relevant research – ranging from well-known international venues operated by prominent universities and professional societies to more obscure regional periodicals – preclude such a task. Nevertheless, the aim of this chapter is to be as inclusive and reflective of the breadth of research published between 2014 and 2020 on the imperial coinage of this era as far as possible. The imperial coinage is defined as the coinage struck primarily at the central imperial mints of Rome and Lyons and also includes the mints of Spain, Gaul, and the eastern Roman Empire that periodically struck *aurei*, *denarii*, and/or standard imperial bronze denominations.

While studies of the early imperial coinage are the focus here, I have made a concerted effort also to include works on related material, namely imperial medallions and tokens, from the reigns of Augustus to Commodus. In addition to pure numismatic studies, interdisciplinary works that make significant use of the imperial coinage are also incorporated. Several theses and dissertations on early imperial coinage and medallions were brought to my attention, but I have excluded them from the *Survey of Numismatic Research*, for the only way to collect these is *viva voce*, and they are not as easily accessible as published research; those theses and dissertations that are published are, of course, included here. Several colleagues forwarded book reviews to me, but they fall outside the bounds of the *Survey*. While there are undoubtedly some omissions, in view of the scope of this period and the material, they are inadvertent.

Period Studies and Individual Coin Types***Augustus***

ROWAN'S (376) book provides an introduction to the coinage of Caesar and Augustus from numismatic, historical, archaeological, and iconographic perspectives. MOLINARI (325) summarizes some recent contributions to the chronologies of Augustus's base-metal coinage and makes her own notes and interpretations as well. In a major study of the coins of Augustus struck in moneyers' names, KÜTER (272) demonstrates the continued initiative of moneyers in selecting types that both honored the new emperor and that referred to their own families, providing insights into the negotiation of imperial power in this crucial period of history. On a related subject, WOODS (452) explores the presumed tensions between the freedom of the restored republic and the necessity of showing public gratitude to Augustus on the moneyers' coinage of 19 BCE. Looking at coins that feature the large S C on their reverses, RUSSELL (381), carefully noting her intent is not to debate the meaning of S C, explores their possible reception in Rome and Italy and suggests they communicated the enduring relevance and activity of the Senate under Augustus. Close attention to legends on the coinage of Augustus is paid by WOYTEK (467), who places them into historical, political, and numismatic contexts, importantly demonstrating that changes in coin legends coincided with developments in monumental inscriptions. WOLTERS (444) argues that the reduction in the variety of coin types shortly before the turn of the millennium, and their focus on dynastic concerns rather than honors, reflects the personal will and intervention of Augustus. ROWAN (378) interrogates the appropriation of certain histories on Augustus's coinage and how it presented him in the period after the civil wars.

Specific Augustan types are the subject of other studies. An essay by KÜTER (273) examines martial imagery, Augustus on horseback, and scenes of sacrifice on the coins of L. Vinicius and Licinius Stolo, relating them to the *profectio*. GOLDMAN-PETRI (205) studies the moneyers' types of the *Gens Antistia* in terms of the harmonization between "republican" and "Augustan" imagery and explores how religious authority reinforced Augustus's political power. According to WOODS (448), C C AVGVSTI on the *cippus* on *denarii* of L. Caninius Gallus should be expanded to C(OMITI) C(AESARIS) AVGVSTI, in honor of Agrippa, who had recently died. WOODS (449) also proposes that

the *aurei* of Augustus bearing a heifer were struck in Ionia and that the animal is Io, serving as a pun on Augustus's contemporary presence there during his travels. SUSPÈNE (404) conducts a metrological analysis and die study of Augustus's Diana/shrine-with-naval-trophy *aureus* type and argues that it alluded to Marcus Claudius Marcellus. BIEDERMANN (52) investigates the origin and meaning of the laurel crown with *tainia* (ribbon), which is the most common crown that Octavian/Augustus wears on his coinage. While the eagle on Roman coinage is almost universally interpreted as a symbol of Jupiter, GREET (209) elucidates the multiple meanings that the animal communicated on the coins of Augustus. SUSPÈNE (406) traces and comments on Greek influence on the coinage of Octavian/Augustus. GYÖRI (215) surveys representations of the Temple of Mars Ultor on coins, leaving open its association with the Parthians (Dio) or the assassins of Caesar (Suetonius), in assessing whether there was a smaller shrine on the Capitoline before the temple in the Forum of Augustus but adds little to the debate. BECKMANN (46) cogently argues, however, that the dedication of the Column of Trajan coincided with the anniversary of the dedication Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus to mark a new campaign against the Parthians in 113 CE and proves the temple's link with vengeance against foreign enemies, especially Parthia, not the assassins of Caesar. MOLINARI (326) publishes a gold "*quinarius*" of Augustus from the Treasure of Via Alessandrina in Rome, struck at an uncertain western mint for Agrippa's campaigns, and relates it to themes in contemporary literature. MARTIN (299) reaffirms VAN HEESCH's proposed date of summer 13 CE for the beginning of the second series of the Lyons altar coins.

Tiberius

To the corpus of known Tiberian "pseudo-medallions," WOYTEK (458) adds the *dupondius* type with the legend CLEMENTIAE struck on a *sestertius* flan, which complements the previously known *dupondius* type with the legend MODERATIONI(S) also struck on *sestertius* flans; he surmises that the CLEMENTIAE/MODERATIONI(S) regular coinage should be assigned to 22/23 CE, as it is improbable the mint would have struck these on *sestertius* flans when it was not otherwise producing *sestertii*. NENKOVA AND MINKOV (338) enter the debate regarding the identity of the round temple on rare Tiberian *dupondii*, which has been identified as the Temple of the Deified Augustus, the Temple of Vesta (on the Palatine or in the Forum Romanum), or a conflation of the two; through a comparison with the round temple on Nero's coins, they propose it is a temple of Vesta but allow a connection with the cult of Augustus. WOLTERS (442) relates the Grand Camée de France, well-known for its quality and remarkable dynastic imagery, to the coinage of Tiberius.

Caligula

Refuting earlier articles by BARRETT AND WOODS, ELKINS (159) reasserts the association of Caligula's *pilleus/R·CC quadrantes* with the remission of the ½ percent tax on auction sales through the explicit connection Libertas with freedom from financial burdens apparent in texts and on the later coins of Galba. HOLLSTEIN (236) injects *liberalitas* into the reading of these *quadrantes*, seeing Libertas as Liberalitas's proxy.

Claudius

In a catalogue produced for the 2019 exhibition on Claudius at the Museum of the Ara Pacis in Rome, BOCCIARELLI AND DALAISON (70) survey the evidence of coinage. MLASOWSKY (322) connects the "Turin-Type" portrait sculptures of Claudius with his visage on coinage. KELLY (254) considers the role of the imperial court and its political dynamics in the creation of Roman imperial art and coinage, particularly coinage of Caligula, Claudius, and Nero that refer to the praetorians.

Nero

CASOLI (105) reports on the reuse of dies for *aurei* at Lyons during Nero's reign. LEHMANN (286) notes a rare *aureus* of Nero discovered in Niedersachsen. BOCCIARELLI AND BIZET (68) publish a *dupondius* of Nero from the trade depicting the Macellum Magnum with a new variant legend: MACELLVS AVGVSTI. CUYLER (121) undertakes a detailed analysis of the iconography on Nero's *sestertii* depicting the harbor at Ostia and relates details to the communication of a secure and reliable grain supply. In a similar vein, FELICI (182) analyzes iconographical elements and their significance on the harbor *sestertii*. A study by JEWELL (246) suggests that the youthful beard on early sculptural and numismatic portraits of Nero communicated his maturity and right to rule and was connected with coming-of-age rites.

CLAES (113) argues that the *procurator a rationibus* may have been the agent involved in the selection of coin types via a case study in the reign of Nero where a shift in the typological content of the coinage coincides with

a change in the position. Two related articles by VAN HEESCH (220, 225) examine the target audiences of various types on Nero's bronze coins struck at Rome and Lyons, and sees the copying of Rome-centered subjects on Lyons' coins (e.g., the harbor at Ostia, the arch, the Temple of Janus, etc.) as part of an effort to communicate Rome's greatness to provincial viewers. The use of ancestry in the construction of Nero's imperial image is the subject of an article by HEKSTER, CLAES, MANDERS, SLOOTJES, KLAASSEN AND DE HAAN (230). A methodologically oriented essay by HEKSTER, MANDERS, AND SLOOTJES (231) points to the importance of numismatic evidence in an historical assessment of Nero's reign, in balance with other documentary and visual sources. WOLTERS AND ZIEGERT (447) compare the imperial representation of Nero and Domitian, both of whom ruled for roughly the same period of time, portrayed themselves differently than their predecessors, and who were responsible for the collapse of their family dynasties. For an exhibition catalogue on Nero in Trier, WOLTERS (443) discusses the typology, audience, and circulation of his coinage.

The Women of the Julio-Claudian Dynasty

HARVEY'S (218) book comprehensively gathers all numismatic representations of Livia from the imperial and provincial coinages to address the cultural and political significance of the deployment of her image. GIROD (200) probes the role that representations of emperors' mothers and daughters played on Julio-Claudian coinage. PANGERL (349) deploys numismatic evidence in a study of a portrait bust of Livia whose hairstyle was reworked centuries later. PANGERL (350) studies the numismatic and sculpted portraits of Caligula's sister, Drusilla. Through the coinage for Agrippina I, VALENTINI (417) examines the public honors given to Caligula's mother and the visual role she played in promoting Caligula's legitimacy. PANGERL (351) identifies and discusses a "Munich-Antioch" portrait type of Agrippina II on coins and sculpture; the most distinctive feature of this type is the locks of hair covering her ears, which is most common on the tetradrachms from Antioch, but which also appears on other coins.

The Julio-Claudian Dynasty (General Studies)

Although it deals primarily with provincial coinage, imperial representations are also considered in CALOMINO'S (97) article on the commemoration and use of Augustus on the coinage of later emperors. The use of Augustus's image on the coinage of the Julio-Claudian emperors is the subject of an essay by SUSPÈNE (407). An intensive study of portraiture on republican and early Julio-Claudian coins maintains that portraits of the emperors were inspired by the tradition of ancestor portraits, as they are always undraped, but women are always draped on account of the lack of *imagines* for them: WOYTEK (453).

The Civil Wars

There has been much work on the coinage of the civil wars since 2014. CAVAGNA (106) undertakes a historical study of Vindex and his revolt, which draws heavily from numismatic evidence. A study of iconographic variations on Galba's Spanish coins suggests a second Spanish mint to BOCCIARELLI (65). Through metrological, metallurgical, and typological analysis, BOCCIARELLI (67) takes a close look at Galba's coinage attributed to Vienna and Narbonne, and divides them into four groups struck at Vienna, Lyons, Narbonne, or perhaps Nimes. CAMPANA AND SANTELLI (99) published a numismatic and historical book on Otho. BOCCIARELLI (64) identifies the links between the anonymous silver coinage and the plated coins of Vitellius, which indicates that the anonymous coinage was not struck under Galba alone; the plated coins were struck in or near military camps along the Rhine shortly before or after Vitellius was declared emperor. BOCCIARELLI (66) examines the iconographic program on the coinage of Vitellius, interpreting it as a political response to Galba and situating Vitellius as an inheritor of the Augustan legacy. Metrological analysis of the gold coins of Galba, Vitellius, and Vespasian in 68-69 CE differentiates mints in Gaul and Spain: BOCCIARELLI, BLET-LEMARQUAND AND SUSPÈNE (69).

The Flavian Dynasty: Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian

An important new monograph on Vespasian's coinage was published by ZIEGERT (478), who expounds upon a variety of critical topics, ranging from mints and their organization, types and their meaning, numismatic prototypes, typological innovation, and target audiences as informed through finds and denominations. Through an analysis of gold and silver coin hoards, ZIEGERT (476) remarks on economic and historical factors affecting the supply of Vespasian's coinage across the Roman Empire and its typological distribution. BRICAULT AND VEYMIERS (79) adeptly deploy representations of the Temple of Isis on the *sestertii* of Vespasian as source material for the temple, its form, and its significance. Based on variation from the rest of the coinage struck at Rome (i.e., 12:00 axis, different orientation of legends and style of lettering, and smaller portrait heads), METCALF (310) argues that the coins of Vespasian

from 73 CE that mark his censorship and that bear PONTIF MAXIM on the reverse were struck at an auxiliary mint that was open for a brief period, owing to stylistic differences in the portrait head and lettering. Vespasian's *denarii* of 77-78 CE with the reverse of a shepherd milking a sheep alluded to Agricola and the beginning of his campaigns in Britannia, according to GROSSE BEILAGE (210). NOLLÉ (339) evaluates the republican prototypes that inform *aurei* from 77/78 CE for Titus as Caesar that depict Roma seated with two birds landing around her and connects the symbolism with the *augurium Romuli*. A very rare *aureus* of Domitian as Caesar with a wolf and twins reverse was discovered at Meschers-sur Gironde: GUSTAV (214). COX (117) looks broadly at Vespasian's coin typology and its assimilation of republican and early imperial prototypes to promote the new dynasty's legitimacy. ZIEGERT (477) also remarks on ways the coinage of Vespasian promoted his legitimacy. And, on a similar subject, LEPRI (289) discusses the imitation of Augustan and civil-war types on the early coinage of Vespasian to connote a new golden age of imperial rule.

In 2013, a unique *aureus* type related to Vespasian's well-known Judaea Capta series appeared in the trade with the unprecedented legend IVDAEA RECEPTA and was first subject to scholarly publication and analysis that same year by COTTON, GAMBASH, AND GITLER, as indicated in the last *Survey for Numismatic Research*. Subsequently, VITALE (421) undertook an historical analysis of the legend, which differs from other in the series in denoting the pacification and recovery of the province instead of its subjugation and conquest. ZOLLSCHAN (479) challenges the interpretation of the understanding of RECEPTA as indicating the return of the province, and instead sees it as a reference to the unconditional surrender of Judaea. ZOLLSCHAN (480) also identifies the female figure on these coins as Salus, whom she relates to Vespasian's presentation as Salus and the influence of republican coin designs on his coinage. WOLTERS (446) aims at systematically putting the new IVDAEA RECEPTA type into its full numismatic context.

The primary target audience of the Judaea Capta series of Vespasian and Titus was the inhabitants of Rome and Italy, according to a quantitative study of finds by ELKINS (165), which elaborated upon an aspect of an earlier study by BARBATO (39), who had examined the circulation of base-metal Flavian coinage in the city of Rome through the "sottosulo urbano II" find complex and differentiated it from provincial finds. KEDDIE (253) argues that the motif of the mourning personification of Judaea on Judaea Capta coins, and the broader Flavian discourse on the subjugation of Judaea, influenced the author of 4 Ezra, who countered with the use of a Mother Zion figure. In an exhibition catalogue on Pax, HENDIN (235) surveys the coinage that communicated Roman victory in the Jewish Revolt.

ELKINS (158) deploys the coinage program of Titus in concert with comparative archaeological evidence from Rome's theaters, the Circus Maximus, and amphitheaters outside of Rome to argue that a viewing platform for images of the gods and deified emperors (*pulvinar*) sat opposite the emperor's viewing box in the Colosseum, arguing it was important venue for emperor worship. ELKINS (168) elaborates upon that research and explores the typically underutilized numismatic sources informing the Colosseum and Flavian games in conjunction with other evidence in a book, aimed at a student audience, on the Colosseum as a symbol in Flavian Rome. The panegyric qualities of the Flavian Colosseum *sestertii* (of Titus and Domitian for Divus Titus) and types depicting the elephant (Titus) and rhinoceros (Domitian) are the subject of an essay by ELKINS (163), who remarks on their relationship with passages in Martial's *Liber Spectaculorum*. SUSPÈNE, FONTAINE, EL-AMOURI, AND MARTY (408) report the discovery of an *aureus* of Domitian as Caesar with the altar and PRINCEPS IVENTVTIS reverse from underwater excavations at Fos-sur-Mer. BALBUZA (37) discusses the Flavian restoration coins as ideological instruments promoting Flavian legitimacy, especially in a martial context.

DAMSKY (122) argues that Domitianic *sestertii* depicting the Temple of Minerva, a tetrapylon arch, and the equestrian statue of Domitian are a related set that bear on the topography and significance of contemporary construction on Domitian's new imperial forum. LEPRI (290) analyzes Domitian's coin typology of 95-96 CE and its political significance. WOLTERS' AND ZIEGERT'S (447) work on the representation of Nero and Domitian merits notation again in this section. Coins are among the visual sources in an important book on the memory and development of the principate under the Flavian emperors: LEITHOFF (288).

Nerva

In a book on Nerva's imperial representation via the coinage, ELKINS (161) analyzes his coinage program and the target audiences (the armed forces, constituencies in Rome and Italy, and viewers across the empire) of its messages according to distribution patterns in hoards and individual finds; typological content aligns with contemporary poetry and panegyric. Elaborating on some of that monograph's content, ELKINS (162) further pursues the interrelated

images of Aequitas and Iustitia on Nerva's coinage, interpreting Aequitas, who appears simultaneously with Iustitia, as a reflection of contemporary praise of the emperor rather than as a guarantee of stable financial administration. A related contribution on Aequitas is CHRISTOL'S (112) characterization of numismatic representations of the personification (not just in the reign of Nerva) as conveying a style of governance, who also attends to supporting evidence from inscriptions. ELKINS (166) associates the unusual presence in British finds of coins depicting Neptune and celebrating games in the Circus Maximus with a broader anomaly in the coin supply, potentially connected with the foundation of Glevum (Gloucester). WOYTEK (464, 465) presents a complete study of the modern invention of a *denarius* type with the PAX AVGVSTI reverse type, to which he adds a design on an *aureus*; some scholars in the past have assumed this is a legitimate, ancient type.

Trajan

In an essay presenting all imperial and provincial types struck for Divus Nerva, WOYTEK (459) maintains that the restricted presence of Nerva on Trajan's early coinage may be ascribed to Trajan's own styled representation as having been chosen by Jupiter to rule. BURNETT (84) takes up the problem of the date that *optimus princeps* becomes part of Trajan's official titulature and, while he comes to no definitive conclusion, gathers all evidence, probes all problems, and explores potential solutions. MARTIN (296) wades into the debate over the identity of the bridge on Trajan's coinage as either the Danube bridge or the Pons Sublicius; she comes to no definitive identification but suggests that interpretation was open to the viewer and that urban viewers may have associated it with the security of the grain supply. A study of coinage celebrating Trajan's subjugation of Dacia indicates that most are found in Dacia, suggesting a deliberate supply of such images to the army and the defeated populace: ELLITHORPE (175). OKOŃSKI (343) explores the representation of Germanic peoples and Dacians on Trajan's coinage. Interrogating the function of Trajan's restored coinage through a die study, BECKMANN (44) postulates it may have been produced for a *congiarium*. WOYTEK (457) identifies all known specimens of the Trajanic *denarii* restoring types of L. Rubrius Dossenus and, through detailed analysis, points to a proliferation of modern forgeries that have appeared in the trade recently that should not be confused with the legitimate specimens. In conjunction with the exhibition at the Markets of Trajan, CAPPELLACCI AND MOLINARI (103) surveyed the coinage of Trajan and some recent contributions to its study.

Some recent works address the relationship of Trajan's coins with contemporary literature, building, and sculpture. Venturing beyond his work connecting Nerva's numismatic iconography with poetry and panegyric, ELKINS (164) highlights relationships among Pliny's *Panegyricus*, Trajan's public building program, and his coins of 98 to 101-102 CE, 106 to 107 CE, and 111 and 112-113 CE, suggesting senators or equestrian cabinet ministers in type selection. In Juvenal 1.95-146, a satirical passage on the corrupting influence of money and a dole of 100 *quadrantes*, ELKINS (157) identifies wordplay with *nummus* (coin) and *numen* (divinity), and *aras nummorum* (altars to coins) instead of the anticipated *aras numinum* (altars to the gods), which he proposes set up allusions to contemporary Trajanic coins featuring Pax, Fides, Victoria, and Virtus, and an allusion to the boar on Trajanic *quadrantes*. WOLFRAM-THILL'S (441) article on groups scenes on Trajan's coins and monumental relief sculpture is one of the most extensive and sustained studies of the dialogue between coins and state relief sculpture; it will be important to anyone studying images of *congiaria*, *alimenta*, *adlocutio*, or other groups scenes. Many scenes on the Column of Trajan were inspired by coin iconography, according to GĄZDAC (188), while WOYTEK (460) closely analyzes numismatic representations of the columnar monument itself.

Hadrian and Sabina

The long-awaited and monumental revision of *RIC* II.3 for Hadrian by ABDY with MITTAG (10) presents a new chronological arrangement for the coinage, new types, and historical analyses; it also includes the medallions of Hadrian. Articles related to the new *RIC* volume include ABDY'S (4) argument that Hadrian's double-obverse and double-reverse types were not the result of minting errors, but rather intentional and related to the function of medallions, and ABDY'S (2) chronological arrangement of Sabina's coinage from the mint at Rome through a comparison of her hairstyles on dated coins from the provinces (now superseded by his revised *RIC*). AMIRO (17) presents preliminary results of a die study of Sabina's *aurei* and *denarii*, placing the beginning of Sabina's "Plotina portrait type" in 130/131 CE, a type that she argues did not communicate dynastic continuity as has often been suggested. Sabina's coinage is deployed as important historical source material in BRENNAN'S (79) book on the empress, while CERROCHI (109) more generally surveys the representation of Sabina on coins.

A metallurgical and typological analysis of a subset of the C L CAESARES *denarii* historically attributed to Augustus (*RIC*² I, no. 208) prompts WOYTEK AND BLET-LEMARQUAND (470) to identify these as an unsigned restoration issue from the reign of Hadrian. WOYTEK (462) gives a complete historical accounting of the two known restored *denarii* for the Deified Trajan signed by Hadrian (only one of which is available for study and known outside of older bibliography), assigns them to a mint in Syria, and relates them to other restored coins and Hadrianic political ideology. WOYTEK (468) also calls attention to 18 *semisses* from the trade, probably coming from Eastern Europe, that share die links and have similar patination; twelve of the *semisses* are of a variety that was unpublished.

CHAPAT (110) comments on an unpublished Hadrianic type with the legend FELICITAS AVG. BECKMANN (45) argues that the paddle-shaped attribute held by Liberalitas, who first appears on Hadrian's coinage, was a counting and guaranteeing device used in *congiaria*. FUCHS (185) compares the iconography of Hadrian's coins relating to the forgiveness of debts in 118 CE with similar depictions in relief sculpture and the *alimenta* coins. Through a die study, BECKMANN (49) provides a relative chronology of Hadrian's gold coinage with the obverse legend HADRIANVS AVG COS III P P. EDXRF analysis of 50 Hadrianic *denarii* from the Spanish Lliria Hoard indicate superficial surface enrichment to enhance the coins' appearance: DELEGIDO, RIPOLLÈS AND ROLDÁN (124). HEKSTER (228) examines the numismatic representation of Hadrian in light of the circumstances regarding his accession, and how those affected his interactions with the provinces and his expectations as a ruler.

Antoninus Pius

MICHELS (313) reexamines the series of imperial coins depicting the provinces on the coins of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, bringing new interpretations, especially to the latter; he emphasizes the role of the provinces as part of the universal consensus in honoring the emperor. Coins are also a primary source material in two books on Antoninus Pius by MICHEL'S (314) and AUMANN (32), which deal with imperial representation, and SEELENAG'S (389) chapter on the image of Antoninus Pius. MITTAG (318) explores the development of representations of emperors in *quadrigae* on coins and medallions through the late empire, finding that while originally struck to mark a *pompa triumphalis*, Antoninus Pius used the images to mark a *processus consularis*; the imagery took on even more functions in the reign of Septimius Severus. In the reign of Antoninus Pius, Honos (who now wears civilian dress) signals the attainment of high office and is linked with Marcus Aurelius's first consulship while Virtus appears separately on coins in the name of Antoninus Pius: MITTAG (319). The connection between Pietas on the coinage of Antoninus Pius and crises are the subject of an essay by BÖRNER (75). CHIAPPINI (111) investigates the literary, epigraphic, and numismatic sources for *congiaria* in the reign of Antoninus Pius, organizing a chronology and examining the commemoration of these events through the imagery on coins. With a focus on the Antonines, ROYO MARTÍNEZ DEL MAR (380) uses the evidence of coins and texts to reconstruct the mechanics of *congiaria*.

Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, and Commodus

BECKMANN'S (47) die study of the restorations of Antony's legionary *denarii* under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus suggests the series was struck to substitute for the originals that had remained in circulation and become virtually illegible. BAER (35) undertakes a die study of the same series with a larger sample and ascribes their date of production to ca. 164 CE and, challenging BECKMANN'S conclusions, interprets their military symbolism as celebrating Parthian victories and honoring the army. ESTIOT (177) studies coin types showing the emperor and his soldiers crossing bridges, as on coins of Marcus Aurelius and later emperors, with regard to their ideological significance and military logistics. PIVA (363) calls attention to an unpublished *aureus* of 174 CE celebrating Marcus Aurelius's *adventus* in the Capitoline cabinet, but notes that a medallion from 172-173 CE and another *aureus* of 173-174 CE suggest the *adventus* had already occurred. BURGÉS (83) interrogates the ideological role of coin types depicting funerary pyres on Antonine coinage in projecting continuity and legitimacy, while STEGL (391) examines all variants of the funeral-pyre type and analyzes discernible sculptural details in the context of the *consecratio*.

Denarii of Commodus depicting Fortuna Manens, who holds a horse by its bridle, may refer to Commodus's survival of a potentially fatal horse accident: WOODS (450).

Faustina I and Faustina II

DELL'ORO D'AMICO (344) studies the significance of the PVELLAE FAVSTINIANAE types struck in the reign of Antoninus Pius. BECKMANN (43) evaluates the relationship between the numismatic and in-the-round portraits of Faustina II via a die study of the gold coinage; he demonstrates that portrait types do not always evolve linearly, that

different portrait types were struck at the same time, and that numismatic portraiture does not always rely on sculptural models. BECKMANN (48) also explores the dialogue between sculpture and coins in another study on Faustina I (for whom both media visualized honors) and Faustina II; for the latter, he elaborates on FITTSCHEN'S earlier work on her portrait sculpture.

General Guides

In AMANDRY'S book (14) on Greek and Roman coinage, SUSPÈNE (405) presents an historical overview of the coinage from Augustus to the Flavians and AMANDRY (15) surveys the period from Nerva to Commodus. DEPEYROT (125) also authored a general book on the history of Roman coinage.

Iconography and Types

The significance of images on coins, the intelligibility of designs, target audiences, and the question of type selection continue to be fruitful avenues for research, as exhibited by numerous works in the above section and two symposia that produced edited volumes on the topic: ELKINS AND KRMNICEK (170) and IOSSIF, DE CALLATAÏ, AND VEYMIERS (245). Iconographic subjects and typological studies that do not easily fit into the section on specific reigns and periods are presented in this section.

Architecture

In addition to the individual architectural types surveyed in the above section on period studies and individual types, there has been much work on architectural representations at large. BURNETT (86) gives a brief overview of architectural representations, including their potential and limitations, in a handbook on the city of Rome; TIMÁR (412) briefly considers their potential for architectural reconstructions. The book by ELKINS (160) attempts to examine all architectural types on republican and imperial coins, contrasted and compared with provincial representations, in order to assess how architectural imagery operated in the broader context of coinage programs, why certain monuments were chosen, and how they are related to other visual media. RITTER (371) provides a methodological essay on the problems associated with identifying monuments on coins and assumptions regarding intent and intelligibility. Numismatic representations of monuments and statues are among the many pieces of evidence deployed in a major study of the archaeology and topography of the Forum Romanum during the imperial period: COARELLI (114). CAMPO (101) surveys representations of the Circus Maximus on coins and medallions from Trajan through the third century CE.

Numismatic Portraiture in Exhibition Catalogues

A richly illustrated volume, edited by GITLER AND GAMBASH (201) and emphasizing portraiture, was published in conjunction with the exhibition of the VICTOR A. ADDA collection of Roman gold coins at the Israel Museum. Entries include Augustus and Tiberius by MARTINI (305), Claudius and Nero by BURNETT (85), the Flavians by GAMBASH AND GITLER (187), Trajan by WOYTEK (461), Hadrian and Antoninus Pius by ABDY (5), and Marcus Aurelius and Commodus by VAN HEESCH (224). Another exhibition in Munich emphasized portraiture on Roman coins; its catalogue, edited by PANGERL (348), contains entries on Augustus by GLIWITZKY (202), Nero and the Flavians by GLIWITZKY (203), Poppaea Sabina by VON MOSCH (329), Marcus Aurelius by PANGERL (348), Commodus by MÜSELER (334), and an essay by ECK (155) on the communicative potential and audience of portraiture. GĂZDAC AND GEBAUER (199) deploys the evidence of coins from Augustus to Commodus alongside portraits in the round in an exhibition catalogue from the Staatliche Antikensammlung in Munich.

Ancestry, Deification, and Damnatio Memoriae

HEKSTER (227) uses coinage as a primary source material, alongside other media, in his book on the importance of ancestry in the projection of the imperial image. METCALF (311) examines coins celebrating deified emperors, associating them with monuments and the topography of Rome. CALOMINO (98) published an important work on *damnatio memoriae*, which includes a significant amount of numismatic material with defaced portraits or obliterated legends, in conjunction with an exhibition at the British Museum.

Personifications and Foreign Peoples

VITALE'S (422) book on the representation of conquered and controlled territories in the Roman Empire will be an important resource for anyone studying the personification of places and provinces. A related study, though not dealing strictly with personifications, is WOYTEK'S (456) essay on the development of the numismatic representation of "barbarians" and foreigners from the period of the Republic through Trajan. JUHÁSZ (248) surveys the representation

of Britannia on Roman coins. In a catalogue for an exhibition on Eirene/Pax at the Archäologisches Museum der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster, LICHTENBERGER, MARTIN, NIESWANDT, AND SALZMANN (291) outline the significance, function, and use of Pax on Roman coinage. In her book on Pax, CORNWELL (116) uses coinage as one of many pieces evidence.

Other

DROST (141) investigates the significance of nudity on imperial coinage. Numismatic images are source material in LATHAM's (284) book on the *pompa circensis*. LATHAM (283) also argues that empty chariots on early imperial coins are *tensae* for ceremonial processions in the Circus Maximus, although that conclusion is not novel. HEKSTER (229) examines images of Roman emperors in a legal role, dispensing justice, and posits that the relative infrequency of such images on imperial coins is due to the need to reach a broad audience and, thus, other messages took precedence; by contrast, justice is more pronounced in the epigraphic and the literary records, because the local administrators who set up monuments and the elites who wrote history were more directly affected by the emperor in his role as adjudicator and legislator.

A statistical study using hoards from Gaul examines the prevalence of imperial women on Roman coins from the first to fourth centuries CE: MARSURA (295). Building on her earlier work on typologically differentiated and targeted supplies of coins to the legions at Nijmegen, KEMMERS (256) discerns the phenomenon in other periods and places. MARTÍNEZ-CHICO (301) publishes a new anonymous *quadrans* type, dated to 81-161 CE, with an obverse bust of Roma and ROMA on the reverse; he postulates it may relate to the mining centers in the area of Cástulo, based on its discovery there.

KOPIJ (265) asserts the function of Roman coin imagery as propaganda, while ELKINS (167) surveys the communicative function of Roman coins, challenges their characterization as top-down propaganda, and outlines some potential agents who had a hand in the selection of types. WENKEL's (429) book on coins in the world of the New Testament emphasizes the role they can play in Biblical studies, as purveyors of political communication, and as cultural texts.

Coin Finds, Hoards, and Coin Circulation Studies

Italia: Rome, Pompeii, Central and Southern Italy, and Sicily

A major study and publication of the inventory of the Julio-Claudian and Flavian coin finds from the "sottosuolo urbano II" complex, composed of nineteenth-century excavations in Rome, and other finds in and around Rome, was organized and edited by MOLINARI (323). LANNA AND MOLINARI examine (282) Augustan finds, MOLINARI (324) takes on Tiberius, WILLIAMS (440) covers Caligula, and LANNA (279, 280, 281) synthesizes Claudius, Nero, and the civil wars; BARBATO (40) examines the Flavian finds, following her earlier presentation of typological distribution in Rome compared with the provinces (39).

LANCHI (276) examines the differentiated supply of coins according to finds from Rome, Italy, and the German-Raetian *limes* system. ZEGGIO (474) analyzes coin finds from the area of Rome's Meta Sudans from Augustus to the period of the Great Fire, which appear to be connected with the rituals from the Curiae Veteres. The abundance of coins with the Neronian countermark NCAPR in pre-64 CE levels excavated in Rome suggests to PARDINI (352) that they may have been associated with the *congiarium* in 57 CE. COLETTI (115) relates the coin finds from excavations on the southwestern side of the Palatine, in the district of the Temple of Magna Mater, to other excavated finds in their establishment of a chronology of installations and activities there.

Outside of Rome, PANCOTTI (346) reexamines a large hoard of republican and Augustan-era *denarii* from Monte Porzio Catone, discovered in 1953, and suggests it was buried by an important person or military officer in the years after the Battle of Actium. LUCIANO (293) publishes the finds from excavations at the Roman settlement near San Vincenzo al Volturno, which include five coins from our period. CECCARONI AND MOLINARI (107) provide a brief report on the post-2006 coin finds from excavations at the Sanctuary of Hercules at Alba Fucens, which include many Julio-Claudian coins and some *tesserae*.

STAUB AND DE ROSA (398) published the coins from Pompeii's Regio V, 1. VITALE (423) published the coin finds from Regio VII in Pompeii and PARDINI (353) has added some notes. PARDINI (354) published the coin finds from Regio VIII, 7, 1-15. PISANO (362) discusses coins excavated in the garden of the house of Marcus Fabius Rufus at Pompeii. An innovative study by ELLIS (174) puts coin finds from Pompeii in context with attention to the retail

landscape around Porta Stabia. DEPEYROT (126) studies coin distribution among the various parts of Pompeii, with reference also to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sources.

PUGLISI (365) gives an overview of hoarding in early imperial Sicily, noting approximately 50 hoards and presenting information on a new hoard from Tyndaris. REECE (368) publishes republican and imperial coins in the National Museum of Malta, including a hoard of second-century CE *sestertii*; these are probably from Malta or Sicily.

Italia: Northern Italy

ARZONE, BIONDANI, AND CALOMINO (27) make available an inventory of coin finds from Verona in the series *Ritrovamenti monetali di età romana nel Veneto (RMRVe)*; In another new volume of *RMRVe*, STELLA (399) inventories the coin finds from Este, in the province of Padua. ASOLATI AND STELLA (31) examine and catalogue the coin finds from Aquileia. GORINI (207) analyzes the finds and circulation patterns of Augustan coins in and around Aquileia. ARZONE (26) publishes the coin finds from the amphitheater at Verona, of which four come from the reign of Claudius. ERCOLANI COCCHI (176) presents a study of base-metal coin circulation through Claudius in the area of Romagna. Coin finds from the 2006-2011 excavations of Ad Novas (Cesenatico) are published and studied by BALDI (38).

Hispania

CAMPO, CASTANYER, SANTOS, AND TREMOLEDA (101) report on a hoard of coins deposited in 2 BCE-4 CE from Insula 30 at Emporiae, discovered during the 2014 excavation season. CENTENO (108) studies 11 republican and imperial *denarii* from a hoard, closing in the reign of Tiberius, found in São Pedro do Sul (Viseu) in Portugal before 1981. From the treasury of the *curia* at Virtus Iulia Ituci (Torreparedones), an interesting find of six *dupondii* and one *as* of Nero from the mint at Lyons – all in near perfect and uncirculated condition and with Victoria and Securitas reverse types – may represent a consignment from the imperial administration: MORENA LÓPEZ AND TRISTELL MUÑOZ (328). VILA FRANCO AND RODRÍGUEZ MARTÍNEZ (420) present finds from the excavations of A Lanzada, which produced a *denarius* of Tiberius, an *as* of Vespasian, and a *sestertius* of Antoninus Pius. ARÉVALO AND MORENO (23) report on an important hoard of 116 *denarii* and *aurei* from Nero to Antoninus Pius that were discovered in 2017 in an archaeological context at the mining *vicus* at Cortalago. MARTÍNEZ-CHICO (303) surveys hoarding practices in Spain from Augustus to the Tetrarchy. VILA FRANCO (419) studies the coin circulation and economy in northeastern Spain.

Britannia, Caledonia, and Hibernia

ABDY AND ALLEN (6), ABDY, ALLEN, LEINS, AND NAYLOR (7), ABDY, ALLEN, AND NAYLOR (8, 9), ALLEN AND GHEY (13), and ANDREWS AND GHEY (20, 21) provide important summaries of Roman imperial coin hoards from the British Isles. GUEST (212) surveys the loss and recovery of hoards in the British Isles, while REECE (367) surveys the composition of hoards. BLAND'S (54) presidential address for the British Numismatic Society is a methodological essay on the linking of coin hoards with historical events, often with mixed results, and examines the broad circulation of *denarii* in Britannia. His 2016 presidential address examines hoarding and circulation up to 69 CE after Claudius's invasion of 43 CE: BLAND (55). BLAND'S (57) book on coin hoards in Britain is a monumental survey of the material and, in addition to important methodological chapters about hoards and hoarding, there are two major chapters relevant to our period that deal with the Iron Age to Roman transition through 69 CE and the "*denarius* period" from 69 to 238 CE. BLAND, CHADWICK, GHEY, HASSELGROVE, MATTINGLY, ROGERS, AND TAYLOR (61) provide an important methodological discussion regarding the study of coin hoards in Britain, surveying over 3,000 hoards. BRINDLE'S (80) book on the Portable Antiquities Scheme gives its history and surveys the many potential applications of data from it. *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Britain* contains an overview on coin finds and the economy by WALTON AND MOORHEAD (428).

MOORHEAD (327) contextualizes the Malpas Hoard, discovered in 2014 by a metal detectorist, as potentially connected with the defeat and flight of Caratacus; PHILPOTT, OAKDEN, AND LEINS (360) provide the catalogue for the hoard. CRUMMY, HENIG, AND WARD (120) report on a remarkable hoard from Colchester that contains gold jewelry, silver military decorations, and 24 republican and imperial *denarii*, among other items; the objects were hastily buried beneath the floor of a house that burned during Boudicca's rebellion and belonged to a citizen couple of high status who had to flee. HOWGEGO (240) associates the finds in Britannia of Vespasian's *aurei* struck in the east with the invasion of Brigantia. OAKDEN (342) synthesizes the Knutsford Hoard from Cheshire with 101 *denarii* and two *sestertii*, plus some jewelry and ceramic fragments; it closes in the reign of Antoninus Pius. WALTON (427) publishes the coin finds from Thwing. FARLEY (180) relates coin-hoarding patterns in the North Thames and East Midlands regions to early Roman expansion. BARROWCLOUGH (42) publishes 12 new coins from a hoard from Barway, in Cambridgeshire,

which closes in ca. 180 CE. BLAND () examines ritual deposits in bodies of water at Bath, Coventina's Well, Buxton, London Bridge, and Piercebridge. An essay by BRINDLE (81) examines the question of monetization and coin circulation in rural Roman Britain, and WALTON (426) elucidates regional and chronological variations of monetization and coin use, observing that southern Britannia was more monetized than the north, where there is little evidence for the adoption of coinage outside of military and administrative contexts. CREIGHTON (118) addresses the supply and circulation of *denarii* in the province.

BLAND's (53) study of the hoard from Drumanagh, Ireland, which contains 18 coins from Domitian to Antoninus Pius, and which was illegally retrieved by a metal detectorist in 1985, suggests trade activity or military involvement with the Romans. BURNETT (87) redates a hoard of *denarii* from Glamis (north of Dundee, Scotland) to the reign of Commodus through the aid of a letter that provides new details; he also examines a hoard of *denarii* from Dublin that dates between 100-150 CE. HOLMES (237) publishes two hoards of *denarii* from northeastern Scotland that terminate, respectively, in the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.

The Northwestern Continental Provinces: Gallia, Germania, Raetia, and Noricum

Using individual coin finds and hoards from the northwestern provinces, HELLINGS (232) assesses the relative size of production of *aurei* in the reigns of Nero and Vespasian. KROPFF (271) rejects some traditional assumptions regarding coin use and the necessity of money changers in the region, arguing that money changers did not operate there, that soldiers received part of their pay in bronze, and that civilians could pay some taxes in bronze.

Through the study of coin hoards and single finds, AARTS (1) examines coin circulation and coin use in the second century CE and beyond in the Meuse-Demer-Scheldt area, a rural territory occupied by Texuandri. In an article on the origins and urban development of Reims, there is discussion of Augustan-era coin finds: NEISS, BERTHELOT, DOYEN, AND ROLLET (337). DOYEN (133) discusses coin circulation in the countryside around Reims (*civitas Remorum*); he is author of related contributions on coin circulation in rural northern Gaul: DOYEN (131, 132). SCHUCANY (386) discusses money and trade in the Helvetian countryside. VAN HEESCH (221) examines coin use and coin circulation in northwestern Gaul. A major study of coin circulation and monetization in northern and northeastern Gaul was published by MARTIN (297). WIGG-WOLF (437) discusses coin depositions and ritual in northern Gaul. In an edited volume by DOYEN AND DUCHEMIN (138), there are lists of single coin finds from various sites in Belgium and northeastern France with many coins from our period, in addition to two pertinent essays. The first essay, by DUCHEMIN (143), is on coins excavated at Harfleur (Caracotinum), including 18 identifiable coins from our period, and the second, by DOYEN (135), centers on three late-Roman sites from the Ardennes, two of which (Châtel-Chéhéry and Stonne) produced Julio-Claudian and second-century CE coins.

RICHARD RALITE (370) reports on a hoard of 104 republican and Augustan *denarii*, closing between 2 BCE and 4 CE, which was discovered around Nice in 1901. A number of early imperial coin finds are associated with a Veliocasses sanctuary in the Mureaux quarry at Authevernes: MICHEL, ADRIAN, DOYEN, HANOTTE, OUESLATI, ROUDIÉ, DEMAREST, LEBIS, AND MALETTE (312). Two small hoards, one of which closes with a *sestertius* of Trajan, from excavations at the Rouffignac Cave in Dordogne were published by RICHARD RALITE (369). LE BRAZIDEC, DUPERRON, BIGOT, AND LONG (76) publish 20 coins from Vespasian to Marcus Aurelius from a shipwreck from ca. 200 CE near Marseillan, *Hérault*. TROMMENSCHLAGER and GROCH (416) publish a hoard of 37 *sestertii* discovered in a pot in 2013 in Saint-Sauveur. DUCHEMIN, DUVIVIER, AND FLORENT (145) report on a hoard of bronze coins from Bierne-Socx in northern France that has 26 coins from our period (Trajan to Commodus), and which closes in the third century with a coin of Severus Alexander. PILON (361) processes a hoard of 135 *sestertii* from Domitian to Maximinus I (130 of which are in our period) from Famars and a hoard of 500 *sestertii* from Vespasian to Septimius Severus (490 in our period) from Lahoussoye. GUIHARD, LÉON, MÉDARD, ROBINET, HEU-THAO, AND MENEI (213) publish a hoard of 312 silver coins from the first to third centuries CE from two leather purses from Calvados, France, which were accumulated between 220 and 230 CE. MEGUELATI (306) reports on a hoard of 1,049 bronze coins from the first to third century CE found at Bray (Eure), 1,020 of which are from the reigns of Nero to Commodus.

KEMMERS (255) studies the coin finds from the Roman harbor city at Voorburg-Arentsburg in the Netherlands. Using the nearby site of Forum Hadriani as a case study, KEMMERS (258) demonstrates the potential of examining coin finds in vertical and horizontal contexts, and through the context of the entire site, in a methodological essay about the use and deposition of coins, in addition to their utility as chronological indicators for archaeologists. VERBOVEN

AND DE CLERCQ (418) present a catalogue and analysis of 289 coin finds from the Flavian settlement at Merendree-Molenkouter, which used a significant amount of older Augustan coins.

HELLINGS (233) interrogates the scale of the importation of coins into northwestern Europe, coinciding with Augustus's military campaigns in the area of the Rhine frontier. ILISCH (244) analyzes the 425 bronze coins excavated at the military camp at Antreppen founded in 4/5 CE; the bulk of finds are Lyons altar *asses* from the group with *pendilia* hanging down, which are less common in finds in France, and Celtic coins that the soldiers appear to have used as small change. WERZ (433) argues that an earlier published hoard from Niederwerth by VON BERG and GÜNTHER (50) was in fact an accumulation, as its find spot was a ford. KOMNICK (264) produced a volume on the coin finds from the area of Colonia Ulpia Traiana and WIGG-WOLF (436) led production of the *Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Deutschland (FMRD)* volume on finds from the Martberg. OTTE (345) analyzes and catalogues the coins from the 2013-2014 excavations at the legionary fortress at Bonn. KRMNICEK (269) provides corrections and a supplement to *FMRD* 2.3 and 2.4 regarding 18th-century finds from Württemberg that are held by the Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen. MÜCKENBERGER (333) reports on Roman coin finds from the district of Wesermarsch. From the military installation at Wilkenburg, LEHMANN (285) reports on a hoard and LEHMANN, NAGEL, AND NAGEL (287) present the results of some archaeometric analysis on coin finds; WULF (472) discusses coin finds from the same installation. SCHACHINGER (384) examines and catalogues the 146 coins from the Georgenberg, which are metal detector finds without specific archaeological contexts. For the Auerberg, ZIEGAUS (475) provides a comprehensive study of the republican and early Julio-Claudian coin finds from numismatic, archaeological, and historical perspectives. GORECKI (206) studies the selection of types dedicated in the Sanctuary for Isis and Magna Mater at Mainz. KORTÜM AND KRMNICEK (266) report on 50 coin finds from the Roman-Celtic sanctuary of Apollo-Grannus at Neuenstadt am Kocher.

In conjunction with the bimillennium of Germanicus's death, much work has examined coins from areas associated with his campaigns following the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest, or revisited Varus's activities and defeat. Looking at countermarks and stages in their wear, TOLKSDORF, ELBURG, AND REUTER (414) suggest their potential in reconstructing the movement of Varus's legions. WOLTERS (445) establishes a chronology for the countermarks from Varus and later at Kalkriese and other related military sites, but WERZ (432) takes issue with his linking of the IMP-and-*lituus* countermark with Germanicus. With an emphasis on the area between the Rhine, Lippe, and Weser, WERZ (434) examines the circulation of Augustan bronze coins in Gaul and Germania. MARTIN (298) uses find complexes with coins and terra sigillata to differentiate between the first and second decades of the first century CE, which helps in dating Germanicus's campaigns along the Upper Rhine. WIGG-WOLF (438) considers the coin supply and occupation of sites, including Waldgirmes, Haltern, and Kalkriese, while WERZ (430) examines the coin supply to the armies of Upper and Lower Germany, which followed two different routes. ROST (374) comments on coins and archaeology at Kalkriese.

In Orselina, Switzerland, an amphora with 4,800 *sestertii* was discovered in 2014 and summarized by ACKERMANN AND PETER (11). From the ancient sanctuaries in and around Aventicum (Avenches), FREY-KUPPER, LIGGI ASPERONI, AND WOLFE-JACOT (184) published hundreds of coins from the period of this survey. PETER (358) examines patterns in the discovery and hoarding of gold coins in Switzerland via data from *Inventar der Fundmünzen der Schweiz*. Through examples from Colonia Augusta Raurica (Augst/Kaiseraugst), MARTIN-KILCHER AND PETER (300) demonstrate the possibilities of two ways of working with coins in archaeological contexts: 1) small groups of stratified coins from a workshop and 2) the large series of coins from dated contexts in the upper town.

SCHACHINGER (383) publishes the coin finds from the recently discovered military camp at Strebersdorf, Austria, on the Amber Road, which appears to have been established late in the reign of Augustus and perhaps in relation to the Pannonian Revolt; the coin finds indicate activity through the fourth century CE. SCHACHINGER, WENDLING, AND WENDLING (385) study coin finds from the Dürrenberg and Hallein (Salzburg). Earlier studies on first-century CE coin circulation at Magdalensberg are augmented by KRMNICEK (268). Building on his experiences working with coins in unusual find spots, KRMNICEK's (270) methodological essay, using the case study of Magdalensberg, explores the function and use of coins deposited in walls, pits, and foundations. KRMNICEK (267) explores the often-unrecognized phenomenon of coins concealed in walls with special attention to Virunum.

Thrace and Moesia

The numismatic collections of local and regional museums frequently reflect area finds. ANDONOVA, FILIPOVA, PAUNOV, AND PROKOPOV (19) published the numismatic collections at the Regional Historical Museum at Blagoevgrad (Skaptopara); FILIPOVA, PETKOV, IVANOV, ANDONOVA, AND PROKOPOV (183) made available the collection of the Museums at Sandanski (Medius-Particopolis), Petrich (Heraclea Sintica/Strimonica), and Gotse Delchev (Nicopolis ad Nestum); and IGNATOVA, FILIPOVA, TENCHOVA, AND PROKOPOV (243) produced the catalogue for the collection at the Regional historical Museum at Pazardzhik. On account of the presence of Sicilian countermarks on Augustan *sestertii* found between Aquae and Novae in Moesia, MARTINI (304) suggests these are evidence for legionaries trained in Sicily and then stationed in this region of Moesia.

Dacia and Panonnia

The discovery of 80 new bronze coins that belong to a hoard partly recovered in 1968 in *Măgirești*, and which closes in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, is discussed by GAFINCU AND MUNTEANU (186). POPESCU AND IACOB (364) present a catalogue of coin finds from Noviodunum (near modern Isaccea, Romania), with 129 imperial coins from Augustus to Commodus, accompanied by an abstract in English and brief commentary in Romanian. GĂZDAC, ALFÖLDY-GĂZDAC, NEAGOE, AND NEAGOE (191) report on the coin finds from Drobeta. A hoard from Gruia, which contains 52 *denarii* from Vespasian to Commodus in addition to later coins, is the subject of a book by GĂZDAC AND NEAGOE (195); GĂZDAC AND NEAGOE (196) also prepared a book on a hoard from Desa, which has 133 *denarii* from Nero to Commodus. A hoard of 70 *sestertii*, from Trajan to Commodus, discovered before 2016 in Dobruja, may relate to a Scythian invasion: MARIN AND PETAC (294). PURECE (366) conjectures that hoard evidence from the southern Carpathians in Dacia suggest riots and unrest in the area early in Commodus's reign after the conclusion of the Marcomannic Wars. From the legionary fortress at Turda, Romania (ancient Potaissa), ANDONE-ROTARU (18) publishes a hoard of 543 *denarii*, ranging from Nero to Macrinus, which may have belonged to a soldier of the fifth legion. A scrap coin hoard from Apulum is the subject of a monograph by GĂZDAC, OARGĂ, AND ALFÖLDY-GĂZDAC (198). GĂZDAC (189) surveys coin finds and hoards from auxiliary forts in Roman Dacia. Evidence of finds suggests soldiers in Dacia may have been paid in gold, according to GĂZDAC, BOUNEGRU AND VARGA (192). MUNTEANU (330) and MUNTEANU, ISTINA, AND COȘA (332) present various Roman coin finds from Moldova.

TORBÁGYI (415) analyzes a hoard of 38 Julio-Claudian *aurei* closing in 62/63 CE, from Savaria (Szombathely, Hungary) that may have been buried many years after the last coin in the group. JUHÁSZ (250) sheds further light on a hoard of nine *aurei* from Tiberius to Vespasian, found in 1994 at Víziváros, near Aquincum in Pannonia, suggesting they were hidden in the camp of *Ala I Hispanorum Auriana*, which was posted there from 69 CE through the 80s CE. FEHÉR (181) reexamines three hoards (one of which closes ca. 167 CE) from Brigetio, in modern Hungary, with new information from the Kuny Domokos Museum in Tata. SIMON (394) presents a database of 299 coins from 80 sites in northeastern Hungary, mostly *denarii* of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, which may be connected with the activity of the Hasding Vandals who seized the area in the second to fourth centuries CE. A book on the gold coins from Carnuntum was published by GĂZDAC, HUMER, AND POLLHAMMER (194).

The East

HØJBERG BJERG (242) studies coin circulation, through hoards and single finds discovered up to 2009, in the Bosphoran Kingdom during the Roman period from ca. 49/48 BCE to the fourth century CE. EBERHARDT AND WEISSER (154) summarize recent work undertaken by a postdoc on the coin finds at Priene and link to an open-access database of Priene's coin finds. Coin finds from the 1973-2013 excavations at Sardis were published by EVANS (178); the report includes four *denarii* from our period and a brief section on coin circulation there and regionally in the first and second centuries CE. Deploying historical sources and hoard evidence, STROOBANTS (401) discusses the use of high-value coinage for large payments for taxes and public expenses in and around Sagalassos.

BOCCARDI (63) studies the 1923 hoard "from Syria," which contains 260 *denarii* from Nero to Caracalla. CALLEGHER (95) reports on the discovery of photographs of a hoard (of 22 *aurei* that was buried in the reign of Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius in upper Galilee or in Golan) during a reorganization of the Archaeological Museum of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum in Jerusalem, which attests an increased supply of gold in the region in the middle of the second century CE. Patterns in the hoarding of silver coinage in Palestine are the subject of brief notes by GOLDMAN (204). An important study of coin finds and coin circulation in Hellenistic-Roman Galilee includes

attention to imperial coins and the introduction of *denarii*, which did not circulate there in considerable quantities until after ca. 70 CE: SYON (409). BUTCHER (91) published the coin finds from Kifrin, Iraq. SAVIO AND CAVAGNA (382) examine hoard evidence to argue that Roman gold, like bronze, did not circulate out of Egypt's closed-currency zone.

North Africa

AMANDRY (16) studies anew the hoard of 172 *denarii*, closing in the reign of Augustus, discovered in 1926 in Roches-Noires, Morocco. ASOLATI AND CRISAFULLI (30) published a recently rediscovered hoard from Benghazi, Libya containing Greek, Hellenistic, and Roman silver; it includes 46 imperial *denarii* from Nero to Trajan with a closing date of ca. 115-117 CE, which suggests it is probably connected with the Jewish rebellion. HOYER (241) provides a database of nearly 51,000 imperial coins found in the African provinces and compares Africa's circulation pool with that of western Europe.

The Barbaricum and Other Finds Beyond the Empire's Borders

The study of coin finds beyond the borders of the Roman Empire continues to be a growing area of research. A helpful and complete list of hoards of *denarii* in the Barbaricum, known through 2019, was prepared by DYMOWSKI, BLIUJENÉ, HORSNÆS, HOLST NIELSEN, HUNTER, LIND, MILITKÝ, MUNTEANU, MYZGIN, PELSDONK, SIDAROVICH, STOKLAS, VIDA, VOJVODA, WIGG-WOLF, AND WOYTEK (152). Although its title implies only a study of Roman republican coins in the Barbaricum, DYMOWSKI'S (149) book on Roman coin finds in eastern Central Europe, north of the Sudetes and the Carpathians, encompassing the area of modern Poland, western Belarus, and western Ukraine, also includes and treats imperial coins from before 64 CE; he discusses the importation, use, and functions of Roman coinage in this region. That book also includes an inventory of coin finds. VOSS AND WIGG-WOLF (424) discuss the nature of coin finds in the central European Barbaricum and how monetary objects were transformed there. MUNTEANU AND HONCU (331) remark on the chronology of second- and third-century CE silver coin hoards in relation to political contexts in the eastern Carpathian Barbaricum. KACZANOWSKI, BODZEK, PRZYCHODNI, AND ZUCH (251) publish a list of Roman coin finds from Polonia Minor/Kleinpolen, in the southern portion of the modern Polish state, while WAGNER AND ZAJĄC (425) relay some recent discoveries from Częstochowa. BURSCHE (89) investigates the largest single group of coins found in the Barbaricum, with 194 *denarii* from Nero to Commodus, from Illerup Ådal, Denmark, concluding they were used as raw material to repair equipment. HORSNÆS (238) looks at votive hoards beyond the Roman Empire that contain Roman coins, addressing their function and meaning.

DYMOWSKI (147, 148) published two related studies about the introduction of early Roman coins in Poland; the first deals primarily with republican and Augustan coins coming into the hands of the Przeworsk and Wielbark territories in the second and third centuries CE and the second grapples with pre-64 CE *denarii* moving into the area of the Carpathians and north of the Sudetes along with more common republican finds. DYMOWSKI AND MYZGIN (153) address patterns regarding the introduction and recirculation of *denarii* among the Przeworsk, Wielbark, and Chernyakhiv cultures through a chronological study of hoards. BULAS AND KOTOWICZ (82) present 10 individual coin finds from the Upper San River basin. DULĘBA AND ROMANOWSKI (146) report on 33 Roman coins, mostly of the first and second centuries CE, discovered alongside artifacts of the Przeworsk culture from the excavations at Nieprowice. ZAPOLSKA (473) studies a hoard of 29 *denarii* and one *sestertius*, found with other metal objects, from Frombork; the hoard was raw material for a traveling metalsmith. BURSCHE (90) publishes a pierced *aureus* of Faustina II from near Stygajny in northern Poland, which must have entered the region when gold coins passed to the Goths around 250 CE; pierced gold coins are common in this region and may have served a ritual function.

DEGLER AND MYZGIN (123) report on knowledge of recent Roman coin finds from the Lviv district of western Ukraine based on archival research and the monitoring of online discussion forums. MYZGIN, DYMOWSKI, AND CHEMURANOV (336) analyze a hoard of 70 *denarii* from Trajan to Commodus (including some ancient imitations) from Skypche, Ukraine that was probably related to the migration of the Chernyakhiv culture. MYZGIN AND RADJUSH (335) examine a hoard of 183 very worn coins from Vespasian to Commodus, with one of Didius Julianus, which were deposited in the 5th century CE with a silver sword-belt set in Pimenovo (Kursk Oblast, Russia).

JOHRDEN AND WOLTERS (247) analyze a hoard of republican and Augustan *denarii* from Kerala in the context of Roman trade with India. DE ROMANIS (372) briefly contrasts finds of Julio-Claudian *aurei* and *denarii* in Campania and India. *Aurei* in Roman India typically were holed and then filled with a gold plug; the phenomenon has been interpreted as reflective of quality testing, but SMAGUR (395) argues that these adjusted the weight of the coins for

circulation in the Indian subcontinent. WILKINSON (439) discusses a *sestertius* of Antoninus Pius found in Puget Sound in Seattle (USA) in terms of the methodological concern of ancient coins incidentally transported in modern ships' ballast.

Forgeries and Imitations in Context

DOYEN, MARTIN, AND PETER (140) analyze finds of imitative base-metal coins with an iron core, mostly of Augustan coins struck at Nîmes, from Gaul, Germania, Raetia, and Noricum. KLEIN AND VON KAENEL (261, 262) report on the chemical and isotopic analysis of Augustan *asses* from the Lyons altar series with an iron core as informs their production. NÜSSE (340) conducts a metallurgical analysis of Julio-Claudian *asses* from the Gallo-Roman sanctuary on the Martberg and concludes they were produced in the reign of Claudius, copied types of previous emperors, and were made from melted official coins. GĂZDAC AND COSMA (193) publish a forged *denarius* of Marcus Aurelius from a sixth- or seventh-century CE grave that has the forger's fingerprint on it. From Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa in Dacia, a hoard of counterfeited *denarii*, mostly from the reign of Trajan is the subject of a book by GĂZDAC AND OARGĂ (197). DUCHEMIN (142) remarks upon cast *dupondii* of Trajan found in the French departments of Nord and Somme and their potential non-monetary use in religious contexts. HALL (216) examines 800 coin molds, from Trajan to Trebonianus Gallus, found in the defensive ditch around London, as evidence for the prominence of ancient forgeries and investigates how the molds were made, the popularity of certain imitative types, and the prevalence of molds at other sites. WOYTEK (454) studies imitations of Trajanic *sestertii* from Britannia and suggests these were minted in Norfolk.

KEMMERS (257) explores the use of counterfeit coins in Roman votive deposits. DYMOWSKI (150) identifies die links among 46 imitations of early imperial coins produced by the Cernyakhiv culture in Poland and examines the use of the coins. BODZEK AND TUNIA (71) describe some recent coin finds, which include unofficial *denarii* of Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius for Lucilla, and their contexts from the Kazimierza Wielka District in southern Poland. An imitation of a *denarius* made by the Przeworsk culture and found Osiny is an unprecedented hybrid depicting Faustina II, Lucilla, or Crispina on the obverse with Mars on the reverse: ROMANOWSKI (373). DYMOWSKI (151) makes general observations about finds of *denarii* with iron cores in the Barbaricum, including advancing the argument that eastern Poland was an important manufacturing center. SIDAROVICH (390) publishes some imitations of Macedonian and Roman imperial coins found in Belarus.

Coins in Graves

Much recent research was devoted to the study of coins in funerary context, leading to new understandings of the phenomenon in recent years, e.g., DOYEN (134). DOYEN, DUCHEMIN, AND IOSSIF (139) edited an important special issue of the *Journal of Archaeological Numismatics* with articles dealing with the subject of coins in graves. Some relevant articles in that issue are as follows. DUCHEMIN (144) analyzes the myth of Charon's obol and its improbable connection with the various uses of coins in graves and advances a theoretical framework in which local cultural and funerary practices account for the use and deposition of coins in these contexts. DOYEN (136) discusses the different roles played by different types of coin deposits in graves, such as burned coins in cremations, gendered depositions, coins in children's graves, "closing" coins, and "commemorative" coins introduced at later periods; his essay also bears on the phenomenon of type selection in graves. MESTICI (309) reflects on patterns of coin finds in Roman graves at large from the first to third centuries CE. ANDÚJAR SUÁREZ AND BLÁZQUEZ CERRATO (22) reassess the phenomenon of coins in child burials and compare it with adult burials. CALLEGHER (96) studies the function of coins in graves from the necropolis at Piasentot (San Donato di Lamon, Italy). FARISELLI, SECCI, AND MORENO PULIDO (179) analyze coin finds from the southern necropolis at Tharros, Sardinia from the 2014 excavations. KAURIN (252) studies the coins from tombs of the Treviri through the first century CE.

Outside the special journal issue, there were a number of other studies of coins in funerary contexts. ARSLAN (25) examines the use of coins in a Julio-Claudian cemetery in Biassono, Italy that was discovered in the 19th century. CAMPO, TREMOLEDA, CASTANYER, AND SANTOS (102) study 53 first- to second-century CE tombs in the necropolis at Meridional-CRV at Emporiae, where coins are present in five cremation burials and in nine inhumations. STELLA (400) analyzes 3,118 coins from graves in the northeastern Italian region of Venetia et Histria to discern patterns in type selection in Roman burials.

In her monograph on coin finds in burials in Roman Dacia and Pannonia, ALFÖLDY-GĂZDAC (12) discusses

funerary rites and rituals, the myth of Charon's obol, and catalogues cemeteries and their finds. JUHÁSZ (249) calls attention to 22 perforated coins from the Aquincum-Graphisoft cemetery in Pannonia, which are found primarily in children's graves; unusual coins with three perforations that are found in the region appear to have been part of a necklace or bracelet given to children as a protective amulet. A hoard containing 122 *denarii* from Nero to Commodus from Desa, Romania, confiscated from someone trying to sell them illegally, represents a funerary deposit with intentionally selected types: GĂZDAC (190). TALMAȚCHI (410) reports on some coin finds from graves in Moesia Inferior and discerns deliberate patterns in typological selection.

General

Using the British Museum/Leicester Hoards Project and the Oxford Coin Hoards of the Roman Empire Project, BLAND (59) compares hoarding patterns in different parts of the Roman Empire in different centuries and considers factors that affect the recovery and recording of finds. DOYEN (137) surveys the different types of information gleaned from very large hoards and smaller hoards, suggesting that the real potential in studying large hoards are metrological questions; he advocates an international cooperative approach due to the costs involved in processing large hoards. The Reka-Devnia Hoard is often considered representative of the relative size of denarius production, but HELLINGS and SPOERRI BUTCHER (234) test the hypothesis with coin finds from the reigns of Nerva and Trajan from Romania and the northwestern provinces; they find that the Reka-Devnia Hoard is not a reliable source for the quantification of silver coinage and that there was a differentiated supply of coinage in the two regions under study, although there are some remarkable similarities with the well-known hoard. WIGG-WOLF (435) examines links between the supply of new bronze coinage and military finance.

VAN HEESCH (219) gives a methodological overview of studies on coin finds. ASOLATI (28) discusses recent developments and trends in Italian scholarship on imperial coins, compared with the international scholarly context, and with a special interest in the study of coin finds. THÜRY'S (413) monograph addresses the difficulty in classifying and describing different sorts of finds and uses a number of examples in the categories he sets out.

Mints and Minting Practices

Several studies on coins and the mints from which they came were summarized in the section on period studies. In this section are studies that focus more exclusively on mints and their operations. GÓMEZ BARREIRO (208) undertakes a major study of the mint at Caesaraugusta, active under Augustus, with chapters on history and historiography, typology, metallography, metallurgy, and circulation. SUSPÈNE (403) assesses recent research on the early imperial mint at Lyons and also examines the typological development and coinage from the Augustan mint. Using *aurei* found at Kalkriese as a starting point, WERZ (431) considers the organization of the mint in the reign of Augustus, focusing on the types for Caius and Lucius. PETER (359) reports on the circulation of unstruck *asses* in the early empire. CASOLI (104) investigates the place of minting for Nero's earliest imperial coins. ARNOLD-BIUCCHI AND KATZ (24) examine a *decursio* overstrike over the harbor type on a *sestertius* of Nero in the collection of the Harvard Museums, suggesting it is evidence for rapid alternation between reverse dies in the mint. WOYTEK (463) more broadly examines the phenomenon of overstrikes and reminting, focusing mainly on the provinces, but also discusses imperial overstrikes, which are very rare by comparison. Another contribution by WOYTEK (469) examines mint organization and operations through the evidence of inscriptions, images, and the coins themselves. Blundered legends on *aurei* and *denarii* struck in Syria from Vespasian through the second century CE are the result of die-engravers unfamiliar with Latin, according to AWIANOWICZ (33). MELVILLE JONES (307) writes about the location of the Trajanic mint in Rome, supporting the identification of the structure beneath the Basilica of San Clemente, and addresses the problem of understanding the *officinae* in conjunction with the ruins. Through numismatic and metallurgical research, BUTCHER AND WOYTEK (94) model patterns in coin production and distribution, with an emphasis on the system of imperial mints in their political and economic contexts, and with attention to the logistics of the coin supply. BLAND (56) compares the use of die studies and coin finds and the limits of the different types of evidence in their utility for quantifying the size of a coinage.

Denominations

MELVILLE JONES (308) revisits Pliny the Elder's discussion on the introduction of gold coinage at Rome and, while Pliny is a problematic source, he suggests his remarks ought not to be completely dismissed. Through the historical and economic lens of the 40s and 30s BCE, SCHWEI (388) analyzes the factors that led to the introduction of

the *aureus* in the imperial coinage system. While the *aureus* was officially valued at 25 *denarii* or 100 *sestertii* in the period between Nero's reforms and the early third century CE in the Roman system of account, VAN HEESCH (226) argues that these coins, subject to wear, were typically weighed by their users and treated more as bullion, often trading at less than their official value. BERNARD (51) studies two new inscriptions from Pompeii and London, demonstrating that the imperial half-*denarius* that numismatists routinely referred to as the *quinarius*, and which typically bears an image of Victoria on the reverse, was in fact called the *victoriatius*. Studying Hadrianic *asses* and *semisses* struck in Rome for circulation in Syria, VAN HEESCH (223) highlights their appearance in western find spots and suggests that in the western provinces the *asses* circulated as *dupondii*, allowing authorities to profit by shipping them from east to west. AWIANOWICZ, MUSIELA, AND SLWESTRZAK (34) demonstrate the potential of XRF spectrometry to distinguish between the ambiguity of *dupondii* and *asses* in the Antonine period.

Medallions

A general introduction to Roman medallions for a non-specialist audience was prepared by LORENZ (292). WOYTEK, PETER, AND GITLER (471), call attention to two worn coins of Domitian and Trajan from the trade that are set into uniface frames; the analysis suggests private production rather than official activity in the mint. WOYTEK (466) publishes a broken medallion of Hadrian with an S C reverse in the Capitoline Museums, which was discovered in Rome in the late-nineteenth century as part of the "sottosuolo urbano" finds.

A great deal of scholarship on Antonine medallions has appeared since the last survey and the most notable is MITTAG'S (321) book and catalogue on the medallions of Antoninus Pius, which follows his previous volume on medallions through Hadrian. He also produced a number of related works. MITTAG (315) publishes a new medallion for Marcus Aurelius as Caesar that refers to the health of Domitia Faustina, daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina II. Another study by MITTAG (316) relates the sorts of deities featured on Antoninus Pius's medallions to health issues in his family, making their subject matter far more personalized than the coinage. Similarly, MITTAG (317) further expounds on differences between Antoninus Pius's medallions and coinage, showing the prevailing interests of the emperor and courtiers coming through on medallions, where the emperor probably exerted greater direct influence than on the coinage. ROWAN (375) argues that medallions of Antoninus Pius that refer to the founding of Rome are not related to the *ludi saecularies*, but rather continued an emphasis on the distant past, seen under Hadrian, and that they might be related to construction on the Temple of Venus and Roma. KLUCZEK (263) explores the representation of Aeneas on coins and medallions; relevant to our period are representations on Antonine medallions. BARELLO (41) publishes and interprets a new medallion of Marcus Aurelius as Caesar from Pollentia, from 155-156 CE, with a Greek-inspired reverse of Minerva. MITTAG (320) analyzes the significance of medallions of Antoninus Pius that feature Icarus. HOSTEIN (239) examines Antonine medallions from archaeological contexts, while PERASSI (357) presents some Roman medallions from northern Italy.

SIEGL (392), who is conducting research on the medallions of Commodus for her doctorate, brings to light a worn and misdescribed medallion of Commodus in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, which in fact features a new reverse type with the emperor sacrificing before a statue of a deity and that dates to 181 CE according to die links. SIEGL (393) also notes some variants in the medallions of Commodus that were not included in SZAIVERT'S earlier study. Regarding a newly discovered medallion of Commodus with a design that resembles coins showing Mt. Argaeus in Cappadocia, WOODS (451) argues the scene does not portray that mountain but instead depicts Phaethon descending too closely to the earth, and that the legend is an abbreviation from a line of Ovid's poetry.

Tokens

Much work has appeared on Roman tokens, owing in part to the major research project "Token Communities in the Ancient Mediterranean," led by CLARE ROWAN and funded by a five-year grant from the European Research Council. Some of the works below appear in a book related to the project's work: CRISÀ, GKIKAKI, AND ROWAN (119) or were published separately. ROWAN (379) publishes and analyzes the Roman tokens in Ashmolean Museum. KÜTER (274) brings to light a *tessera* in the Berlin cabinet that depicts Drusus the Younger. On the subject of *tesserae* with numerals, KÜTER (275) expounds on their function as game counters and provides historiographical background. LA GUERRE (211) addresses the use of tokens with erotic designs. MARTÍNEZ-CHICO (302) makes available a previously unpublished series of *tesserae* from Spanish collections and sites. STANNARD (397) writes about the phenomenon of *tesserae* from Ostia supplied to Minturnae. ROWAN (377) treats lead token molds from Rome and Ostia to examine the

manufacturers and users of tokens, associating local use with baths, shops, and festivals. SPAGNOLI (396) discusses lead tokens from the Baths of the Coachmen at Ostia. WOYTEK (455) reinterprets two late-first or early-second century CE *tesserae* with the legends A P P F, which appears in a wreath, and IO IO TRIVMP, which are related to triumph and games; the legend of the former expands to A(VGVSTO) P(ATRI) P(ATRIAE) F(ELICITER) and its reverse depicts a type of scepter carried by magistrates sponsoring games.

Coins in Jewelry

PERASSI (355) examines the literary sources for the setting of coins of coins into jewelry. She also reports on coins in jewelry from auction catalogues published between 2006 and 2016: PERASSI (356). BORELL (74) reports on discoveries of imitations of Roman coins used in jewelry in southeastern Asia and the cultural reception of those images. BOLLA (72) reports on a mirror box constructed of a *sestertius* of Nero from a grave in Verona, discussing undecorated mirror boxes from the area and mirror boxes made of coins that appear in the trade.

Economy

ELLIOT'S (173) book on economic theory and the Roman monetary economy includes significant attention to the first and second centuries CE. TCHERNIA'S (411) monograph on Roman trade grapples with aspects of the monetary economy, including a chapter devoted to the credit crisis of 33 CE. ELLIOT (172) also discusses the crisis of 33 CE, arguing that it was not so much about finance but about the reinforcement of the social hierarchy. HARRIS (217) maintains that credit was a crucial component of the Roman economy, drawing attention some attention to texts that are not often included in debates on the degree to which credit was used. A three-volume set on the Roman economy inventories textual evidence for coins, debts, fines, and so on: DEPEYROT (127, 128, 129). The evolution of the weight of the *denarius* from Augustus to Nerva is the subject of an article by LANGENEGGER (277), and the development of the weights of base-metal denominations from Augustus to Aurelian are addressed in another article by LANGENEGGER (278). BLET-LEMARQUAND, SUSPÈNE, AND AMANDRY (62) examine elemental concentrations in Augustus's gold coinage to demonstrate that coinage struck at Lyons came from northwestern Spain after it was conquered in 19 BCE and that, contrary to previous speculation, there are no indications that Hellenistic gold was used to strike coinage.

BUTCHER AND PONTING (92) make a significant contribution to the study of Roman coinage through their book on metallurgy from Nero to Trajan, which corrects many previous suppositions about purity, minting, silver sources, and other economic concerns; one will find a treasure of information bearing on historical and economic information in their work. BUTCHER AND PONTING (93) also relate Trajanic reforms of the *denarius* to a new source of silver and contextualize them as an attempt at stabilizing the currency. SCHWEI (387), arguing against BUTCHER'S AND PONTING'S idea that new Neronian silver standards were related to the Great Fire, advances a connection with imperial exchange rates and an effort to eliminate the Tyrian shekel. DOMERGUE AND RICO (130) assess the network of metal-supply routes across the Roman Empire, with a synthesis of the economic impact of various metal-producing regions. Looking at silver coinage, ELLIOT (171) marks the beginning of the Roman monetary and economic crisis in the middle of the second century CE using economic theories and patterns in debasement. NÜSSE (341) compares the effectiveness and use of electron microscopy and portable energy-dispersive X-ray fluorescence spectrometry on early imperial copper coins.

Collections

The collection of Roman coins of the Universidade de São Paulo, which includes 151 imperial coins from Augustus to Commodus, is now available: BORBA FLORENZANO, GIANEZE RIBEIRO, AND LO MONACO (73). For the publication of numismatic collections in Bulgaria, see the earlier subsection on coin finds in Thrace and Moesia.

Compendia, Surveys, and Guides

ABDY (3) was the author who last collated and synthesized the bibliography on the imperial coinage from Augustus to Commodus for the *Survey of Numismatic Research, 2008-2013*. An important commentary on the evolution of scholarship on Roman coins in the past couple of decades, new and developing research areas, and innovative methods was provided by KEMMERS (259). ELKINS (156) provided an entry on "Roman imperial numismatics" for the *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*. VAN HEESCH (222) produced a book that reprints a selection of 29 articles and chapters on Roman coinage that he published on between 1975 and 2015. Through a case study on Augustus, BURNETT AND OLDMAN (88) demonstrate the potential for digital resources and databases, and the study of numismatic images, in a chapter aimed at classicists who are not specialized in Roman coinage.

Festschriften

Festschriften from 2014 to 2020 honored several doyens of our field; honorands known particularly for their contributions to the early imperial coinage are MICHEL AMANDRY (BRICAULT, BURNETT, DROST, AND SUSPÈNE [78]), ANDREW BURNETT (BLAND AND CALOMINO [60]), GIOVANNI GORINI (ASOLATI, CALLEGHER, SACCOCCI, AND CRISAFULLI [29]) JOHAN VAN HEESCH (STROOBANTS AND LAUWERS [402]), HANS-MARKUS VON KAENEL (KEMMERS, MAURER, AND RABE [260]), WILLIAM E. METCALF (ELKINS AND EVANS [169]), and WOLFGANG SZAIVERT (BAER, FISCHER-BOSSERT, AND SCHINDEL [36]).

New Journals

Some new numismatic journals that have appeared since the last survey include *Koinon*, first published in 2018 and edited by NICHOLAS MOLINARI; *OZeAN: Online Zeitschrift zur antiken Numismatik*, edited by ACHIM LICHTENBERGER, KATHARINA MARTIN, and ULRICH WERZ with its first issue in 2019; *Dialoghi di Numismatica*, which first appeared in 2019 under the editorship of GIACOMO PARDINI and ALESSANDRO CAVAGNA; and *Ancient Numismatics*, edited by MARIA CRISTINA MOLINARI with its first volume published in 2020.

Notes

For both the reader of this chapter and the author(s) of the next chapter on the imperial coinage of Augustus to Commodus, I note some periodicals that I was unable to consult prior to the submission of my chapter, as my libraries could not get them or they were not yet published. The author(s) of the next installment might wish to check those for inclusion in the next survey. I did not have access to *Numisma* 2018, 2019, and 2020; *NAC* 2020; *AIIN* 2020; and *WN* 2019 and 2020.

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FROM PERTINAX TO THE REFORM OF DIOCLETIAN (AD 193–294)

Eleanor Ghey

General works (history and numismatics)

DE BLOIS (31) presents an important historical overview of the wider political background to the period AD 193 to 284 with particular reference to the impact of warfare on aspects of Imperial power. A number of general monographs on individual emperors published during this period consider coinage alongside wider historical discussion. The publication of an updated thesis by LEMPEREUR (120) forms a comprehensive catalogue of the Imperial and Provincial coinage of Pertinax. Other notable biographies include those of Elagabalus by ALTMAYER (5), Valerian by GLAS (84) and a revised edition of the 2013 work on Gallienus by GEIGER (81). The later third century emperors Carus, Carinus and Numerian are the subject of a historical study by ALTMAYER (4)

Numismatic sources form a significant part of a broader historical study of the women of the Severan dynasty by NADOLNY (136). ALEXANDRIDIS (3) reassesses the influence of the Severan empresses through the coin collection of Margarete Bieber. BERTOLAZZI (18) considers the maternal imagery on the coinage of Julia Domna. An article by ACKERS (2) looks at female coin portraiture in the second and third centuries with reference to hairstyles and wigs. CALOMINO (39) includes a chapter on the Severans in a study of the practice of *damnatio memoriae*.

Two volumes of the *Sylloge Nummorum Romanorum Italia* appeared, covering coins from the Severan period in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze BANI AND VILLORESI (10, 11). Specific numismatic studies on the coinage of individual emperors starting from the Severan period include ROYO MARTÍNEZ (149) on the early radiate types of Caracalla and Julia Domna and on the VOTA coinage of the Severans, potentially used as *donativa* (148). IMRIE offers an alternative identification of the personification on the reverse of types of Julia Domna under Caracalla (111). EUSTON (77) argues for a bimetallic medallion of Caracalla being given as a New Year's gift in AD 213. The life and legacy of Diva Paulina is reassessed by CALOMINO in the light of her Roman and provincial coinage amongst other sources (38). LEMPEREUR AND BLET-LEMARQUAND (121) demonstrated links between imperial *denarii* and tetradrachms of the early Severan period using LA-ICP-MS.

Among iconographic studies were the symbolism of the sun god of Emesa on coins of Elagabalus discussed by ALTMAYER (6), and WOYTEK (166) on the religious imagery on a new medallion of Elagabalus. WOODS (165) interprets the third century reverse type of the lion holding a thunderbolt in its jaws as a reference to the courage of Alexander the Great.

MICHAUX (126) is a new general overview of the coinage of Gordian III. BARDIN presents a new classification of the medallions of Gordian III, highlighting ceremonial issues (12). The output of Gordian III's Antioch mint is discussed in BLAND (25). Die studies by BLAND of the gold coinage of Philip I and family (21) and of Gordian III (27) are used to discuss estimates of the volume of production in light of patterns of loss. OLBRICH (139) looks at the iconography of the millennium coinage of Philip I. A study of the gold coinage of Aemilian looks at the historic provenance of the corpus and identifies a number of historic forgeries RAMBACH (146).

There has been a significant amount of research published on the coinage of the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus. A new bi-metallic medallion of Gallienus is presented alongside a study of other similar types by DOYEN AND EUSTON (55). In the same volume, DOYEN (52) considers the 'military' bust types from the mint at Viminacium and THIRY (153) a series of coins distributed during Gallienus' visit to Siscia. The mint at Viminacium is also the subject of a further article by DOYEN (53). MENSCH (125) presents a revised description of the depiction of Hercules on a radiate of Gallienus. Other notable studies of single coins include a pendant containing an aureus of Gallienus found in a later fourth century context at the baths at Tongobriga, Portugal, CENTENO (40) and an *aureus* of Gallienus and Salonina with an 18th century provenance, DOYEN AND RAMBACH (57). GHIRALDO (83) makes a further refinement to the sequence of coinage of Saloninus. Research by HOLMES on the coinage of Valerian and Gallienus includes a possible

retribution of a group of medallions to the mint at Rome (104) and discussion of coin types of Valerian II (105) as well as article taking a broader overview of the coinage of the dynasty (106-109). WOLKOW (164) suggests an unmarked series for the 5th series of Gallienus at the mint of Rome and EUSTON (76) links a new PROPECTIO radiate reverse type from Antioch to a visit from the Emperor. A useful guide to the 'zoo' series of Gallienus produced by WOLKOW (163) was among a series of illustrated catalogues aimed at collectors (including a republication of earlier work by DOYEN (54)). BOURDEL (32) gives an accessible overview of the coinage of Valerian and Gallienus in the context of historical events.

WIENAND (161) considers the character and function of the series of Aurelian's antoniniani from Serdica with the legend DEO ET DOMINO. HOLLARD (103) presents an unpublished radiate of Tacitus with a reused die that may be suggest movement of mint workers from Lyon to Arles. A series of important articles by ESTIOT on the coinage of Probus include an argument for a fourth Eastern mint in Asia Minor (69). She also presents work on the gold issues of Probus from the festive 7th series of Rome (73) and his festive series from the mints of Ticinum (70) and Rome (74). Die-links from a recently discovered radiate of Probus are the basis for a proposed restructuring of Bastien's 7th and 8th issues of the Lugdunum mint by OLVA (140). ESTIOT (67) also considers the corpus of modern forgeries of coinage of the usurpers Proculus and Bonosus and the appearance of two recent ancient finds. The same author has also published two studies of the coinage of Carus and his sons at the mints of Ticinum and Siscia respectively (71, 72). The gold coinage of this period from the Fontaine-la-Gaillarde hoard (Yonne, France) has enabled new analysis and interpretation of coins from the mint of Lyon from Aurelian to Probus (GRICOURT, HOLLARD AND BLET-LEMARQUAND (88)). ZANCHI (167) has studied the early coinage of Diocletian from Siscia.

The coinage of Carausius and Allectus has received more attention due to work underway for the new volume of *RIC* and the impact of the discovery of the Frome hoard. MOORHEAD (129) gives an overview of the rare gold coinage of Carausius and BESLY (19) discusses the relationship between the gold and base metal denominations of Allectus. An official coin of Allectus dated to 294 is published by MOORHEAD in the same volume (128). Works by BARKER (13, 14) look at the use of Golden Age ideology in the coinage of Carausius. An article by BURNETT (36) traces the complex history of a particular *aureus* of Allectus.

A number of papers on the coinage of the Gallic emperors focus on their choice of iconography; for example, THYS (154) discusses the iconography of Serapis on the coinage of Postumus. CHRISTOL (45) examines the use of representations of Hercules in the context of the conflict between Gallienus and Postumus. HOLLARD (102) looks at solar or Mithraic imagery on the coinage of Postumus and Victorinus and ESTIOT (68) surveys the use and iconography of the *traiectus* reverse type. More broadly, CLAES (46) demonstrates the ways in which a succession of third century usurpers employed coinage both for legitimation and to gather local support. Three *aurei* from the Fontaine-la-Gaillarde hoard provided new information on the legionary issue of Victorinus from Cologne (GRICOURT AND HOLLARD (87)).

Hoards and coin finds

Many third century hoards have been published during the reporting period and the works listed are a selection only.

Among Severan hoards are GÄZDAC ET AL. (78) a hoard of 104 coins (mostly *denarii*) to AD 217 from a wall tower at Carnuntum. DOPPLER AND WYSS (51) describe a hoard of 39 silver coins (radiates and *denarii*) to Severus Alexander found in a hypocaust at Ennetbaden-Grendelstrasse (Aargau, Switzerland). KRITZINGER (117) presents new work on the context of the large second century *aureus* hoard from Trier Feldstraße, which appears to be an Antonine hoard that was revisited again by the owner for a second phase of deposition c. AD 193-6. DAHMEN (49) presents research into the history and content of a Severan denarius hoard found in Prussia in the 18th century. OAKDEN AND SHOTTER (138) describe an unusual deposit from Acton (Cheshire, UK) of five Severan *denarii* in a conical lead container with a lead stopper.

Base metal hoards include a preliminary account of the large *sestertius* hoard from Orselina (Ticino, Switzerland) ACKERMANN AND PETER (1) and a hoard of 618 *sestertii* and 1 *dupondius* from Tillé (Oise, France) which was excavated in layers within its vessel, PILON ET AL. (145). MEGUELATI (124) provides a catalogue of a hoard from Bray (Eure, France) consisting of 1,049 bronze coins to AD 244-9, the bulk of which are second century.

The Beau Street hoard from Bath (UK) (ANTHONY ET AL. (8), GHEY (82)), is an example of an archaeologically

excavated hoard with internal stratigraphy. There are some similarities in composition with the four separate deposits excavated from the strong-room of the villa at Mané-Véchen, Plouhinec (Morbihan, France) (BESOMBES AND PROVOST (20)). Micro-excavation was also carried out on a silver hoard to AD 238 from Banville (Calvados, France) contained within two leather purses GUIHARD AND LÉON (94).

MišKEC (127) describes a find of two hoards from Drnovo (Slovenia) of 973 and 902 coins, to AD 260-1 and 218-22 respectively, one of which was found in a pot with beads, grain and jewellery including inscribed bracelets. The Mălăieştii de Jos (Romania) hoard SPÂNU, DIMA AND FRÎNCULEASA (150) contained two silver ingots and jewellery which might also have had value as bullion. It was deposited after AD 256-7 and included a pendant made from *denarii* reminiscent of other finds from *Barbaricum*. The hoard from Creil, Picardy, dating to the reign of Tetricus was found in two pots, sorted by metal content VILLEMMAIN ET AL. (155). A hoard from Élincourt (Nord) GRICOURT (85), consisting of over 1,279 radiates to Postumus contained a number of deliberately cut coins.

A corpus of hoards from Bulgaria contains many third century finds (TEODOSIEV (152)). The publication of a hoard of 1,183 coins to AD 260 from Vinkovici (Croatia) by VULIĆ AND FARAC (159) includes a summary of hoards of the period from south eastern Pannonia. VAN ROY (147) also presents a summary of hoards from the area for the Givry III hoard, found in a vicus in Hainaut, Belgium.

The methodological challenges of dealing with large hoards were addressed in a number of papers, for example DROST (59, 61), MOORHEAD (130) on the Frome hoard from Somerset, UK and SPOERRI BUTCHER (151) on the Reka-Devnia hoard from Bulgaria. NAĐ (135) attempts a reconstruction of the enormous lost Serbian Kamenica hoard (mainly *denarii* to the reign of Maximinus I Thrax) from a portion in a private collection. A re-publication of the large British radiate hoards from *Cunetio*, Wiltshire and Normanby, Lincolnshire in a single volume with additional notes by BLAND ET AL. (29) provides a useful reference. The Saint-Germain-lès-Arpajon hoard of 33,965 radiates to AD 281 was found in two vessels in Essonne (France) and excavated in situ. Its full publication by DROST (60) includes discussion of other exceptionally large third century hoards. BEN HADJ NACEUR-LOUM (16) describes current attempts to catalogue the surviving portion of the large El Jem hoard from Tunisia (estimated at 40,416 coins to Probus, with a large proportion of lifetime and posthumous coinage of Claudius II).

DOPPLER ET AL. (50) describe one of the largest finds of radiates from Switzerland, a find of 4,083 radiates to AD 294 from Ueken (Aargau). ESTIOT, FREY-KUPPER AND ZANCHI (75) have published the 1955 discovery of 2,304 coins to AD 293 found in Thun (Bern, Switzerland) in 1955, the majority of which were post-reform radiates. The large late gold hoard of 249 *aurei* to Probus discovered at Fontaine-la-Gaillarde (Yonne, France) in 2007 (GRICOURT, HOLLARD AND BLET-LEMARQUAND (88)) has furnished material for a number of papers including one identifying links between the hoard and single finds from the area (GRICOURT AND HOLLARD (86)). The hoard contains *aurei* of Gallic usurpers as well as legitimate emperors. Radiates of the Eastern mints predominate in a hoard dating to the reign of Diocletian excavated by the Israel Antiquities Authority (KOOL (116)).

Hoards consisting primarily of ancient forgeries included the hoard of 4,472 coins to Probus from the Bay of Camarina (Sicily) (GUZZETTA (95)), a hoard of radiate copies from Saint-Aubin-sur-Gaillon (Eure) (PILON (144)) and a hoard of 232 cast *denarii* to Elagabalus (GĂZDAC ET AL. (80)).

Papers on site finds cover a broader period by definition but several have particular significance for the period in question. An article on the assemblage from the River Tees at Piercebridge, County Durham, UK dominated by Severan coinage, examines its military character (WALTON (160)). BLAND (28A) compared the Piercebridge coins with four other assemblages from watery places in Britain (Bath, Coventina's Well, London Bridge, and Buxton). Work by KEMMERS (114) on the occurrence of contemporary copies in ritualised deposits is relevant when thinking about the production and use of radiate imitations. The deposition of coinage at Gallo-Roman sanctuaries and the implications of numismatic dating at is discussed in detail in contributions to a dedicated volume of *Gallia*, notably by AUBIN ET AL. (9) on sanctuaries of North-Western France.

VOJVODA AND MRĐIĆ (156) present a comprehensive study of coin finds from burials in a cemetery of Viminacium, Serbia, reflecting economic and cultural changes in the third century. JUHÁSZ (112) gives a detailed study of coin finds from the town of *Brigetio* on the Danube in Hungary, noting an abrupt end to the coinage after the mid third century. Although this is seen as related to regional insecurity, the archaeological evidence points to abandonment rather than destruction.

Coin circulation

Several articles discuss coin supply in the early third century. A paper by WIGG-WOLF (162) on the early Roman coin supply includes brief discussion of a change to military payments made in silver in the Severan period. CREIGHTON (47) analyses *denarius* hoards from Britain to build up a picture of the circulation pool over time, identifying regional differences suggestive of an influx of new coinage in the North in the early third century. KEMMERS (113) also looks at patterning in the supply of Severan period coinage to Britain and Germany, linking the role of iconography aimed at the military to a preference for contemporary issues. HELTINGS (100, 101) studies coins of Septimius Severus from Eastern mints in hoards from Germany, contrasting this to the pattern from Britain. An overview from site find evidence sets out the wider background patterns of coin distribution in Britain, BRINDLE (33).

The relationship between third century debasement and wider events in Roman political and economic history continues to be a focus of research. BUTCHER (35) gives an overview of thinking on the subject in the context of earlier narratives of Imperial decline. ELLIOTT (66) explores the tension between the weight and fineness of early third century *denarii*, emphasizing the significance of Severan reforms as a foundation for the third century monetary crisis. MURPHY (133) traces the cycles of debasement, hoarding and reform in the Severan period, highlighting public awareness of state interventions. VAN HEESCH (98) argues that the practice of re-minting *denarii* in the mid-third century demonstrates the importance of face value rather than metal content.

The monetary reforms of Aurelian are discussed by ARSLAN (7) with reference to weight measurements in the Venèra hoard (Verona, Italy) concluding that the marks XX and XXI do denote differences in weight and value. A similar conclusion is reached by KROPFF (118) who stresses improvement rather than reform. LANGENEGGER (119) studies the impact of the Aurelianic coin reforms, noting regional variation.

CHAMEROY (41) looks at the Gallic empire component of hoards from Gaul and contrasts the responses to the monetary reforms of Aurelian with state policy. Similar themes are explored in a study of hoards from the coastal regions of southern France by GUIHARD (92). An important paper by CHAMEROY elucidates the transport of Gallic Empire coinage across the Mediterranean to North Africa and Asia Minor in the late third century (CHAMEROY (43)).

BERNARDELLI (17) examines bronze supply and circulation in Italy to the late third century, noting the hoarding of *sestertii* in particular, with regional differences between the North and South. This volume in general, MUSEO CIVICO 'CARLO VERRI' (134), sheds light on the monetary circulation of some regions hitherto ignored in discussions of the third century crisis.

Third century crisis and hoard deposition

In addition to the separate hoard studies above, a number of studies have investigated wider patterns in hoard deposition and addressed the causes of peaks in third century hoarding. Publications by BLAND on British hoards (22, 23, 24, 26) gave preliminary results of a project outlining the patterning of British hoards and the reasons for their deposition, with a particular focus on the third century, now published as BLAND ET AL. (30). BLAND (28) also provides a wider geographical overview. MARTÍNEZ-CHICO provides an overview of Iberian hoards (123).

Debate continues on the extent to which patterns of hoarding can be associated with particular conflicts. DE CALLATAÏ (37) gives an overview of some of the arguments. Papers collected by NAYLOR AND BLAND (137) highlight differences in approach to prehistoric and Roman hoards in Britain, notably that of GUEST (90) with reference to the third century AD.

VAN HEESCH (97, 99) discusses the applicability of these arguments to third century north-western Gaul with particular reference to hoards ending with Postumus. VOJVODA AND REDŽIĆ (157) discuss 94 third century coin hoards from Moesia Superior, Dalmatia and Pannonia in the light of local turbulence. GĂZDAC AND NEAGOE (79) link the deposition of a hoard of 1509 silver coins from Gruia, Romania to the Carpic War. DROST AND PLANET (62) are able to see some evidence for the military activities of Clodius Albinus in finds of gold coins, hoards and burials in the Lyon area.

Coins finds outside the empire

The presence of imitations of Roman coins found outside the empire has been the focus of much research in the past few years. VOSS AND WIGG-WOLF (158) give an overview and consider the social dynamics behind coin exchange and use in Germany. An article by BEMMANN (15) sets coin finds alongside other forms of material culture from richly furnished graves to present a nuanced picture of the relationships between elites inside and beyond the

Gallic Empire.

A particular focus of research are the third century imitations of Roman coins produced by the Chernyakhov Culture in the late third century. BURSICHE AND MYZGIN (34) argue that the capture of the imperial treasury at the Battle of Abritus in AD 251 was the source of the influx of Roman coinage in the later third century, setting out the archaeological and numismatic evidence from finds in Poland, Belarus and Ukraine. HORSNAES (110) argues that these imitations of Roman coins were created to fulfil a demand for gold monetiform pendants within that cultural context. The movement, hoarding and imitation of Roman silver outside the Empire is covered in papers by DYMOWSKI AND MYZGIN (65) and DYMOWSKI (63, 64), the latter containing a useful corpus of *denarius* hoards from beyond the empire.

MUNTEANU (131) discusses the patterning of coin finds from sites in Dacia, highlighting the collapse of monetary supply in the region in the later third century. MUNTEANU AND HONCU (132) analyse the evidence of over 100 2nd and 3rd century *denarius* hoards east of the Carpathians in Moldavia with emphasis on their archaeological context and local agency.

Forgeries

Significant research has been undertaken on the production of forgeries in Gaul, with the publication of excavation evidence from several important sites. CHAMEROY (42) places the huge find of mid third century coin moulds from the Löwenbrauerei site in Trier in their wider context. Coin moulds discovered at Sées, Orne (GUIHARD AND FICHET DE CLAIREFONTAINE (93)) were from a third century forger's workshop at which earlier types were also produced, notably Antonine *dupondii*. GUIHARD (91) looks at production techniques in a study of moulds for Severan *denarii* in the Musée de Normandie and HALL (96) examines an important find of 800 2nd and early 3rd century coin moulds discovered during excavations at London Wall.

The mint at Châteaubleau, Seine-et-Marne, France is the subject of a thesis by PILON (143) who considers the problematic distinction between official and unofficial coinage production in the late third century and includes a wider survey of production sites. GRICOURT ET AL. (89) discuss some of the die-links between imitations of Postumus from Châteaubleau and products of the Gallic Mint II. DROST (58) looks at a group of imitations of Tetricus I that may have been produced from a stolen die. KNICKREHM presents the wider evidence from excavations for Gallic Empire and unofficial mints in Trier (115).

CRISAFULLI (48) provides useful discussion of radiate copies in Italy, MANGANARO (122) discusses finds from Sicily and PERASSI (141, 142) reviews the evidence from Malta in relation to wider coin circulation in the region. Analytical work discussed by CHAMEROY (44) has identified a North African workshop producing Divo Claudio copies. DOYEN ET AL. (56) provides a corpus of 1,796 finds of *nummi subferrati* (coins with an iron core), outlining a second phase of sestertius production dating to c. AD 160-222 in Gaul and the Danube.

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LATE ANTIQUITY (AD 294–491)

David Wigg-Wolf

Late Antiquity continues to be a period of great scholarly interest, not only among numismatists, no longer being seen purely as a period of decline, but also of transition and transformation. This is reflected in the number of publications that consider the numismatic evidence for the transition from the 4th through the 5th century. Work on the coinage itself, on the other hand, has concentrated more on the 4th century, in particular the first half. This is in part due to the more varied iconographical nature of the coinage of the period, but perhaps also to the fact that the relevant volumes of *Roman Imperial Coinage* are appreciably more dated than volume 10 for the 5th century.

AMANDRY (2) includes a relatively brief but comprehensive overview of many aspects of the coinage of the 4th and 5th centuries. More major contributions on the coinage of the early-4th century are provided by two substantial monographs: MALINGUE (117) on the coinage of Domitius Alexander, the North African usurper, and CLOKE AND TOONE (47) in their detailed work on the coinage of the mint of London from the defeat of Allectus until its closure in 325, the latter with the addition of internet supplements (49) and CLOKE AND TOONE (47).

The publications of three substantial volumes of conference papers are dedicated to the coinage of Late Antiquity, two edited by CHAMEROY AND GUIHARD. *Argentum Romanorum* (45) brings together important new insights into the complex issue of silver in the North-West in the 4th and 5th centuries: BLANCHET ET AL. (19) present the results of chemical analysis of the coinage, GUIHARD (105) looks at the use and circulation of silver in the North-West in the 4th century, CHAMEROY (42) the mints and issuers of the complex silver issues of the 5th and 6th centuries in Gaul, KOMNICK (112) imitations of late Roman silver in northern Gaul and Germania. STROOBANTS (158) reviews finds of 5th-century silver from Belgium, ESMONDE CLEARY (75) the use of silver in Britain and Ireland.

Produktion und Recyceln (44) covers a wide range of topics on coin production and use, including the extended lifecycle of old coins into the 5th century, a topic also addressed by the colloquium *Les trouvailles de monnaies romaines en contete médiéval* (180), which presents a number of articles on the use of (primarily late) Roman coinage in medieval contexts. Thus KEMMERS (111) considers the use of 4th century bronze coins at Frankish settlements in the 5th century, BLANCHET (18) the extended life cycle of 3rd- and 4th-century bronzes in rural Normandy, and DOYEN (60) the division of old coins for use in circulation in 5th-century in Gaul.

The development of the coinage

A number of contributions are concerned with the numerous coinage reforms of the 4th century: various aspects of Diocletian's Price Edict and Coinage Reform are addressed by BRANSBOURG (23), CARRIÉ (39) and KROPFF (114), 'The Constantian Monetary Revolution' by BAGNALL AND BRANSBOURG (7), while it is late-3rd and early-4th century hoards in Gaul that form the basis for an analysis of coinage reforms by CHAMEROY (41). BRANSBOURG (24), CARLÀ-UHINK (38), COLOMBO (50) and GUIHARD (103) discuss the relationship of the various coin metals in the 4th and 5th centuries, while the focus of CARRIÉ (40) is on the role of metal resources and monetary policy.

The earliest gold issues of Maxentius are reconsidered by DE GASPERIS (88), early coinages of Constantine I and Licinius I by DOYEN (63, 64, 65), Constantine I's Isis tokens by RAMSKOLD (138). BRENDDEL reviews recent work on Julian's coinage (25), CAMPO (33) the coinage of Procopius, BRUNI (26) the dating of the Urbs Roma Felix coinage of Priscus Attalus, DOYEN (67) the silver coinage of Majorian in Gaul, FACCHINETTI (77) the solidi of Olybrius from Milan, and SCHINDEL (152) the coinage of Odacer. SACCOCCI (149) revisits the intriguing early imperial bronzes countermarked XLII and LXXXIII in the 5th century.

New material

Recent years have seen a large number of supplements to corpora and short notes on issues of the first half of the 4th century from the mints of Trier: BERTHOD (12,14), CAMPO (31), DHARMADHIKARI (53), DOYEN (66), GAUTIER (99), GAUTIER AND VILLEMUR (102), ZANCHI AND ESTIOT (177) – Lyon: GAUTIER (90, 92, 93, 94), GAUTIER AND HOLLARD

(101) – Trier and Lyon: GAUTIER (91) – Lyon and Heraclea: GAUTIER (89) – Arles: CARION (34, 35, 36) – Siscia: GAUTIER (95); Heraclea: DHARMADHIKARI (56) – Antioch: CAMPO (32) – Alexandria: DHARMADHIKARI (54, 55) and WOODS (174) – Carthage: MALINGUE (116) – eastern mints: UPCHURCH (163).

On the subject of the coinage of Diocletian's reform, GAUTIER (97, 100) provides a synthesis of the smaller bronze denominations and (98) examines the use of dies for aurei to strike silver and bronze in Trier. DROST (68) addresses the question of whether the attribution of a series of unmarked Tetrarchic nummi to Lugdunum is correct. DAVIDDI (51) 'rediscovers' an aureus of Diocletian, GAUTIER (96) an exceptional nummus of Alexandria that had been lost for most of the 20th century. MARGETIĆ (120) considers a donative issue of gold multiples of Diocletian and Maximian, DROST AND BUDE (72) rare bronze radiates of Maxentius.

A series of articles by RAMSKOLD (140, 141, 142) address various aspects of the coinage of the mint at Constantinople following Constantine I's victory over Licinius I, RAMSKOLD AND GAUTIER (143) the first miliarensis of the same emperor.

Among notes on issues of the second half of the 4th century, VONDROVEC (167) considers the siliquae with a star struck for Julian as Caesar, BERTHOD (13) reviews the nummi struck in Arles for Gallus and Julian as Caesars, SOBRA publishes new siliquae types struck in Lyon for Julian (154) and Valens (155), MARTÍNEZ CHICO AND LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (123) new nummi types for Aelia Flacilla from Antioch and Nicomedia, and BALL (10) a new miliarensis of Theodosius I. A series of siliquae with the mark SMCS for Constans II are the subject of HOLLARD (107), and new bronzes of Honorius and Valentinian III of DOYEN (58). KOMNICK ET AL. (113) present new finds of early Frankish silver imitative issues.

Imitations

The production of imitations in East Gaul are the focus of BURGEVIN (27), early-4th century cast imitations in Egypt of CHAMEROY ET AL. (43) and GUIHARD (104). NÜSSLEIN (126) presents the archaeological evidence for workshops producing bronze imitations in the late-3rd and 4th centuries in North-East France and PILON (131) for the production of imitation in the mid-4th century in north-eastern Gaul. ASOLATI (6) draws attention to the role of bronze imitations in bronze hoards from Gortyn (4th century) and Aquileia (5th century).

The laws against counterfeiting in Late Antiquity are reconsidered by CARLÀ (37).

Hoard and coin find publications

Among numerous new hoards of solidi, two are particularly noteworthy: the late-5th century hoard of solidi from Sovana, Italy presented in ARSLAN AND TURCHETTI (4) and BANI AND TUCI (11) and reviewed by FISCHER (83), and the early-4th century Simitthus hoard from Tunisia in BALDUS (†), KHANOSSI AND VON RUMMEL (8). Smaller hoards include a Theodosian solidus hoard from Belgium published by DOYEN (62) and two from the Netherlands by ROYMANS AND HEEREN: one of solidi from Lienden (148) and one of solidi and hacksilver from Hecht (147). ZAPOLSKA (178, 179) revisits two solidus hoards from Poland.

R.-ALFÖLDI AND QUAST (137) not only publish the Wiesbaden-Mainz-Kastel hoard of siliquae and ornaments, placing it in the context of Germanic officers in Roman military service, but also a further hoard of siliquae from the region without an exact findspot, also dealt with by WIGG-WOLF (171) in his assessment of the distribution of early 5th century silver as a reflection of defensive measures taken by Constantine III following the 'Great Invasion' of 406. Preliminary reports are presented by ESTIOT ET AL. (76) on the Magny-Cours (Nièvre) double hoard of late-3rd century radiates and nummi to AD 303 discovered in archaeological investigations, by ARDEVAN (3) on a large bronze hoard from the Romanian Danube, DROST (70) on the massive Constantinian Seaton Down bronze hoard from England, and BOWEN (22) on part of an early Constantinian bronze hoard from Egypt. REECE (145) analyses the origins of the coins in bronze hoards from Malta, while DROST AND LE BRAZIDEC (71) revisit the Gruissan Tetrarchic hoard from south-western Gaul.

Two extensive regional studies also cover Late Antiquity: MARTÍNEZ CHICO (121) is a comprehensive inventory and analysis of hoards from Hispania, BLAND (21 together with 20) the result of an extensive project on coin hoards in Britain. FISCHER (80, 81, 82) and FISCHER AND LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (86) have published extensively on 5th-century solidus hoards in Italy, in particular as evidence for the recruitment and role of Germanic troops from northern Europe and Scandinavia.

A second volume of coin finds and hoards from Belgium is provided by DENGIS (52) and three volumes of a new

corpus of coin finds from Hungary by PROHÁSZKA AND TORBÁGYI (133, 134, 135), all of which include large amounts of Late Antique material. Similarly of relevance are further volumes of the *Ritrovamenti Monetali di Età Romana nel Veneto* for Padova (156) and Verona (5). For CHARRIER (46), a solidus of Valentinian II from Autun is the context for inventories of gold coins from the town, as well as of solidi of the same Emperor found in Gaul. WILLIAMS (173) reconstructs a coin assemblage from the synagogue at Ostia from archival material. The finds from the important late Roman site of Biesheim-Oedenburg in Alsace are considered by BIELLMANN (15) and BIELLMANN ET AL. (16), while BIELLMANN AND MARTY (17) present the numismatic evidence for the nearby battlefield site of Argentaria. SAWAYA AND AL-AKRA (150) publish the finds from the Jemmayzeh excavations in Beirut. Complexes of 4th-century bronze from Sicily are the subject of MANGANARO (118), from Ronda of ORTIZ CÓRDOBA (129), from a late-Roman fort on the Lower Danube of VASILESCU (165), and from the vicus of Tienen in Belgium of VERBEELEN (166).

Analysis of coin finds

LAUWERS' monograph on coin production and use in northern Gaul from the 3rd to 9th centuries (115) includes a detailed analysis of coin use and circulation through Late Antiquity into the Middle Ages in northern Gaul. WIGG-WOLF (169) provides an overview of coin finds, production and use in the Rhineland, and in (170) discusses coin finds as evidence for the fragmentation of the North-West in the late-4th century. DOYEN (57, 61) suggests that bronze from Italian mints was still being supplied to parts of North-West Gaul well into the 5th century. Articles by STROOBANTS (157) and STROOBANTS AND POBLOME (160) address monetisation and coin use at Sagalassos and its territory in Pisidia. On a more theoretical level, the rich coin finds from Augusta Raurica allow PETER (130) to illustrate the importance of contextualisation when analysing coin finds.

Coins in rural contexts are the subject of a number of contributions: DOYEN (59) examines monetisation in rural contexts in northern Gaul, FILIPIAK (78) in the area around Reims, BURGEVIN AND FILIPIAK (28) in the countryside of eastern Gaul, TROMMENSCHLAGER AND BRKOJEWITSCH (162) in villas in the region, and MUNZI (125) in the territory of Leptis Magna.

Funerary contexts and coins are addressed by FILIPOVIĆ AND ŠEPAROVIĆ (79) in the publication of finds from a necropolis on the Croatian Danube and by MARANI (119) for sites in Italy, while DUCHEMIN (73) considers the role of silver in burials in North Gaul, VAN HEESCH AND WEINKAUF (106) coins from graves in Belgium as evidence for coin circulation in the late 3rd and early 4th centuries, and STROOBANTS ET AL. (159) funerary contexts in Sagalassos.

Roman coinage outside the Empire

Several articles deal with Roman coins outside the Empire: BURSCHE AND MYZGIN (30) discuss the role of imitations of Roman coins produced outside the Empire in the origins of Germanic coinage, EREMIĆ (74) Roman gold coins north of the Danube. HORSNÆS (109), with an important review by BURSCHE (29), is a second volume of her inventory and analysis of Roman coins from Denmark. ROYMANS (146) discusses the flow of precious metal across the Lower Rhine to the Franks in the late 4th and early 5th century as evidenced by a series of gold hoards from the region. The burial of the Frankish King Childerich is revisited by QUAST (136), also by FISCHER AND LIND (85) who address the question of whether the denarii in the burial originated from within the Empire or from the northern Barbaricum. ISVORANU AND DIMA (110) publish a small complex of 4th century bronzes from Moldova, SCHALLMAYER ET AL. (151) a hoard of bronze and hackbronze from the right bank of the Upper Rhine, and SIDAROVICH (153) examples of Roman gold coins used as pendants in the eastern Barbaricum.

Iconography

A number of publications concern iconography. HOLLARD AND LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (108) examine in detail the role of the phoenix and the Christogram in the 4th century and MITTAG (124) triumphal imagery on coins and medallions. WIGG-WOLF (168) revisits the famous Constantinian silver multiple with Christogram from Ticinum, putting it into a broader chronological context, and MARTÍNEZ CHICO AND LÓPEZ SANCHEZ (122) present a new variety of a solidus of Constantius II with a Christogram on his shield. The Constantinian camp gate type is the subject of two articles: RAMSKOLD (139) considers the three-dimensionality of the representation of camp gates on issues from Rome, WOODS (175) the context of the *sidus salutare*. The Fel Temp Reparatio coinage is the starting point for a discussion of audience and meaning by VANEERDEWEGH (164), Egyptian influences on 4th-century coin iconography for two articles by OLBRIK (127, 128).

Varia

The Late Roman and Early Byzantine Solidi of the Stiernstedt Ancient Coin Collection are published by FISCHER (84), while a number of later Roman pieces are included in the catalogue of the collection of São Paulo university by FLORENZANO ET AL. (87).

On more diverse topics, ABDY (1) considers the clipping of siliquae in Britain, BALL (9) scratches on siliquae in the Fleetwood hoard, RAYNAUD (144) cut gold coins of Diocletian, and WIGG-WOLF (172) the role of coinage in facilitating usurpations in the 3rd to 5th centuries. Three articles address para-numismatic objects: DROST (69) on exagia and the control of the gold coinage under Julian, TEICHMANN (161) on cruciform fibulae from the mint at Thessalonica during the Valentinianic dynasty, ZAGERMANN (176) on coin weights from the Upper Rhine and PROHÁSZKA (132) on lead seals.

Attention is also drawn to digital resources of relevance to Late Antiquity included in the relevant section of the Survey.

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LES MONNAYAGES PROVINCIAUX: LES PROVINCES OCCIDENTALES

Vincent Genevieve, Laurent Callegarin et Suzanne Frey-Kupper

Les séries provinciales de péninsule Ibérique (*RPC* 1-487), de Gaule (*RPC* 501-538), d'Italie, Sardaigne et Sicile (*RPC* 601-676) et d'Afrique du Nord (*RPC* 701-886) sont présentées selon l'ordre géographique et chronologique retenu par les auteurs du *Roman Provincial Coinage* et d'après les critères déjà définis dans la recension de 2008-2013. À savoir que sont ici concernées « les frappes civiques ou provinciales intégrées fonctionnellement et symboliquement au système romain, mais dont la raison d'être est locale ou régionale et dont l'autorité émettrice n'est pas en premier lieu le pouvoir central romain ». Depuis le précédent *CIN XV*, le *RPC I* a fait l'objet de quatre suppléments par AMANDRY *et al.* (1, 2, 3) et RIPOLLÈS *et al.* (9). En plus d'actualiser des recensions maintenant anciennes, ces suppléments font aussi le point sur de nouvelles propositions d'attribution. Ce corpus de référence est désormais disponible en ligne (https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/search/map?volume_id=1). Plusieurs volumes de *Mélanges* livrent des contributions ayant trait aux provinces romaines occidentales, notamment ceux en l'honneur de M. Amandry (4), M. Bar (7), J. van Heesch (11) ou R. B. Witschonke (12). CALOMINO (5, 6), GORINI (8) ou encore ROWAN (10) abordent aussi ces monnayages au sein d'articles et ouvrages plus généraux.

PENINSULE IBERIQUE

Cette chronique concerne les émissions civiques de l'Hispanie romaine, depuis la mort de César jusqu'au règne de Claude qui marque leur arrêt. Bien que l'on ne puisse ignorer l'existence d'émissions à caractère impérial, seules les frappes civiques dites hispano-romaines, c'est-à-dire issues de l'atelier d'un *municipium* ou d'une *colonia*, font l'objet d'un commentaire.

Catalogues de collections et publications de synthèse

Outre les réactualisations évoquées du *RPC*, signalons la parution ou la mise en ligne de plusieurs collections, tant publiques, par RAMÓN SÁNCHEZ, TORREGROSA YAGO (64) et SINNER, CAMPO (68), que privées, par GARCÍA-BELLIDO, METCALF (43), CALOMINO (5), CORES *et al.* (39), ainsi qu'un corpus contenant des monnaies hispano-romaines par RIPOLLÈS ALEGRE *et al.* (66).

Les ateliers hispano-romains

ARÉVALO GONZÁLEZ (31) évoque la fabrication monétaire, ainsi que les magistrats et artisans en charge de la frappe en Hispanie romaine, et présente la même année, associée à BLÁNQUEZ PÉREZ, ROLDÁN GÓMEZ (33), la possible découverte de l'emplacement de l'atelier de *Carteia*.

Certaines études offrent une vision synthétique sur les frappes provinciales hispaniques, telles celles menées par AMELA VALVERDE (30) sur les premières émissions monétaires des municipes de droit romain (*Bilbilis*, *Calagurris*, *Dertosa*, *Ilerda*, *Osca* et *Turiaso*), montrant qu'ils ont, selon lui, tous obtenus ce statut juridique à l'époque de l'empereur Auguste, par IZQUIERDO (60) sur les ateliers du *conventus* de *Caesaraugusta*, par ROYO MARTÍNEZ (67) autour des marqueurs identitaires, ou encore par GOZALBES GARCÍA (52) pour l'époque de Caligula.

Parmi les travaux monographiques consacrés à la production des nombreux ateliers hispano-romains, il convient surtout de mettre en avant l'ouvrage de GÓMEZ BARREIRO (47) portant sur *Caesaraugusta*. D'autres mises au point et réactualisations des données sont à signaler comme celles d'AGUILERA HERNÁNDEZ (15) sur l'atelier d'*Osca*, de MARQUÉS GONZÁLEZ (61) sur celui de *Segovia*, de MARTÍNEZ CHICO (62) sur les *quadrantes* de *Turiaso* et surtout d'AMELA VALVERDE relatives aux ateliers de *Pax Iulia* (18), *Bilbilis* (19), *Carthago Nova* (22), *Colonia Victrix Iulia Lepida* (23), *Turiaso* (24), *Emporiae* (25), *Cascantum* (26), *Ilici* (27), *Ercavica* (28), *Dertosa* (29) et à l'émission problématique du type *Sacerdos* (20) ; les frappes du Nord-Ouest péninsulaire dites « à la *caetra* » font également l'objet d'une courte synthèse par BALSEIRO GARCÍA (36). La plupart de ces études reviennent fréquemment sur la chronologie et la sériation des émissions, en faisant la part belle à la question de l'origine de la frappe, dite provinciale ou civique, pour chacun des ateliers susmentionnés. Ajoutons quelques travaux qui se concentrent sur la question

des contremarques, notamment GÓMEZ BARREIRO, BLÁZQUEZ CERRATO (48) sur les monnaies de *Caesaraugusta* et HERRERAS BELLED (57, 58, 59) sur les émissions des ateliers de la vallée de l'Èbre, en particulier *Bilbilis*, *Turiaso* et *Calagurris*.

Trouvailles de sites, dépôts et circulation monétaire

La moisson est ici relativement modeste. GOZALBES GARCÍA (53, 54) a procédé à l'étude de lots monétaires issus des sites d'*Ercavica* et de *Valeria*, montrant une belle diversité dans la provenance qui, néanmoins, reste concentrée sur les ateliers de la vallée de l'Èbre, auxquels s'ajoutent ceux de *Segobriga*, d'*Ilici* et de *Carthago Nova*, et à la marge ceux d'*Acci*, de *Carteia* et de *Iulia Traducta*.

Quelques analyses évoquent le caractère résiduel des émissions civiques comme celle d'ARÉVALO GONZÁLEZ, MORA SERRANO (34) portant sur les niveaux tardo-antiques des *cetariae* de *Iulia Traducta* où ont été exhumés des bronzes de *Carteia*, de *Iulia Traducta* et de *Colonia Lepida*. De même, CAMPO *et al.* (38) reviennent sur les monnaies recueillies dans la phase d'abandon (fin du III^e siècle AD) de l'*insula* 30 d'*Emporiae*, parmi lesquelles on compte des unités d'*Emporiae* et un *quadrans* de *Tarraco*.

Le domaine funéraire a été fortement interrogé ces dernières années. Notons les apports des différentes contributions dans ARÉVALO GONZÁLEZ (32), où sont examinés les cas des nécropoles d'*Ebusus*, *Malaca* et *Gades* – cette dernière fait également l'objet d'articles spécifiques dans ARÉVALO GONZÁLEZ, MORENO PULIDO (35).

Iconographie et épigraphie monétaires

Dans ce domaine, les travaux sont pléthoriques, allant de l'étude d'un unique élément typologique (les objets sacrés à *Emerita Augusta* dans DEL RÍO CANEDO *et al.* (65) à celle du programme iconographique d'un unique atelier – AGUILERA HERNÁNDEZ (16) pour *Caesaraugusta* ; BRAVO JIMÉNEZ (37) pour *Iulia Traducta* ; GOZALBES GARCÍA (49) pour *Segobriga* et *Ercavica* ; AMELA VALVERDE (21) pour *Colonia Victrix Iulia Lepida* –, en passant par la diffusion et la signification de l'adoption d'un type spécifique – AGUILERA HERNÁNDEZ (14) pour le rite de fondation ; la couronne civique dans les frappes provinciales hispaniques dans GOZALBES GARCÍA (51) ; l'image du taureau dans les émissions des ateliers de *Citerior* par ce même auteur (55, 56). L'influence du pouvoir impérial dans les choix iconographiques est amplement étudiée, notamment dans GARCÍA VILLALBA (44, 45), GARCÍA VILLALBA, MARTÍN-BUENO (46), GOZALBES GARCÍA (50). Notons enfin, la synthèse réalisée par MORENO PULIDO (63) qui passe en revue l'imagerie de tous les ateliers de la région du détroit de Gibraltar.

Nombre de travaux s'intéressent à l'épigraphie monétaire. Parmi les plus remarquables, citons ceux d'ESTARÁN TOLOSA (40, 41) sur le choix de la langue dans les légendes monétaires, d'ABASCAL PALAZÓN (13) pour *Carthago Nova* ou encore d'AGUILERA HERNÁNDEZ (17) pour l'ensemble des frappes hispano-romaines. Enfin, signalons quelques propositions et révisions de lecture des noms de magistrats gravés dans les émissions de *Caesaraugusta* par FARIA (42).

GAULE

Bien moins nombreux que dans les autres provinces concernées, les monnayages de Gaule ont malgré tout bénéficié d'études variées qui proposent notamment de nouvelles lectures pour certains types, l'examen de séries rares et l'identification de quelques inédits. Les études de sites, nombreuses et largement dominées par les monnaies nîmoises, ne portent jamais exclusivement sur les productions qui nous intéressent ici. Néanmoins, elles livrent des réflexions intéressantes les concernant, même si la plupart pâtissent encore du manque de contextes stratigraphiques fiables permettant une exploitation plus poussée quant à leur usage et leur circulation.

Catalogues de collections et publications de synthèse

Dans le premier volume consacré à la collection De Sanctis Mangelli, CALOMINO (5) consacre une brève synthèse aux monnayages provinciaux gaulois sur la base de 22 exemplaires – *Lugdunum*, 2 ; *Vienna*, 2 (cat. 97 est plus sûrement une imitation) ; *Narbo*, 3 ; *Nemausus*, 14 ; *Cabellio*, 1. S'y ajoute un très rare bronze à la proue que l'auteur classe comme frappé dans un atelier incertain de Gaule (*RPC* 5416) mais dont l'attribution reste toujours sujette à caution ; à noter que cet exemplaire ne figure pas dans les derniers suppléments du *RPC*. Dans un bref article, AMANDRY (71) résume le contexte de la frappe des principales émissions provinciales gauloises de Lyon (*RPC* 514-515), Vienne (*RPC* 517), Narbonne (*RPC* 518), Nîmes (*RPC* 523-525) et Toulouse (*RPC* 533). ROWAN (10) place les monnaies romaines, tardo-républicaines et impériales mais aussi provinciales, comme premiers témoins de la période 49 BC-AD 14 pour aider à mieux comprendre cette période complexe.

Trouvailles de sites, dépôts et circulation monétaire

Deux nouvelles contributions dressent un inventaire réactualisé des monnaies provinciales découvertes dans le nord, par DUCHEMIN (74), et le sud-ouest de la France, par GENEVIÈVE (76) parmi lesquelles figurent quelques exemplaires exotiques pour ces régions.

Dans un article non cité dans la précédente recension, ALMEDA VALVERDE (69) revient sur l'attribution toujours incertaine des bronzes à légende SEX F / T POM (RPC 507) en orientant ses propositions, comme la plupart des autres auteurs avant lui, sur le sud de la vallée du Rhône.

Grâce à l'examen des 53 monnaies gauloises et romaines découvertes isolées sur le site du Petrisberg (Trèves), dont la datation est bien cernée au premier semestre 30 BC, WIGG-WOLF (91) envisage une chronologie relative de trois séries provinciales gauloises : la présence exclusive sur le site de types RPC 514 (*Lugdunum*), qui plus est non fractionnés, suggère une production quelque peu antérieure aux types RPC 515 (*Lugdunum*) et 517 (*Vienna*). Sur ces mêmes monnayages, POUX, en collaboration avec MORILLON et DUBREU (85), s'attarde sur le dépôt de deux bronzes complets viennois (RPC 517) et lyonnais (RPC 515) découverts lors de la construction d'un relais routier à Panossas (Isère) – le premier dans la fondation de l'un des murs du bâtiment, le second associé à sa toiture – et s'interrogent sur une possible « offrande propitiatoire à l'image du *templum* inaugural ». FREY-KUPPER, LIGGI ASPERONI, WOLFE-JACOT (75) publient des trouvailles monétaires en contextes provenant des sanctuaires d'Avenches-*Aventicum*, capitale de cité des Hélvètes. Parmi les émissions de Gaule, un bronze de Vienne (RPC 517) et 18 bronzes de Nîmes (RPC 523-524, complets et coupés en deux) font partie d'un dépôt de 98 monnaies daté de la période tibérienne découvert sous la *cella* du temple Nord d'En Chaplix, au-dessus d'une tombe augustéenne, datée vers 15/10 BC par son mobilier (non numismatique).

Deux flans monétaires trouvés en fouille sur les allées Jean-Jaurès à Nîmes ont pu être étudiés par PELLÉ, BLET-LEMARQUAND (82). Leur examen technique et des analyses élémentaires par ANRC permettent de les rattacher à la deuxième série émise par l'atelier nîmois vers 9/8-3 BC. Un autre flan, découvert lors d'un diagnostic archéologique réalisé au pied de l'enceinte romaine de la ville, a été étudié par les mêmes auteurs et a bénéficié d'analyses identiques (83). Malgré un aspect différent de ceux déjà examinés, sa masse et sa composition suggèrent qu'il ait pu aussi être destiné à la fabrication d'une monnaie au crocodile.

Sans concerner exclusivement ou directement les monnayages provinciaux, les études de circulation monétaire dans le nord-ouest de la Gaule proposées par HELINGS (78), ILISCH (79) ou encore MARTIN (80) intègrent dans leurs réflexions plusieurs exemplaires nîmois, lyonnais et d'autres ; ces monnayages sont aussi évoqués pour les questions de fractionnement et de perforation de certaines séries dans MARTIN (81) et HELINGS (78).

Iconographie

POUX (84) évoque le rarissime bronze inaugural de *Munatius Plancus* (RPC 511), connu à seulement 4 exemplaires. Le revers qui illustre Hercule maîtrisant un taureau était interprété par A. Desbat comme une allégorie de Rome contrôlant le cours du Rhône. L'auteur envisage une lecture duale où Arar aurait les traits d'Hercule et maîtriserait la Saône qui portait anciennement son nom après que le héros local s'est jeté dedans. Selon l'auteur, cette double lecture s'adresserait alors autant à un public romain qu'aux populations locales. WOODS (92) réinterprète le revers au lion des quinaires de Marc Antoine (RPC 512-513), voyant dans le félin à la crinière abondante (*coma*) une représentation de la province dite de Gaule chevelue (*Gallia comata*). CHRISTOL (71) décode un à un tous les éléments qui composent le monnayage de l'atelier de Nîmes en contextualisant les messages épigraphiques et iconographiques savamment agencés pour célébrer la personnalité d'Auguste.

Les réflexions développées par GRICOURT (77), dans son étude magistrale des monnaies de Bliesbruck (Moselle), mais omises lors de notre précédente recension, se devaient d'être abordées ici. À la suite de M. Grant et M. Amandry, l'auteur insistait sur le rapprochement stylistique des types RPC 537 (2 ex., mêmes coins) et RPC 538 (1 ex., même coin de droit que les précédents et trouvé dans les environs de Trèves) au nom d'Auguste divinisé avec le bronze RPC 5431 (1 ex.) au revers figurant une femme assise de face entre deux personnages, accotée des lettres *T(reverorum ?) A(ugusta ?)*. À ces trois monnaies s'associeraient les deux bronzes tibériens RPC 5440-5441 qui pourraient venir émaner du même atelier, possiblement Trèves, comme le suggère l'exceptionnelle monnaie précédente. D. Gricourt propose d'identifier au travers de ces cinq bronzes, qui seraient datables des années 36-37, un groupe monétaire dynastique patronné par le divin Auguste et célébrant la Concorde de l'Empire, avec Livie assise entre Caligula et *Tiberius*

Gemellus, appelés à régner.

Types monétaires nouveaux et raretés

RPC 501-503 (Atelier(s) d'*A. Hirtius*)

DELESTRÉE (72) revient sur les monnayages de bronzes au nom d'*A. Hirtius*, quand il était propréteur de Gaule transalpine en 45-44 BC. Délaissant le type bien connu à l'éléphant (RPC 501), il consacre un examen plus détaillé à celui au lion (RPC 503a-d) et aux quatre notables gaulois dont les noms sont associés à la légende A HIR IMP. L'auteur envisage pour ces quatre émissions, l'existence d'un seul atelier, certainement itinérant, évoluant de part et d'autre de la Seine, autour de Paris. DELESTRÉE, THIBAUT (73) évoquent la découverte, malheureusement non localisée, d'un bronze inédit de ce type au nom d'un cinquième personnage (*Sestriros*) qui accroît un peu plus la portée de ce monnayage peu courant.

RPC 526 (*Nemausus*)

Les quatre contributions de VILLEMUR, BLET-LEMARQUAND, la première au nom des deux auteurs (87), les trois autres auxquelles sont associés BAUX (88), DUVAL (89) et PHÉLINE (90), ont significativement fait avancer nos connaissances sur les rares et énigmatiques monnaies de Nîmes dites « à la patte de sanglier ». Au fur et à mesure de ces articles, les auteurs ont complété le catalogue détaillé des exemplaires connus – à ce jour 20 sont recensés – et réalisé des analyses élémentaires de composition qui ont notamment permis d'écarter quelques faux (six imitations coulées) mais surtout d'authentifier définitivement cette production sur laquelle de nombreux doutes et suspicions pesaient encore. Les lieux de découvertes sont examinés, ainsi que la technique de fabrication de ces monnaies-objets tout en proposant quelques hypothèses sur leur fonction. Plusieurs liaisons de coins confirment que ces curiosités numismatiques ont été produites avec les mêmes matrices que celles utilisées pour la fabrication des monnaies courantes. Les motivations et la périodicité de ces frappes ainsi que les quantités émises soulèvent encore de nombreuses interrogations.

RPC 539 (Colonie incertaine de Gaule narbonnaise, seulement en ligne)

Depuis la publication du premier volume du RPC en 1992, 38 types monétaires provinciaux gaulois sont dénombrés, enrichis depuis de quelques variantes ou de réattributions, mais aucun exemplaire inédit n'avait complété cette liste. Cette fraction d'argent (5 ex. connus) publiée par VILLEMUR, AMANDRY, CHEVILLON (86) constitue donc en soit un petit événement. Sur une face, la mention IIII VIR entre trois lignes pleines évoque assurément une signature par les *quattuorvirs* d'une colonie latine de Narbonnaise. Sur l'autre, les auteurs, hésitant entre COVE (1 ex.), COAE (2 ex.) ou CONE (1 ex.), retiennent cette dernière lecture et proposent soit d'attribuer cette production à Nîmes en lisant CO(*lonia*) NE(*mausus*) soit d'envisager une CO(*lonia*) NE(*ronis*). Ces deux propositions apparaissent pourtant bien fragiles, car reposant notamment sur trois formes de légendes différentes dont une avec cette ligature qui ne nous semble pas avérée. La découverte d'autres exemplaires de même type est évidemment vivement attendue.

Italie, Sicile et îles attenantes

La période recensée regroupe les émissions civiques frappées en Italie, en Sicile et dans les îles attenantes depuis le second triumvirat jusqu'à l'époque tibérienne quand les derniers ateliers ferment leurs portes, ainsi que celles de *Paestum* et *Panormos*. Les études retenues concernent principalement l'examen d'ensembles monétaires ou de trouvailles isolées issues de fouilles archéologiques qui permettent, soit de reconsidérer la chronologie ou l'attribution à des ateliers, soit de compléter nos connaissances sur la circulation monétaire ou l'utilisation spécifique des monnaies, notamment dans des contextes de sanctuaires.

Catalogues de collections et publications de synthèse

Les suppléments du RPC (2, 9) ont intégré l'attribution de *semisses* aux unités (*as*) impériales de *Panormos* (RPC 639A et 641A) et, pour la fin de la période républicaine, de *Ietas* (RPC 647A), intégration rendue possible grâce à l'étude des trouvailles monétaires de Monte Iato (S. Frey-Kupper, voir dernier *Survey*) qui démontrent que la division des dénominations en unités et demis (*as*, *semis*) est systématique pour ces ateliers, selon une tradition qui remonte au I^{er} s. BC. Suite aux recherches de VILLEMUR (115, 116), l'attribution à *Tyndaris* des exemplaires RPC 649-651 est également adoptée, tout comme les nouveaux types RPC 650A ainsi que 670A et B (cf. *infra*). La parution de nouveaux volumes des *Sylloge*, trois en Italie (93, 95 et 98) et un en Russie (109), accroît le nombre d'exemplaires connus pour certaines séries même si aucun ne recense de variantes ou de types nouveaux.

Les ateliers d'Italie et de Sicile

L'étude de BARBATO (96) reconsidère les frappes du préfet *Clovius* (RPC 601) et du préteur *Oppius* (RPC 602).

Fondée sur un recensement systématique des lieux et contextes de découvertes, elle conclut à une proximité, voire une superposition, chronologique des deux types (en accord avec B. Woytek, voir dernier *Survey*), dont la production est ainsi attribuée à Rome en 46-45 BC. À cette occasion, leur circulation hors d'Italie est aussi examinée.

Les nouvelles découvertes de bronzes aux types *Divos Iulius* (RPC 620 et 621) (97), majoritairement officielles plutôt qu'imitées, ne permettent toujours pas de préciser leur lieu exact d'émission, mais continuent d'orienter la localisation de leur production en Italie.

CARBONE (101) a approfondi ses études sur l'atelier de *Paestum* en lui consacrant un corpus et une étude de coins. Ce travail a le mérite d'inclure un nombre impressionnant de monnaies conservées dans des collections locales, à l'époque inconnues ou pas accessibles aux auteurs du *RPC* comme précédemment à M. Crawford. Cependant, cette étude caractérisque ne prend pas en compte plusieurs grandes collections, entre autres celles de Londres, Paris, et Vienne (« core collections » de *RPC*), tout comme les fonds de Berlin, absents du catalogue. En faisant abstraction de celles-ci et des pièces trop corrodées, près de la moitié des monnaies cataloguées est examinée (pourcentages variables selon les types) et livre de premières indications chiffrées quant au nombre minimum de coins produits. Bien que déjà envisagé par les auteurs du *RPC*, CARBONE (102) attribue de manière convaincante à l'époque augustéenne les monnaies signées par les *duovirs* *M. Nun* et *L. Sueti* ainsi que celles de *Minea*, *M. f.*, femme influente et évergète de l'aristocratie locale. L'analyse détaillée de CARBONE (101, reprise dans 100) explore également les noms des magistrats, les questions métrologiques et la circulation monétaire.

Concernant la Sicile, si les émissions de la partie occidentale de l'île sont désormais bien connues, du travail reste encore à accomplir afin de mieux comprendre celles de sa partie orientale. VILLEMUR (115, 116) réattribue à *Tyndaris* quatre types monétaires précédemment donnés à *Segeste* ou *Panormos*. Cette nouvelle proposition, adoptée dans *RPC* (2 et corpus en ligne) s'appuie sur les trouvailles monétaires et sur des éléments iconographiques. L'auteur évoque les possibilités d'une datation soit à l'époque de Sextus Pompée soit d'Octave, mais la première nous semble plus convaincante, entre autres pour des raisons métrologiques. CRISÀ (104) présente une tessère uniface en terre cuite qui reprend l'avers au *pilei* de ces émissions de *Tyndaris* (RPC 649-651).

Trouvailles de sites, dépôts et circulation monétaire

Des bronzes (*dupondii*) d'Octavien au type du *Divos Iulius* continuent à apparaître dans des dépôts à caractère votif en Italie (RPC 620-621). BARBATO (97) et BARBATO, VALCI (99) s'attardent sur un ensemble trouvé à Rome où une monnaie (RPC 620), probablement accompagnée de deux autres de même type, a été découverte dans une fosse près du Temple B de l'aire sacrée du Largo Argentina. Les onze (ou douze ?) monnaies contenues dans ce dépôt fouillé en 1931 sont aujourd'hui perdues mais les types, y compris le plus récent (*RIC* I², 81, *DAP Providentia*) ont pu être identifiés grâce aux notes du fouilleur G. Marchetti Longhi, tout comme leur contenant, probablement un *thesaurus*. En Italie et ailleurs, ces bronzes au *Divos Iulius* et leurs imitations continuent en fait à circuler jusqu'à l'époque julio-claudienne comme le montre le dépôt de Largo Argentina mais aussi les contextes de l'aire de la *Meta Sudans* à Rome (1998-2003) étudiés par ZEGGIO (117). Les deux exemplaires retrouvés, un bronze RPC 620 (officiel) et une imitation hybride combinant un avers de RPC 620 à un revers de RPC 621 proviennent de niveaux liés au réaménagement du tracé routier menant au *forum* et sont datés des années 14-37 AD environ. FREY-KUPPER, LIGGI ASPERONI, WOLFE-JACOT (75) décrivent un cas similaire à Avenches-*Aventicum* qui associe une imitation (coulée ?) du type RPC 620, un *semis* indéterminé de *Lugdunum* et un as de Rome (*RIC* I², 471 ?) retrouvés dans les remblais de construction (30/40-50/70 AD) du temple maçonné du sanctuaire de Derrière la Tour.

L'ouvrage de CARBONE (101) réunit 1292 monnaies dont 286 sont conservées au médailler du Museo Archeologico Nazionale de *Paestum*, 275 dans la Collezione Sallusto à Salerne et 88 au Museo Archeologico Nazionale de Naples, parmi lesquelles se cachent probablement de nombreuses trouvailles locales. Le peu d'informations dont l'auteur dispose se réfère à *Paestum* même ou, rarement, à Pompéi, tout en mentionnant plusieurs douzaines de trouvailles issues de fouilles récentes conduites à *Paestum* qui ne font pas partie du catalogue. À celles-ci s'ajoute une monnaie provenant du sol d'une petite taverne de la *regio* V, I, 27 à Pompéi publiée par STAUB, DE ROSA (112, n° 73).

En Sicile, pour sa partie occidentale, les fouilles archéologiques continuent de livrer de nombreuses monnaies, notamment à Monte Iato (ancienne cité de *Iaitas*). Des catalogues complets sont publiés annuellement grâce aux équipes des universités de Zurich, par BADERTSCHER (94), ELSENER (105, 106) et TSCHOLL (113, 114), et d'Innsbruck, par FEIL (107). Leurs rapports confirment quelques caractéristiques de circulation connues pour ce site, la présence

de monnaies de Sextus Pompée (*RPC* 671, 2 ex. complets, 1 ex. coupé) et parmi les émissions civiques, celles de *Panormos* (*RPC* 636, 2 ex. ; 642, 1 ex. ; 644, 2 ex. ; 645, 2 ex.) ; plusieurs exemplaires sont issus de couches julio-claudiennes. FREY-KUPPER (108) a recensé une monnaie d'*Entella*, frappée au nom d'*Atratinus* (*RPC* 654) et une de *Panormos* (*RPC* 636), pour le *thesmophorion*, sanctuaire extra-urbain de la Contrada Petrarò à Entella (couche post-médiévale). En Sicile orientale, sur le site de Caronia (ancienne cité de *Kalè Aktè*), trois bronzes de Sextus Pompée (*RPC* 671) ont été rapportés comme trouvailles fortuites par CARROCCIO, COLLURA (103). Sur ce même site, l'exemplaire identifié comme une monnaie d'*Entella* (*Atratinus*) est en fait une frappe de *Panormos* du type « tête d'Arès / triscèle ». Dans son étude consacrée aux monnaies de Tindari, VILLEMUR (115, 116) insiste à la fois sur l'absence, parmi les trouvailles de sites, du type *RPC* 627, à la tête d'Auguste à droite, signé par *L. Mussid(ius) Pr Cos* (dans une couronne de laurier) et *L. Stati P. Cotta []* (autour de cette couronne) et sur l'impossibilité de lire *Tundar* sur un des exemplaires connus et qui ne peut donc être attribué à cette cité. Il en va de même pour une émission proche où apparaissent les mêmes noms autour de la couronne mais qui est signée par le proconsul *Sisenna*. Ce type (*RPC* 668) ne figure pas non plus parmi les trouvailles de Tindari.

PERASSI (111) rédige le premier catalogue complet des trouvailles monétaires maltaises retrouvées lors des fouilles italiennes sur le sanctuaire de Tas-Silġ (Malte). Parmi les 41 exemplaires identifiés, on relève sept *RPC* 672 (signés *C. Arruntanus Balb Propr*) et un *RPC* 673 (monnaie anonyme).

Iconographie

Pour le monnayage de *Paestum*, CARBONE (101) met notamment en évidence la représentation de l'édifice à deux ou parfois trois étages au revers de l'émission 27 au nom de *Minea*, *M. f.* qui, en 15 BC, a financé la reconstruction de la basilique de la cité. Comme d'autres avant lui, l'auteur attire notre attention sur l'iconographie parlante qui fait référence à cet acte de bienfaisance (100, 101, 102). VILLEMUR (115, 116) et CRISÀ (104) soulignent le lien fort entre la cité de *Tyndaris* et le culte des Dioscures, fils de leur père humain *Tyndaros*, roi de Sparte, lien reflété dans l'image récurrente de leurs bonnets sur les monnaies et, *in situ*, sur une mosaïque conservée à l'entrée des bains de l'*insula* IV. PERASSI (110) analyse l'iconographie de la *sella curulis* (*RPC* 672) et du trépied (*RPC* 673) dans le monnayage de *Melite*.

De nombreuses célébrations en Italie et ailleurs en Europe ont commémoré le bimillénaire de la mort d'Auguste le 19 janvier 14 AD à Nola en Campanie. Quelques contributions spécifiques ont été dédiées à son monnayage : GORINI (8) recense les trouvailles de sites d'*Aquileia* et étudie les monnaies d'Octave au nom du *Divos Iulius* conservées au Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Aquileia, tandis que CALOMINO commente un recueil des monnaies frappées pour honorer Auguste divinisé dans les provinces de l'empire (6).

AFRIQUE DU NORD

À l'intérieur de ce groupe africain, on retrouve, en suivant les orientations du *RPC*, des monnayages de rois indépendants numides et maurétaniens, amis et alliés de Rome, et des monnayages romains de municipes ou de colonies.

Catalogues de collections et publications de synthèse

Outre les réactualisations du *RPC* (1, 2, 3, 9), signalons la parution ou la mise en ligne de plusieurs collections contenant des monnaies nord-africaines, tant publiques comme à la BnF de Paris ou à Florence par PIGA (134), que privées, par CORES *et al.* 2020 (122). On note également une recrudescence de publications à caractère historiographique liées à certains fonds muséaux, par MORENO PULIDO (129, 130), GOZALBES CRAVIOTO (125), GOZALBES GARCÍA, GOZALBES CRAVIOTO (127).

Les monnayages nord-africains n'ont pas fait spécifiquement l'objet d'une nouvelle synthèse scientifique, mais ils soutiennent de manière forte le discours de plusieurs articles et monographies historiques consacrés aux monarques africains ou aux guerres de conquête romaines : BRIDOUX (121) s'appuie sur les émissions monétaires des princes africains pour asseoir leur généalogie ; AMELA VALVERDE et MARTÍNEZ CHICO (119) réalisent une synthèse de la politique monétaire de Juba I, tandis qu'ALEXANDROPOULOS (118) mesure les effets de la guerre de Tacfarinas sur le monnayage de la province d'Afrique.

Monnayages et ateliers monétaires nord-africains

Comblant une lacune du *RPC*, SPOERRI BUTCHER (135, 136) a engagé plusieurs études détaillées du monnayage de Juba II afin d'en définir la chronologie et d'apprécier le programme iconographique. De même, les réactualisations

du *RPC* ont apporté leur lot d'émissions et d'exemplaires inédits, mais également de doutes : c'est notamment le cas pour un sesterce (3, *RPC* 866B) attribué, par défaut, à la colonie augustéenne de *Zilil* par VILLEMUR, AMANDRY, RIPOLLÈS (139).

L'atelier de Carthage a fait l'objet d'une étude numismatique approfondie en lien avec la fondation de la colonie augustéenne. WOLTERS (140) identifie trois phases de production, en 4/5, 11 et 15/16 AD. En se fondant sur la typologie, l'épigraphie, ainsi que sur la dispersion des trouvailles, le chercheur démontre que les trois types de la première phase d'émission, attribués par le *RPC* à *Sicca* (*RPC* 706-708), appartiennent clairement à Carthage. La deuxième phase d'émission (*RPC* 745-753) compte trois dénominations – *as*, *semis* (l'auteur pense que les pièces *RPC* 749-751 étaient conçus comme des *semisses* mais produits sous forme d'*as* coupés en deux) et *quadrans* – qui, par l'iconographie et les légendes développées, s'insèrent dans un programme de propagande visant à promouvoir Tibère, sur le modèle des émissions de Rome et de *Lugdunum* datées de 11 AD. Quant aux pièces issues de la troisième période (*RPC* 754-757), elles se réfèrent à l'émission de Rome avec Livie assise (*RIC* P, 33-37 et 71-73).

Le monnayage de *Tingi* a également retenu l'attention des chercheurs : une fraction (*semis* ?) en bronze à légende latine, connue par un unique exemplaire (*RPC* 861A), a fait son apparition grâce à VILLEMUR (138), tandis qu'une meilleure lecture de l'émission *RPC* 860 dans l'un des suppléments *RPC* (3) et dans BERNARD, CALLEGARIN (120) et FARIA (123) a permis d'effectuer une correction de transcription d'un *nomen* – *M. Clodius* au lieu de *M. Curius* – et d'écarter définitivement l'idée de l'élévation de la cité au rang de colonie sous Auguste.

Production et circulation monétaires

En examinant à la fois les volumes émis pour chaque valeur, par centre émetteur et par périodes de fabrication, GOZALBES GARCÍA (126) tente de déterminer les possibles usages des émissions provinciales en Afrique proconsulaire à l'époque julio-claudienne.

FREY-KUPPER (124) présente une analyse complète des trouvailles monétaires faites à Carthage entre 146 BC et le règne de Claude, en se fondant sur les contextes stratigraphiques fournies par les fouilles allemandes ainsi que sur l'ensemble des autres fouilles. Deux aspects saillants sont à relever : d'une part, la présence d'une série de petits bronzes massaliètes reflèterait les activités en relation avec la fondation de la colonie césarienne, vraisemblablement via des contacts avec l'Italie ; d'autre part, le nombre de trouvailles ne se densifie que vers la fin du règne d'Auguste, et surtout sous Tibère, quand le volume d'importation de céramiques de la jeune colonie devient plus important. Pour ce début du I^{er} s. AD, les pièces de *Carthago* représentent une part considérable du numéraire en circulation en Zeugitane (10 ex. sous Auguste, mais 14 de Rome, et 2 d'*Hadrumetum*, *RPC* 781 et 783 ; 12 ex. sous Tibère, contre 10 de Rome et 4 d'*Utica*, *RPC* 423-426). Ces données sont comparées à celles des trouvailles monétaires du sanctuaire d'Henchir el-Hami où les monnaies carthagoises des deuxième et troisième phases (selon la définition de WOLTERS) sont accompagnées et dominées par des émissions d'*Utica*, atelier plus proche du lieu de découverte étudié.

Iconographie

Après plusieurs articles consacrés à l'iconographie monétaire de la région du détroit de Gibraltar, les contributions de MORENO PULIDO (131, 132, 133) livrent une solide synthèse sur l'imagerie de l'Extrême-Occident, revenant notamment sur les portraits gravés dans les émissions de *Tingi*, quand GOZALBES GARCÍA et PADILLA ARROBA (128) examinent les contacts et contaminations entre les divinités puniques et celles de Rome à travers les gravures monétaires des ateliers de Proconsulaire. Enfin, SUSPÈNE (137) analyse le monnayage de Juba II du point de vue de l'iconographie et des caractéristiques techniques. Tout affirme un pouvoir fort et stable, adossé à la personnalité, à l'héritage et aux alliances du roi, ainsi qu'à la prospérité du royaume. Jouant sur la pluralité des relations clientélares, Juba II fait montre d'une véritable expertise dans sa politique monétaire et se pose non pas en subordonné, mais en imitateur d'Auguste. Concernant l'iconographie de Carthage, nous renvoyons à l'étude de WOLTERS (140).

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ROMAN PROVINCIAL COINAGES: EASTERN PROVINCES

Fran Stroobants

Introduction and general studies

The last couple of years have seen great progress in the *Roman Provincial Coinage (RPC) series*. The enormous added value offered by the growing number of volumes in this series and their accessibility online has clearly facilitated a large amount of the contributions mentioned in this chapter. It has both facilitated research, and also provides more completeness. Volume III (3; Nerva – Hadrian) and volume IX (37; Trajan Decius to Uranius Antoninus) were both published in printed form, respectively in 2015 and 2016. Also three supplements were added to the series. Supplement 3 (5) included new material from 2005 to 2013, covering the Julio-Claudian period (RPC I), the Flavian period (RPC II), and the coinages of Gordian I to Gordian III struck in the province of Asia (RPC VII, 1). In 2015, a consolidated volume (57) of the supplements 1 to 3 was published. Supplement 4 (6) and 5 (7) added new material for RPC I-III, VII.1 and IX. Furthermore, this period saw the addition of volume I (22), volume II (21), volume III (4), volume VI (27; Asia Minor and Egypt), volume VII.1 (60), volume VII.2 (45), volume VIII (46) and volume IX (36) to the online database, which now consists of 46.913 entries (<https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/>). Another important online source is the *Corpus Nummorum* project (<https://www.corpus-nummorum.eu/>), which is an open access numismatic web portal that collects, presents, and offers research tool for regional datasets of Greek and Roman provincial coinage (at present Moesia Inferior, Thrace, Mysia and the Troad).

The proceedings from several **congresses** contained numerous contributions that are relevant to this section. Important studies on Roman provincial coinages in the eastern provinces were presented at the two international congresses on Anatolian Monetary History and Numismatics, organized by the Suna & İnan Kıraç Research Center for Mediterranean Civilizations (AKMED) in Antalya in 2014 (28) and 2017 (63). Also the proceedings of the 15th International Numismatic Congress in Taormina in 2015 (23) contained numerous articles on the subject. Several **Festschriften** which were published during this period included numerous relevant articles on the Roman provincial coinage of the eastern provinces, like the volumes in honour of Amandry (17), Burnett (11), van Heesch (62), Draganov (13), Demetriadi (65), Witschonke (64), Gorini (8), Salzman (58), Bar (29) and Nollé (52).

The **general development** of Roman provincial coins in the eastern provinces from the reign of Augustus until the 2nd half of the 3rd century AD is addressed in the volume edited by AMANDRY (1) (pp. 183–190 for the 1st century AD, and pp. 195–215 for the 2nd century AD, and pp. 235–247 for the 3rd century AD), which offers a general overview of coinage in antiquity. Several contributions were dedicated to the Roman provincial coinage struck during **specific reigns**. BRANSBOURG (14) analysed the series of so-called fleet coinage, struck mainly in Greece by Mark Antony in 38–37 BC. He complemented the original catalogue of these bronze coins by Amandry with specimens originating from the collection of Rick Witschonke. According to the author, these coins were possibly used to introduce the Roman coin system in the Greek world, and to provide the troops with small change for local transactions. CALOMINO (25) presented a detailed analysis of the different coin types issued for Divus Augustus, both in Rome and the provinces, with issues being produced for over 250 years in c. 50 different cities of Macedonia, Thrace, Asia Minor and the Levant. As an extra, the article presents one hitherto unknown coin type in name of Augustus, probably struck at Byzantium.

JELONEK (43) focused on the Roman provincial coinage struck in a number of colonies in the Roman provinces during the reign of Claudius. The same author (41) studied the patterns in the presence of family members on the imperial coinage of Caligula, and showed how these evolutions were equally followed for the provincial coinage of a number of cities in the eastern provinces. WOYTEK (68) discussed a limited series of Roman imperial coins honouring Divus Nerva struck during the reigns of Trajan, Trajan Decius and Trebonianus Gallus. The author also mentioned a series of silver didrachms of Caesarea in Cappadocia and five civic issues showing the portrait of the deified

emperor from Perinthus, Berytus, the Galatian koinon, Parium and Appolonia ad Rhyndacum. BURNETT (20) focused on the occurrence of the *Optimus* title for the emperor Trajan, relying on evidence from coins from Egypt and other provincial issues, next to inscriptions, diplomata and papyri. CALOMINO (24) discussed the bilingual civic coins struck during the reign of Severus Alexander in Asia Minor, the Levant and Europe. Two case-studies are examined in detail, Nicaea in Bithynia and Nicopolis ad Istrum in Moesia Inferior. The same author (26) analysed the existing evidence from literary, epigraphic and numismatic sources for Diva Paulina, the wife of emperor Maximinus Thrax. The analysis of the inscriptions and coins from the provinces suggest that Paulina may have been still living when Maximinus became emperor, in contrast to what is generally believed. Moreover, the fact that all civic coinages on which Paulina was celebrated come from a relatively limited area in south-eastern Asia Minor, might point to family ties or visits to the region. WATSON (66) focused on the coinage struck in name of Aemilian at Viminacium, Parium, Amisus, Iulia, Antioch ad Pisidiam, Side, Aegeae, Alexandria in Egypt and the province of Dacia, and explored how the information about this emperor – who only ruled for three months – was spread to the eastern provinces.

Other studies discussed **specific phenomena** for the civic coinage of the Eastern provinces. BENNETT (10) reconsidered the question of the so-called pseudo-autonomous bronze coins, using the *RPC* volumes as a background. These issues were abundant, with a great variety and geographical (Asia Minor, but also Balkans and the Levant) and chronological spread. They formed an integral aspect of the local monetary system, mainly used for the small denominations. HAYMANN AND WAHL (35) analysed the presence of dates on the coinage of Antiquity, including some Roman provincial examples. HAYMANN AND HELLBERG (34) focused on the occurrence of anniversary celebrations on civic coins, based on dated issues. MARTINI (47) studied the presence of eight different imperial countermarks with the name of GALBA on civic bronze coins in Pannonia, Moesia, Thrace and Asia Minor. WATSON (67) gathered the new evidence for obverse die-sharing in the Roman provincial coinage, correcting and updating the work of Kraft. WOYTEK (69) provided a general outline of the – rather rare – phenomenon of overstriking and reminting of Roman provincial coinage.

Regarding **iconographic studies**, KRENGEL (44) discussed the design of the two snakes on the Cistophoric coinage, linking it to the orphic cult and the creation of Dionysos. PUDILL (55) gave an overview of the presence of the figure of Antinous on Roman coins and medallions, including Roman provincial ones from about 30 different cities in the Eastern provinces. Also in his more general iconographic study of Antinous, he (56) referred to examples of Roman provincial coinage. AMANDRY (2) presented two Roman provincial coins for which portraits were transformed in modern times to Antinous, respectively from a portrait of Dionysos on a coin of Sardes (Lydia) and one from Amorium (Phrygia) with the bust of Caracalla. BRICAULT (16) discussed the appearance of the *Gens Isiaca* in Graeco-Roman coinage, i.e. the cults centred on Isis and associated with divinities such as Sarapis, Osiris, Harpocrates, Apis and Anubis, during the Hellenistic and Roman periods from the reign of Augustus until the reign of Maximinus Daia. Although the diffusion of the *Gens Isiaca* started slowly and was mainly limited to the city of Alexandria during the 1st century AD, the number of cities using Isis types grew steadily during the 2nd century and reached a peak during the Severan era, with a high popularity in Egypt, Asia Minor and the Middle East. Moreover, the two recent volumes of the *Bibliotheca Isiaca* series (18 & 19), which published new studies and unpublished material related to the Isis distribution in the Greco-Roman world, include Roman provincial examples. In his study on architectural structures on Roman coinage, ELKINS (31) also dedicated a chapter to the provincial issues. He discussed the different types of depicted monuments and studied their influence on the late imperial coinage. BENDSCHUS AND FEUSER (9) analysed the coin designs of ports on Roman coinage, including Roman provincial issues. BREITSPRECHER (15) discussed the image of a frontal temple with standing cult statue which was used by a number of cities with asylum rights between the reigns of Augustus and Domitian. IACULLI (40) presented an iconographical study of athletic games on Roman provincial coinage. JELLONEK (42) analysed the motifs on the coins of the Roman colonies in the East referring to foundation myths. NOLLÉ (50) focused on the provincial coins mentioning gods as their minting authorities, and proposed different hypotheses for their meaning and use. He also (51) discussed the particular motif of the eagle purloining sacrificial meat from an altar occurring at the coinage of different cities in Asia Minor and other eastern provinces, linking it to the foundation on behalf of Zeus. PERASSI (53) studied the resemblance between portraits of different personages on coins during the Hellenistic and Roman period, also including Roman provincial examples.

The **circulation and use** of coinage in the Eastern Roman provinces was a well-studied theme. Regarding the circulation of high-value coins, VAN HEESCH (36) built on the evidence of coin finds to argue that Roman imperial

aurei and *denarii* were the main currencies used to pay the soldiers in the Eastern part of the Roman Empire, only supplemented by local and regional silver series. HOWGEGO (39) analysed the circulation of gold coinage of Vespasian struck in the eastern provinces at Ephesus, Egypt (?), Syria and Judaea, based on old and new material. The finds of such coins in Britain, Italy and Raetia suggest military reasons for the long distance movement of gold coins and attest to a high degree of connectivity in the Roman Empire. STROOBANTS (61) used the city of Sagalassos (southern Asia Minor) and its wider region as a case-study to analyse the use of both imperial and provincial high-value coinage for large transactions, based on historical sources, hoards and isolated coin finds. ZAJAĆ (70) presented a study of the silver coins struck in the name of Trajan in Lycia and Cappadocia and found in Europe, with some conclusions of their circulation in the Roman empire and Barbaricum territories. Also several contributions on the finds of civic coins from the eastern provinces in the western part of the Empire should be mentioned. PFAHL (54) dedicated a monograph to this subject, with a catalogue of 1,173 provincial coins dating from Augustus to Gallienus found in Belgium, Carnuntum, Germany, Eastern France, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Switzerland. The author also analysed the context in which these coins were found and discussed their circulation and possible use. DUCHEMIN (30) presented and synthesized the Greek and Roman provincial coin finds from the Nord-Pas-de-Calais and Picardy regions of Northern France. GENEVIÈVE (32) provided an updated catalogue and discussion of the Roman provincial coinage found in southwestern Gaul. GORINI (33) listed the civic coins found in Venice, both from the western and the eastern part of the empire. BODZEK, KOPIJ AND SMAGUR (12) presented a preliminary report of the project “Finds of Roman Coins in Poland – Lesser Poland” covering coin finds of Republican, Imperial, provincial and Early Byzantine origin, from the 3rd century BC until the 6th century AD. MYZGIN (48 & 49) discussed Roman provincial coins found in Ukraine. SIDAROVICH (59) gave an overview of the Greek and Roman provincial coins from the Eastern provinces found in Belarus.

Collection catalogues

Many new volumes containing Roman provincial coinage were published in the **SNG series**. They are listed here by country in alphabetical order. For Bulgaria, DRAGANOV (79) published the Greek and Roman provincial coins from Apollonia Pontica that are part of the Bobokov Brothers collection in the Numismatic Museum of Ruse. The Ptolemaic and Roman provincial coins from Egypt kept at the Archaeological Museum of Zagreb in Croatia were published by MIRNIK (85). Two SNG volumes were dedicated to the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, respectively on the Alexandrian coins of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and the Nomes (74), and on the Greek and Roman provincial coins from Paphlagonia, Pontus and Armenia Minor in northern Asia Minor (77). For Italy, ARZONE AND CAPPIOTTI (73) published the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman provincial coinage from the Civici musei d’arte in Verona. Three volumes were devoted to the collection of the northern coast of the Black Sea at the National Museum in Warsaw, respectively covering the coins from the mints from Bosphorus to Chersonesus (99), the coinage of the Bosphoran rulers from Leucon II to Ininthimeus (101), and the coinage of the Bosphoran rulers from Rhescuporis V to Rhescuporis VI, as well as the Greek centres in Sarmatia (102). Also for Poland, MIELCZAREK (84) published the Greek and Roman provincial coins from the Bosphoran Kingdom and Asia Minor in the collection of the Archaeological and Ethnographical Museum in Łódź, and BODZEK (76) dedicated a volume to the coinage from Thrace, Pontus, Dacia, Moesia Superior, Moesia Inferior and Colchis from the collection of the National Museum in Krakow. For Russia, two volumes were added for collections in Moscow: KOVALENKO (83) published the coinage from the Black Sea littoral in the collection of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, while AMBRAMZON, FROLOVA AND PETER (71) dedicated a volume to the coinage of the northern Black Sea area in the State Historical Museum. Finally, several private collections from Turkey containing Roman provincial issues were the subject of SNG volumes, with three volumes on the Ozkan Arikanturk collection for the regions of Troas (95), Aeolis (96) and Mysia (97), the first part on the collection of Yavuz Tatis with coins from Ionia and Lydia (94), and a volume on the Cetin Erdem Collection with material from Lydia and Phrygia (98).

Other important collection catalogues should also be mentioned here. Several public collections from Bulgaria containing Roman provincial coinage were published in the *Coin Collections and Coin Hoards from Bulgaria (CCCHBulg)* series, more specifically for the Regional Historical Museum at Blagoevgrad (72), the Regional Historical Museum at Pazardzhik (91), the museums at Sandanski, Petrich and Gotse Delchev (80), and the Regional Historical Museum of Sofia (78). In three contributions, PUDILL (88, 89 & 90) published rare and unpublished Roman

provincial coins struck during the reign of Hadrian in the eastern provinces. KLEIN (82) presented an analysis and full catalogue of 161 Roman provincial coins from the collection of the Herzöge von Württemberg-Neuenstadt, kept at the Coin Cabinet of the Landesmuseums Württemberg in Stuttgart. NOESKE *et al.* (86) published the coins from the mint of Alexandria of the Julio-Claudian dynasty in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, with a total of 2,689 pieces. RABE AND NOESKE (92) catalogued the coins from Galba to Trajan, with 1,655 specimens. Also for Alexandrian coinage, STAFFIERI (93) offered a full catalogue of his own collection, including 274 coins from the reign of Augustus until Diocletian. Coins from the region of Lydia at the Istanbul Archaeological Museums were published by GÖKYILDIRIM (81), and those from the Manisa Archaeology Museum were catalogued by ÖNDER (87). BODZEK (75) presented an analysis of the ancient coins in the collection of Ignacy Terlecki kept at the National Museum in Krakow, including a small number of Roman provincial coins. WALCZAK (100) went into more detail on this collection, and gave an overview of the coins of the Bosporan rulers.

Cyrenaica and Crete

For the province of Cyrenaica and Crete, CHEVROLIER (111) discussed and compared the coin series struck locally at both regions during the start of the Roman Imperial period. ASOLATI (104) explored the history of the numismatic studies dedicated to Ancient Cyrenaica. The same author (106) published the proceedings of a conference (Padua, 2016) dedicated to the Cyrenaic coinage from the Archaic until the Byzantine period, with several contributions focusing on Roman provincial issues. CANOVARO *et al.* (109) presented the results of archaeometric analyses of the Roman provincial coinage of Cyrenaica during the 1st and 2nd century AD, using different methods. AMANDRY (103) gave an overview of the silver and bronze coins struck for circulation in Cyrenaica during the reign of Trajan, which were previously attributed to Caesarea in Cappadocia. JAWORSKI (113) presented the coin finds from the Polish campaigns at Ptolemais, including 89 coins of Roman Cyrenaica. Other publications on the Roman provincial coinage of the region included CATTANEO (110), who reexamined a series of civic coins showing the head of Roma and a bee most probably struck at Cyrene. On coin circulation, ASOLATI AND CRISAFULLI (107) presented the catalogue and analysis of a hoard of *c.* 1,000 coins found in Benghazi in 1939, consisting of both late Hellenistic, Roman Republican, Roman imperial and provincial silver coins, with the last specimen issued during the reign of Trajan. Hoards related to the Jewish Revolution in AD 115-117 – with special attention to the 1934 hoard from the Agora in Cyrene and the 1939 Benghazi hoard – are discussed in the second part of the monograph on coin hoards in Greek and Roman Cyrenaica by ASOLATI AND CRISAFULLI (108) and by ASOLATI (105). CRISAFULLI (112) summarized some coin finds from the Urbina Archaeological Mission in Cyrene, including 83 Roman provincial – especially Alexandrian – bronzes.

Achaea and Epirus

Regarding the Greek mainland, HUBER (116) studied some new coin types that can be linked to Nero's visit in the years AD 66/67, struck by different cities in Greece and Alexandria. VON MOSCH AND KLOSTERMEYER (124) used a set of medallions featuring Antinous issued by the magistrate Hostillios Markellos to reconstruct the travel route of Hadrian through Asia Minor and Greece in the years AD 131-132, and as possible witnesses of an imperial visit to Corinth and Isthmia. KREMYDI AND WARD (122) discussed the explosion in coin production in the Peloponnese region during the reign of Septimius Severus, with 42 active centres including some small cities who only issued coins during this period. KREMYDI AND IAKOVIDOU (121) studied circulation patterns in Corinth and Athens based on coin finds, comprising both local coins and Roman imperial coins. Regarding specific civic issues, VON MOSCH (123) studied a medallion with the portrait of Antinous, struck in Corinth under the magistrate Hostilios Markellos. KILLEN (117) discussed a coin type from Corinth issued in name of Caracalla, with on its reverse a building that most probably represents the sanctuary of Poseidon. HOSKINS WALBANK (115) used the coin types of civic coins issued during the reign of Hadrian and the Antonines to reconstruct the building programme and architecture of the temple of Palaimon at the sanctuary of Isthmia. KORKA AND LAGOS (118) discussed the civic coinage of the city of Tenea which was limited to the reign of Septimius Severus. The same authors (119) presented the coins found in graves at the excavations of Tenea, including some small civic bronze coins from neighbouring cities. TSAGKALIA (128) analysed a particular coin type from Patrae showing Dionysos on its reverse. VILLEMUR (129) presented some unpublished coins from the small agglomeration of Colonides struck under the Severans, and gave an analysis of the coinage (130). For the region of Megaris, the coinage of the small city of Aigosthenes during the Severan period was the subject of a contribution by KREMYDI AND AMANDRY (120). Regarding the region of Epirus, RINALDI (127) proposed a new interpretation

of a building found at Antigonea as a monetary workshop. For the civic coinage of the Greek islands, LE QUÉRÉ (126) used numismatic data in her historical study of the Cyclades under the Roman Empire, alongside other archaeological, epigraphic and historical sources. CALOMINO (114) presented a study of the civic coins of Corcyra (modern Corfu) from Septimius Severus to Caracalla, identifying three main phases of production and discussing the influence of the transition between workshops on the coin output and quality. POŁOSA (125) studied the coinage struck by the cities of Myrina and Hephaestia in the Northern Aegean island of Lemnos.

Macedonia

Turning to the province of Macedonia, DAUBNER (134) presented an overview of the coinage of the colonies of Pella, Philippi, Dium and Cassandrea, highlighting the particular coin designs of each individual mint. AMANDRY (131) reassessed his own study of the coinage issued for Philippi during the reign of Gallienus, based on the study of 16 new specimens. PAUNOV (136) analysed the very rare bronze coinage of Heraclea Sintica, which was probably issued during the reign of Hadrian and/or Trajan. Regarding coin circulation, the articles by BITRAK AND SEKUNDA (133) and BITRAK, BRILLOWSKI AND SEKUNDA (132) presented the catalogue of the finds from the excavations at Negotina Gradište, respectively during the campaigns of 2009-2011 and 2012. They include *c.* 50 Roman provincial coins mainly from Thessalonica, Stobi and the Macedonian Koinon. KOSMIDOU AND MALAMIDOU (135) discussed the coin finds from the eastern cemetery in Amphipolis, including 124 coins dating to the Roman period. SELKE (137) used a civic coin from the city of Stobi found in Wallersdorf as a starting point for a discussion of the Roman provincial coin finds in Germany.

Thrace and Moesia Inferior

Butcher (143) analysed the value marks and denominational system on 3rd century AD coins of Moesia and Thrace, including the interesting example of a 4 ½ assaria coin from Tomis. For Roman **Thrace** in general, Bricault (142) discussed the presence of the Egyptian god Sarapis on the obverse of the civic coinage, and Nollé (157) did the same for the wine god Dionysos. Boteva (141) analysed the appearance of two face-to-face busts (Gordian III and/or Philip II facing Sarapis/Theos Megas) on the coinage of Marcianopolis, Odessos, Mesambria, Dionysopolis and Tomis between AD 238 and *c.* 249, and suggested a possible interpretation as reference to a political-economic league between these cities. Tachev published type catalogues and analyses of the coinage of Apollonia Pontica (169), Anchialos (170) and Bizye (171). The coinage of Philippopolis was the subject of several publications. In two volumes, Varbanov (173) studied the coinage of this city dating from the reign of Domitian until the reign of Elagabalus. The first volume contains the study of the chronology, coin types and denominations, while the second volume presents the full catalogue. Paunov (159) went further into the start of the provincial coinage at Philippopolis during the reign of Domitian, while Peter (161) studied its pseudo-autonomous coins. The same author also reflected on the coin types of the civic issues in general (164), which showed an interesting interplay between local identity and integration into the Roman Empire. Also the civic coinage of Pautalia was a popular subject. Grozdanova paid attention to the coins issued in name of the emperors (148), readdressed the typical problem of attributing coins to respectively Caracalla or Elagabalus (149), and looked into the civic identity of Pautalia through the medium of coinage (150). Woytek (174 & 175) presented new numismatic evidence for the Thracian governor Asellius Aemilianus through the publication of some unpublished civic coins from the same city. Regarding other Thracian cities, specific iconographic studies on the civic coins from Bizye were published by Amandry (139) and Stoyas (166). Dimova (145) published the catalogue of the 157 provincial bronze coins of Anchialus at the Ancient Nessabar Museum in Bulgaria. Draganov (146) studied the coin types of the coinage of that same city. Peter (162) discusses the authenticity of a medallion from the city of Perinthos, with the portrait of Pupienus.

Turning to **Moesia Inferior**, Peter (163) presented an overview of the so-called pseudo-autonomous coinage, discussing the development of its coin designs. Lazarenko published four volumes on the coinage of Odessos from the reign of Augustus until Gordian III, based on the collections of several Bulgarian museums (153, 154, 155 & 156). Hristova, Höft and Zhekov (152) provided a revised edition of their monograph on the coinage of Nicopolis ad Istrum. Tachev dedicated two volumes (167: analysis and 168: catalogue) to the coinage of Dionysopolis, including the Roman provincial issues. The coinage of this city was also the focus on the article by Calomino (144), who used it as a case-study to discuss some aspects of the coin production in Moesia Inferior during the Severan Age. Peter and Stolba (165) analysed the presence of lighthouses and their connection to the river-god on the coinage of Istros during

the Severan period, including a catalogue of the specimens.

Regarding coin finds and circulation in this region, Tasaklaki (172) studied the monetary circulation and inter-city relations of Topeiros, Abdera, Maroneia, Traianopolis and Plotinopolis based on a statistical analysis of more than 1,200 Roman and provincial coins found in Aegean Thrace. Paunov (158) discussed the c. 3,500 coin finds from the sacred spring of Aquae Calidae, consisting of late Thracian and early Roman issues. Other finds from this region were published by Erol-Özdizbay (147) with a catalogue and analysis of the coins from the excavations at Hadrianopolis (site Edirne Kalesi), including Hellenistic, Roman provincial, Roman imperial, Byzantine and Ottoman material.

For the **Bosporan Kingdom**, Højberg Bjerg (151) presented a new analysis of the coin circulation during the Roman period (49/48 BC to AD 341/342), combining evidence from both single finds and hoards. There were several publications of Bosporan coin hoards, with, for example, Abramzon (138) publishing 109 Bosporan gold coins from the 2nd - early 3rd century AD, found at the settlement of Volna at the Taman peninsula. Bodzek and Madyda-Legutko (140) presented six coins from the Bosporan Kingdom found in Poland. The **Thracian Kingdom** was the subject of a contribution by Paunov (160), who analysed the coinage of the client-king Rhoemetaces I (about 12/11 BC to AD 12/13). His coinage consisted of a considerable series of bronze coins and some rare silver drachms and didrachms, usually showing a combination of both Augustus's and Rhoemetaces's portrait and titulature.

Moesia Superior and Dacia

For **Moesia Superior**, DOYEN (178) analysed a series of coins struck at the provincial mint of Viminacium during the reign of Valerian I and Gallienus bearing the legend IMP [] – PIVS FEL AVG on the obverse, and dated it to the beginning of the year 257, i.e. the last period of production of the mint prior to its transfer to Cologne. VOJVODA AND MRDIĆ (183) dedicated a monograph to the coin finds from the Viminacium Necropolis of Visa Grabalja, consisting of both Roman imperial and provincial coins. STELLA (182) gave an overview of the Viminacium coins found at Aquileia, suggesting that they played a prominent role in supplying bronze coins to the military sites of this territory. MIŠKEC (180) focused on the coins from the same mint found at 33 sites in present-day Slovenia. Turning to the province of **Dacia**, CAVAGNA (176) discussed the dated coinage struck during the 3rd century AD. Regarding coin circulation in the wider region, GĄZDAC (179) discussed hoarding patterns in the Roman provinces of Dacia, Pannonia inferior, Pannonia Superior, Moesia Superior and Moesia Inferior during the 2nd and 3rd century AD. MUNTEANU (181) analysed the Roman coin finds in the “barbarian” territory between the Roman provinces of Dacia and Moesia Inferior, including both hoards and isolated finds. The monetary circulation in the region between Dacia and Pannonia is the subject of a monograph by DOMOCOŞ (177).

Asia Minor

Several contributions focused on specific aspects of Roman provincial coinage for more than one region or **Asia Minor in general**. FILGES (247) published an impressive monograph on the coinage of 14 Roman colonies spread across Asia Minor, i.e. Sinope, Parium, Apamea, Antioch in Pisidia, Lystra, Iconium, Ninica Claudiopolis, Cremna, Alexandria Troas, Comana, Olbasa, Parlais, Germa and Mallus. Based on a corpus of over 8,000 coins, the author especially focused on their designs and showed how their distinctiveness and use functioned as an expression of identity. HOSTEIN (269) approached the theme of city networks and integration in Asia Minor through the information given by the civic coins struck in the AD 240s-250s, and examined the effect of the ‘crisis’ context in which the Roman Empire found itself. WATSON (349) made an impressive contribution to our understanding of the system of coin production and die sharing in southern Asia Minor during the 3rd century AD. Through the study of the civic coinage from Pamphylia, Pisidia and Cilicia – based on a comprehensive die study of more than 6,000 coins – he proposed that shared obverse dies could be the result of loans or sales between cities, whereas stylistic similarities rather point to itinerant die-engravers. Die sharing is also the subject of several articles by the same author, respectively re-examining the connections in the regions of Pamphylia, Pisidia and Cilicia (347), and approaching the production of ‘pseudo-autonomous’ bronze coins from this point of view (348). CALOMINO (214) discussed a die-sharing network across the Hellespont region during the reign of Severus Alexander, and argued that monetary co-operation might have gone hand in hand with relations on a diplomatic and cultural level. Another study on ‘pseudo-autonomous’ coins was presented by HOSTEIN AND MAIRAT (271), who analysed the distribution pattern and the main features of this group struck during the reigns of Decius, Gallus and Aemilian. ÖZTURK (305) focused on the widespread phenomenon of *homonoia* coinage in Asia Minor, commemorating agreements between two cities. Studies on specific iconographical

themes were published by GÜNEY (255), who addressed the possible correlation between earthquakes attested in Asia Minor and the appearance of Poseidon on the coinage, with data from North-Western Asia Minor, Western Asia Minor and Cilicia, and BRICAULT (142), who discusses the appearance of the Egyptian god Sarapis on the obverse of Roman provincial coinage in Asia Minor and Thrace. MARTIN (289) focused on the motif of two clasped hands on civic coins from Amorium, Prynnessus, Laodicea, and Sagalassos, showing the cities' connections to Rome. AMANDRY (186) discussed two series of Roman provincial coins (RPC 5423 and 5448) struck in name of Tiberius but without ethnic, for which the issuing city remains unknown.

HOWGEGO (274) provided a starting point for the discussion of **coin circulation** in Roman Asia Minor, focusing both on low value coins and gold and silver ones. CHAMEROY (221) confronted the data from collections on the one hand and excavation finds on the other in the study of the production and circulation of civic bronze coins, using the cities of Pergamon, Aphrodisias and Ephesos as a case study. He also discussed the circulation of imitations from the Gallic Empire in Western Asia Minor, which were possibly imported through trade with Italy and Egypt (222). Two bibliographies on coin finds during archaeological excavations in Asia Minor were published by ÇIZMELI ÖĞÜN (227) and by ÇIZMELI-ÖĞÜN, ÖZBİL AND YALÇIN (228).

Several articles dealt with **silver coinages** issued in Asia Minor during the Principate. AMANDRY (192) presented a catalogue and a re-examination of the cistophoric coinage of Hadrian struck in Bithynia and Asia, based on the data from RPC III. CALOMINO (217) tackled the question of the mint of the *cistophoroi* issued during the Severan period, proposing Nicaea in Bithynia as production place. BUTCHER (212) analysed the Lycian drachms and fractions dating to the Roman imperial period. He focused more precisely on their occurrence in hoards of *denarii* throughout the empire, arguing that they were circulating at the same value given their similar size, style, weight and silver content. On silver issues issued at the civic level, AMANDRY (185) presented a group of coins struck during the reign of Hadrian in the cities of Aegeae, Seleukeia, Tarsus and Mopsus, which can be linked to imperial visits and civic expenditures. HAYMANN (258) focused specifically on the silver coins struck at Aegeae during this reign, adding 410 new coins to the corpus and presenting a supplement to the existing die-study, a couple of new types, and metallurgical and metrological data for each issue.

For the production of Roman provincial bronzes in the province of **Bithynia-Pontus**, DALAISON (229) focused on the attestations of the Roman imperial cult on civic coinage from Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Pontus and Armenia Minor, and discussed the small set of pseudo-autonomous coinage struck in the same region (230). Also for northern Asia Minor, DALAISON AND RÉMY (234) focused on some distinctive features in the imperial titles on the coinage of 18 cities, including the absence of standard titles, the presence of certain titles before they were officially attributed, or the presence of *cognomina* unknown in the Roman imperial coinage. Moreover, both the empresses Messalina and Octavia and Hadrian's favourite Antinous occur on coins in these regions, although they never made it to the obverses of the official Roman imperial coinage. DALAISON AND FERRIÈS (233) discussed the coinage struck by the colonies of Apameia and Sinope during the reign of Augustus. SAUER (315) compared the civic coin production from the cities of Amaseia, Komana, Pompeiopolis, Neokaisareia, Neoklaudiopolis, Nikopolis, Sebasteia, Sebastopolis and Zela, studying various aspects like chronology, volume of production, circulation, denominations and coin types. Focusing on the region of Bithynia, DEVECIOĞLU (237) presented the study of the civic coins from Iuliopolis struck during the Roman imperial period from the reign of Vespasian until Gallienus, especially focusing on the coin designs of the coinage. GÜNEY published new specimens struck by the city of Nicomedia from several public collections (254 & 256), and a case-study of the *homonioia* coinage struck for the same city and Smyrna, Laodicea, Pergamon and Perinthus (257). NOLLÉ (302) focused on the significance of the cult of Artemis on the coinage of Prusa ad Olympum, showing the influence of Artemis Ephesia. SPOERRI-BUTCHER (321) published a coin without an imperial portrait from Heraclea Pontica dating to the mid 3rd century AD, found in a funerary context in Kerch (Crimea). TÜRKÖĞLU (339) presented the catalogue and analysis of the civic coins from Chalcedon issued during the Greek and Roman period (Tiberius – Gordian III). VON MOSCH (293) focused on the series of bronze medallions struck by the city of Bithynion-Klaudiopolis after the death of its native Antinous. ZAJAÇ published two studies on the reign of Trajan: (352) discussed the similarities between the imperial coinage and some Roman provincial issues, both for the obverse and reverse types. (353) argued for an attribution of 9 groups of coins to Nicaea, Prusias and Amastris. Turning to the region of Paphlagonia, BRICAULT AND DELRIEUX (206) studied the hitherto largely unknown mint and history of

Gangra-Germanicopolis, a city that knew a rather elaborate coin production during the Severan dynasty. The monograph contains a total of 188 coins from public collections, numismatic literature and auction catalogues, and presents more than 40 unpublished pieces. Two addenda to this work were published soon afterwards, adding some new types and specimens (207 & 195). DALAISON, DELRIEUX AND FERRIÈS (232) gave an overview of the history and coinage of Abônoteichos-Ionopolis, with intermittent issues from the reign of Trajan until Trebonianus Gallus. For the **Pontus** region, AMANDRY (189) discussed the rare coinage struck in name of Trajan at the city of Megalopolis Sebasteia, adding two unpublished series. BURNETT (209) identified an unknown piece from Zela in the collection of the British Museum, and suggested that the coin may have been struck in connection with a hitherto unknown visit by Caracalla to the East in AD 207. DALAISON AND DELRIEUX (231) gathered all information on the history, geography and coin production at Neoclaudiopolis, with civic bronzes from the reign of Trajan until the reign of Septimius Severus. WOJAN (350) offered an update to his 2006 catalogue of coins from Trapezus, adding 5 new specimens.

Regarding coin circulation and use in the province, ARSLAN (198) presented a group of Roman imperial *denarii*, *antoniniani* and civic bronze coins found in burial contexts at Iuliopolis, which might have served as Charon's obols. Another overview on the coin finds of this necropolis was published by DEVECIOĞLU (238). GÜNEY (251) analyzed the presence of civic coins from Nicomedia in hoards, excavation finds and museum collections. The same author (252) used numismatic evidence alongside historical and epigraphic sources to discuss the economic relations and connectivity between Nicomedia and the Western Black Sea coast under the Roman Principate. CALOMINO (216) addressed the presence of civic bronzes from Bithynia in the Balkan peninsula during the late Severan period and beyond. Through the study of coin finds and archaeological data from modern Serbia and Romania, he was able to define a specific group of Bithynian coins that was intentionally minted for circulation in this region. VOJVODA AND CRNOBRNJA (343) discussed the coinage from the Bithynian mint of Nicaea found in present-day Serbia. LENGER AND ATASOY (286) gave an overview of the 173 coins found during the 2009-2021 excavations at Thios in Bithynia, including 23 civic coins.

For the **province of Asia**, BENNETT (202) published an impressive monograph on the interaction between the civic elites and the coinage they issued, which often displayed their eponymes. In several chapters, he outlined the activities and functions of the local elites in the civic government, presented the current state of the debate on coin eponymes, analysed the numismatic data from Laodikeia (Phrygia) and Thyateira (Lydia), and showed how coins were used as media to express civic pride and self-glorification by the local elites. Another overarching study on Asia was presented by AMANDRY (190), who analyzed a number of coins reminiscent of the proclamation of Caracalla as *augustus*. The pseudo-autonomous coinage of the province was the subject of an article by SPOERRI-BUTCHER (320), who investigated a series issued in the name of the Senate and linked them to specific denominations and the workshop system. Regarding coin circulation, CARBONE (219) discussed epigraphic attestations of imperial *denarii* in the province of Asia between 133 BC and AD 96.

For **Troas**, NOLLÉ (300) used civic coinage to address the mythic traditions in the Propontis region, and showed how it was considered as a border and barrier zone between the continents of Europe and Asia. After an overview of the ancient history of the perception of this border region, he discussed civic coins showing Io, Dardanos, Aeneas, Alexander the Great and Hero and Leander among others. The Roman colony of Alexandria Troas was a very popular area of research. BURNETT AND MARTIN (210) argued for the attribution of an early imperial series of bronze coins to the city (Augustus – Tiberius – Claudius), based on evidence from coin finds and iconographic similarities with later issues. ESCH (244) focused on the wider context of the coin production during the reign of Vespasian. LUCHELLI (287) presented a new type struck at the colony under Commodus, showing a ploughing scene on the reverse. A coin from Alexandria Troas from the reign of Maximinus Thrax showing the emperor riding a *biga* pulled by oxen, is the subject of a study by BOSSMANN (203). ÇİZMELİ ÖĞÜN (225) used the coins with the depiction of the cult statue of Apollo Smintheus to discuss the god's sanctuary in the city. Two publications focused on die-links of Alexandria Troas: HOSTEIN AND MAIRAT (272) analysed some unpublished links from the 3rd century AD based on the material from RPC IX. HOSTEIN (267) tackled the question of the dating of the anonymous issues from the colony, using die links with coins issued during the reign of Valerian and Gallienus. BURSCHE AND MYZGIN (211) discussed a series of gold coins struck by the Goths in their homeland, using the dies and possibly also tools and mint-workers plundered from the mint of Alexandria Troas. HOSTEIN (268) continued this study, discussing the 'barbarian' gold imitations of civic coins.

Regarding other cities in this region, AMANDRY (187) focused on some coins struck in Ilium in name of Commodus Caesar, all reflecting the Trojan identity of the city. STOYAS (322) studied the civic coins from Abydos showing Alexander the Great crossing the Hellespont, struck during the reign of Commodus and also during the first part of the 3rd century AD. NOLLÉ (299: '13') focused on the same iconographic scene, especially for the series of medallions struck at the city during the reign of Maximinus Thrax. The second part of this contribution (299: '14') analysed a coin from Antandros issued under Severus Alexander, depicting Aeneas leaving the Troad. HOSTEIN (270) presented a coin from Dardanos issued in the name of Geta from the BnF collection, with a retouched ethnic on the reverse. WARTENBERG (344) studied a small bronze coin from Skepsis struck during the reign of Trajan. Surprisingly, a Hellenistic die from the city's coinage was reused for the reverse of this limited series, of which only three specimens are known. LENGER (284) discussed in detail a new medallion struck in name of Commodus for the city of Assos, found in a small cistern in the agora. On coin circulation in the Troas region, ÇIZMELI ÖĞÜN (226) studied the hoards buried around the mid. 3rd century AD, arguing for a link to the invasion of Anatolia by the Goths. The same author (224) uses the Smintheion hoard to analyse the movement of the civic issues from Alexandria Troas in the Mediterranean. ESCH (244) added some notes on a hoard that was found in the same city at the site of the forum. LENGER (285) presented an overview of the 228 Greek and Roman provincial coins that were found at Assos during the 1985-2005 campaigns.

Turning to **Mysia**, the Roman colony of Parion was studied by KELEŞ, OYARÇIN AND YILMAZ (278), with a focus on the coin types and the presence of magistrates' names on the civic coinage. Regional circulation patterns were analyzed for the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman Imperial period based on the site finds from the same city (277). TEKIN AND EROL-ÖZDIZBAY dedicated two articles to the coin finds from Allianoi near Pergamon, respectively from the 2000 and 2001 campaign (335 & 336). For Aeolis, BRICAULT (205) studied the presence of Isis, Sarapis and Harpocrates on the coinage of Aegae from the reign of Vespasian until the reign of Severus Alexander. Several studies were published for the city of Kyme. CACCAMO CALTABIANO, CARROCCIO AND PUGLISI (213) presented the coin finds of the Italian excavations, including Greek, Roman imperial, Roman provincial and Byzantine coins. Moreover, the article discussed the coin designs and metrology of Kyme's civic coins, in comparison to similar coin types in the region. Another contribution on the coin finds was published by CARROCCIO *et al.* (220). PUGLISI (311) presented an iconographical study of the civic coinage of Kyme from the reign of Nero until the reign of Gallienus. Also for Aeolis, AMANDRY *et al.* (196) published an unknown coin type from Elaea, found in a monetary depot together with some imperial pieces during excavations in Reims (France). For the island of Lesbos, HILTMANN (262) presented a coin struck in name of Mytilene (probably) during the reign of Antoninus Pius, showing a local female citizen on the obverse. EROL-ÖZDIZBAY (242) studied the coin finds of Pordosilene/Poroselene, a city situated on one of the Hekatonnesoi Islands located between Asia Minor and Lesbos. Next to the Classical and Hellenistic coinage, she identified eight types of Roman provincial coins struck during the 2nd and 3rd century AD in name of the city.

There have been a number of important contributions for the region of **Lydia**. HOCHARD, BLET-LEMARQUAND AND BAUX (264) questioned the existence of a central workshop for the *conventus* of Lydia between the reign of Commodus and the reign of Philip I, based on both die links and metal composition. HOCHARD, BLET-LEMARQUAND AND SIGOT (265) addressed the issue of the end of the Roman provincial coinage in the region through the data obtained from metal analyses. Moreover, several articles focused on the coinage of specific Lydian cities. ALTINOLUK (184) presented a unique coin from Hypaipa in Lydia, and identified the image of a priest on the reverse as a reproduction of a fire ritual taking place in the city's cult for Artemis described by Pausanias. AMANDRY (191) examined the sharing of a die of Septimius Severus by the cities of Akrasos and Thyatira in Lydia and Pergamon in Mysia, with the addition of another reverse type in AMANDRY (194). The same author (193) analysed a number of coins struck in Attaleia during the reign of Septimius Severus. BARBARA (201) discussed a unique issue from Maeonia struck in name of the local archon Quintus II for Marcus Aurelius, which shows Demeter in a biga on its reverse. Moreover, the countermark of a Victory on the obverse dating to *c.* AD 217 suggest that the coin was in circulation for a long time. CALOMINO (215) questioned the use of imperial portraits by provincial workshops, focusing on a coin series from Tralles in Lydia. The coins show the personification of the Senate as a veiled female bust, and is clearly similar to the portrait of Caecilia Paulina, wife of Maximinus I Thrax. These typical characteristics also occur on some anonymous bronze coins and on some series showing the personification of the Boule, suggesting the depersonalization of Paulina's portrait. CLARK

(223) examined the renaming of Philadelphia Neocaesarea using numismatic evidence, which made it possible to date this to the reign of Tiberius. Another contribution on Philadelphia was published by MARTIN (290), who presented an unknown coin type showing the mythological figure Scylla on its reverse and alluding to a *homonoia* with Smyrna.

There have been several contributions on the coinage of Sardis. EVANS (245) studied some provincial coin types from the excavations at the city to address the problem of the Third Neokorate of the city. She also discussed the presence of Kore/Artemis on the 2nd century AD coinage, linking it to the Second Sophistic and the interest in reviving ancient local history (246). Also STRASSER (323) focused on the civic coins from the reign of Elagabalus attesting to the Third Neokorate and to the worship of Helios / Sol and Kore. HEUCHERT (261) focused on two coins from a series issued by the Ionian ‘Koinon of the Thirteen Cities’ – probably centred on Sardis – during the reign of Antoninus Pius. The coins bear the name of Marcus Claudius Fronto, a member of the local government. After a brief overview of the series, he presented one type with tooled reverse legend and one forgery. HOCHARD (263) analysed a provincial coin struck under Titus in the collection of the BnF, and argues for an attribution to the mint of Sardis, but does not believe it to be a *homonoia* coin. Also for this city, VON MOSCH (294) discussed a new medallion with the portrait of Antinous on the obverse.

METCALF (291) analysed the coin issues of Themenotyrae struck during the reign of Valerian I and Gallienus, with a short discussion of the chronology, die and style links with other cities and some iconographic themes. NOLLÉ (298) discussed the coinage of the small city of Mastaura, linking its coin designs to mythological traditions. SAVIO (316) presented an unpublished coin from Thyatira struck in name of Severus Alexander from the collection of the Bibliotheca Oliveriana di Pesaro (Italy). TANRIÖVER (329) examined an anonymous civic coin from Philadelphia with Demos on the obverse and a panther on the reverse, suggesting a link with the Dionysos cult. ÖZBİL (303) presented an overview of the coin finds from the excavations at Nysa from the 1992-2012 campaigns, comprising Hellenistic, Roman imperial and provincial, Byzantine and Islamic coins.

Turning to **Ionía**, KARWIESE (276) published an important volume including die studies, metrological analyses and supplementary commentary on the civic coinage of Ephesos. The monograph supplements the catalogue of the collection kept at the Institut für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte in Vienna, which he published in 2012. KARASCH (275) presented a Roman provincial coin struck in name of Antoninus Pius, mentioning the second Neokoros of Smyrna on its reverse but most probably struck in Ephesos. NOLLÉ (301) reflected on the rare presence of Okeanos on the coins from the city. SCHACHINGER presented the coin finds from the theatre in Ephesos in two articles (317 & 319), and also published an overview and contextual analysis of coin circulation in the city from the Hellenistic until the Byzantine period (318). For Samos, EHLING AND SELKE (240) discussed a coin dating to the reign of Gallienus from the collection of the Staatliche Münzsammlung in Munich, which was probably found on the island by the archaeologist Ernst Buschor. HOSTEIN AND MAIRAT (273) focused on the civic coinage of Colophon from the mid 3rd century AD, discussing several aspects like coin designs, names and titles of local magistrates, and civic-imperial relationships. WOYTEK (351) presented the first known coin with the portrait of Domitian from the city of Metropolis. The coin finds from Smyrna (campaigns 2008-2012) were catalogued and analysed by ERSOY, ÖNDER AND TURAN (243).

Regarding the region of **Caria**, DELRIEUX (235) studied a coin series from Mylasa issued during the reign of Hadrian. The coins mention the name of Iulius Damianus, who supposedly paid for the production of the series. The same author (236) published the Roman provincial coins issued in name of the city of Iasos found during the excavations of the site. ELVERS (241) reflected on a bronze coin of Alabanda, and suggested an alternative identification of the facing portraits on the obverse as Tiberius and Livia, while the reverse might show Drusus Minor, Tiberius and Germanicus Caesar. REQUIER (312) discussed an anonymous civic type from the city of Cos, featuring Heracles and Hera and probably dating to the 230s AD. TÜRKÖĞLU (340) compiled a catalogue of the Roman provincial coinage of Keramos, based on publications, local museum collections and some private collections. A preliminary rapport on the site finds – including Roman provincial coins – from Stratonikeia (campaigns 2008-2014) was published by TEK, KÖKER AND SARIIZ (333).

Turning to the **province of Lycia-Pamphylia**, TEK AND SANCAKTAR (334) discussed a coin type from Arykanda struck during the reign of Gordian III, showing an unknown depiction of Kakasbos and the main source of the Arykandos river on its reverse. On the coin circulation at this city, SANCAKTAR (314) published an article on the finds from the bathing complex, including Roman provincial material. Also for Lycia, TEK (331) studied the rare Roman

provincial coinage from Podalia struck in name of Gordian III and Tranquillina. BULUT AND ŞENGÜL (208) presented the coins found during the excavation campaigns of 2009-2012 at Andriake, including Hellenistic, Roman imperial, Roman provincial and Byzantine coins. In Pamphylia, BRICAULT (204) analysed the appearance of the Egyptian gods Sarapis, Isis and Harpocrates on the coinage of Aspendos. Their abundant presence suggest that they were deeply rooted in the civic pantheon, and some issues representing Sarapis in front of an altar or within a temple might point to the existence of a public cult space for this deity – and possibly his family – in the city. ÜNAL (342) presented a study on the civic bronze coinage from Magydos (Tiberius – Gallienus). The author compiled a type catalogue (including 13 unpublished types), and analysed the coin types, denominations, numerals and circulation. TEK AND KÖKER (332) mentioned an unpublished bronze coin from Side struck in the name of Commodus kept at the Side Archaeological Museum. Another new type from the same city was published by GREIF (250), dating to the reign of Caracalla and showing a galley on its reverse. Furthermore, HOLLSTEIN (266) presented a new *homonoia* coin struck during the reign of Valerian I in name of Attaleia and Side. WATSON (346) discussed an apparent case of die-sharing between the city of Perge and Laranda in Lycaonia for the reign of Philip I, but argued for a so-called phantom-link created by the modern tooling of the reverse legend. For coin finds in the region, WATSON (345) published a hoard from John Mossop's collection which is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum. The hoard consists of 72 civic bronzes dating from the reign of Caracalla until the reign of Aurelian, including coins from Perge (36), Aspendos (2), Attaleia (1), Magydos (2), Sillyon (1) and Selge (1). TEK (330) presented a preliminary analysis of the coin finds from Side found during the excavations between 1947-2015, including 281 Roman provincial coins.

The **province of Galatia** was a popular area of study during the last years. Regarding the region of Phrygia, MAIRAT (288) studied the coins struck by the Roman colony of Apamea from Septimius Severus until Elagabalus, including a full catalogue. He discussed the first appearance of the famous reverse showing the arch of Noah, and showed how a number of coins probably represent Elagabalus instead of Caracalla. NOLLÉ (296) presented a case-study on two coins from Kadoi to show how the designs of local coins can help us to understand the mythical traditions of a city. MISSERE FONTANA (292) resumed a 18th century discussion on the authenticity of a medallion with the portrait of Annia Faustina struck in occasion of games held in her honour in Laodiceia. KERSCHBAUM (279) studied the cult of Apollo in his different forms in Hierapolis, combining numismatic and epigraphic data. Also for this city, CAMILLERI (218) discussed some aspects on the coin circulation, based on the more than 3,000 coin finds dating from the Hellenistic to the Seljuq Era. TRAVAGLINI AND CAMILLERI presented a general overview of the monetary finds (337) and gave an analysis of the coins found in funerary contexts in the same city, including Roman provincial ones (338). The coinage of Iconium in the region of Lycaonia was the subject of the article by VON MOSCH (295), who studied the coin designs of Perseus and Andromeda on the reverses in comparison to statuary examples.

Turning to the mountains of **Pisidia**, KÖKER (283) gave an overview of the civic coins struck by the Roman colonies of Antiochia, Komama, Kremna, Olbasa and Parlais. ASHTON (200) listed the Roman provincial coins from various cities in the region kept at the Archaeological Museums of Afyon Karahisar and Fethiye, with respectively 154 and 66 specimens. NOLLÉ (294) studied a common image on the civic coinage of Selge, showing the main sanctuary of the city, and reflects on the possible identification of the two pictured 'rods'. STROOBANTS (321) presented a regional analysis of coin production in 3rd century Pisidia and Pamphylia and proposed some possible explanations for coin production based on a number of case-studies. TALLOEN, STROOBANTS AND DEGRYSE (324) combined archaeological, geological and numismatic data from the cities of Seleukeia, Selge and Sagalassos to illustrate the popularity of Hephaistos in Pisidia, and showed how his presence on the civic coinage can probably be linked to production of arms to supply the army. For the city of Sagalassos, POBLOME, TALLOEN AND VANDAM (304) used two coin types with an image of Demeter on the reverse as a starting point for a discussion of the agricultural evolutions and polis-chora integration in the region during the 2nd and 3rd century AD. STROOBANTS (322) reflected on everyday coin use at that same city and its territory during the Roman period, based on historical and archaeological data and a contextual analysis of the coin finds. DÖNMEZ-ÖZTURK (241) presented a series of coins struck in name of Termessos and kept in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, dating to the Hellenistic and Roman imperial period. KÖKER (281) analysed the Roman provincial coinage from the city of Komama struck between the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Trajan Decius, discussing its reverse designs and legends, denominational system, volume of production and countermarks. Regarding coin circulation, TÜTÜNCÜ (338) used the coin finds from several Pisidian sites, hoards, and relevant museum collections to

study the communication between cities. SANCAKTAR (313) presented the material found at Pisidian Antioch during the 2008-12 campaigns, including Greek and Roman civic coins, Roman imperial coins and Byzantine coins, and confronted the material with the data from Sagalassos. KÖKER (281) provided an overview of the coin finds from Seleukeia Sidera, including 14 provincial coins.

Regarding **Cappadocia**, GANSCHOW (248 & 249) published a re-examination of the coinage of the Cappadocian Kingdom and the cities of Caesarea, Tyana and Hierapolis am Samos, based on recent publications and new material from the private collection of Detlev Henseler.

For the **province of Cilicia**, HAYMANN (259) presented a full catalogue of the civic coinage of Aegae, and used this material for a historical study of the city, with special attention to the construction of identity. An update and some corrections to this contribution was published in HAYMANN (260), adding 4 new coin types. AMANDRY (188) identified two unpublished coins from Zephyrium struck during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and reattributed a third one to Commodus. AMANDRY AND VILLEMUR (197) discussed two coins in the collection of the Bibliothèque municipale de Versailles, respectively struck in Tarsus during the reign of Commodus and at Anazarbus under Alexander Severus. Also for Tarsus, PERA (306) discussed a type representing Tyche and the river god Knidos, and ÖZDEMİR (304) analysed the coin designs of deities and personifications on the civic coinage. GÜNEY (253) investigated a coin from the collection of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, and suggested an attribution to Anchiale instead of Soloi-Pompeiopolis. TAHERER (326) argued for the attribution of a series of bronze coins struck under Claudius in the name of Caesarea to Mopsuestia, based on clear similarities of the coin types with the other coinage of that city. Regarding coin circulation, POLOSA (308, 309 & 310) presented short overviews of the coins found at Elaiussa Sebaste, including Roman provincial coins. ARSLAN AND POLOSA (199) discussed a hoard probably uncovered in the area of that same city, which contains some Roman provincial coins from Cilician cities next to late-Hellenistic issues.

Turning to the **province of Armenia**, KOVACS (283) discussed a small series of bronze coins struck in name of Artaxias III – client-king in the reign of Tiberius – and identifies a number of hitherto unidentifiable coins as imitations of these types. TAMEANKO (328) discussed the coin series issues under the Herodian kings of Armenia, i.e. from Tigranes V until Tigranes VI.#

Syria and the East

Regarding general studies for this area, NURPETLIAN (400) gave an overview of the pseudo-autonomous coinage struck in the Levant, which was rather rare but showed a great diversity in appearance and size. The article by OLIVIER AND AUMAÎTRE (402) described monetary development in the Levant during the reign of Mark Antony and Cleopatra, arguing that the monetary production of the cities in this region seems to point to a politic of reorganization and order.

For the precious metal coin production in the province of **Syria**, NURPETLIAN delivered full studies of the tetradrachms struck at both the mint of Damascus (398) and Emesa (401) during the reign of Caracalla. SANCINITO (404) presented a die-study of 150 tetradrachms struck at Antioch during the reign of Trajan Decius, and argued that this coinage was struck pay the Syrian troops. AWIANOWICZ (356) explored some peculiarities in the legends of *aurei* and *denarii* struck in Syria during the reigns of Vespasian and Titus, such as untypical letter shapes, omissions, interchanging or fragmentary etchings of characters. Regarding the civic coinages, BUTCHER (364) offered an analysis of 31 small bronze coins probably struck in Laodicea during the reign of Domitian in 84/85 AD, and studied the representations of temples and sanctuaries on the civic coinage of Heliopolis (366). LICHTENBERGER (393) analyzed the rare orientation of Elagabalus facing left on the coinage of Abila and some other Syrian cities, probably linked to the identification of the emperor with the sun god. HENDIN AND BACHAR (387) reattributed a bronze coin showing a temple on the reverse to Gaba, which was previously thought to be issued by Herod Agrippa I. FARHI AND BACHAR (381) presented two unknown bronze coins from Iamneia dating to the early Roman period, and suggested assigning a third type – traditionally attributed to Gaza - to this same city.

For **Phoenicia**, several studies have been published on the coinage of Roman Tyre. HIRT (388) provided a survey of the reverse designs of Tyrian civic bronzes from the 1st until the mid 3rd century AD, and more specifically focused on the presentation of foundation myths and their intended audience. BIIOVSKY (361) discussed some rare coin types dating to the 2nd and 3rd century AD, depicting a building façade, Europa and the bull, and Cadmus and clasped hands. BUTCHER (367) studied a type dating to the reign of Philip I and argues that the reverse type refers to a nearby water source. Two contributions focus on Demetrias (by the Sea): FARHI AND BESSARABOV (383) presented some unpublished

types and reviewed the entire civic bronze coinage of the city. BESSARABOV AND FARHI (358) focused on an unknown countermark and suggested a link to Mark Antony. The Greek and Roman provincial coinage from Dora is the subject of the work by MOTTA (397). This monograph mainly focused on the designs and epigraphy of the coins, and used this material to study the political and socio-cultural evolution of the city. KROPP (391) studied the coin designs of Tyche on the civic bronzes of Berytus, which helps us to understand the cultural and religious life of Roman Phoenicia. SHAICK (407) analysed the presence of the figures of Heracles and Perseus on the Roman provincial coinage of 'Akko-Ptolemais.

Regarding **Roman Palestine**, FARHI (370) analyzed die sharing and other links between different mints in the south of this region during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, mainly between Gaza and Raphia. LICHTENBERGER (394) focuses on architectural depictions of temples on the civic coins from Palestine, with examples from Antipatris, Caesarea Maritima, Caesarea Philippi, Dora, Hippos, Neapolis, Nysa-Scythopolis, Samaria-Sebaste and Sepphoris. FARHI (371) described an unpublished coin type of Gaza dated 52/51 BC which apparently bears the portrait of Cleopatra VII, alongside with two other coin types struck during this year. He also discussed the presence of Io and Minos on the Roman provincial coinage of this city (374), and showed how civic coins from Gaza were used as flans for Bar Kokhba overstrikes (372). The same author published an overview of the coinage of Diospolis during the Roman period (375). BAR-NATHAN AND BIJOVSKY (357) discussed a coin struck in the name of Hadrian depicting the foundation of Colonia Aelia Capitolina, linking it to the emperor's visit to the city and the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba revolt. FARHI (376) proposed the reattribution of a series 40 types of provincial tetradrachms with Dionysian motifs from Aelia Capitolina to Nysa-Scythopolis. SANDBERG (405) gave some thoughts on the pseudo-autonomous coins of Flavia Neapolis and presented a new view on the coinage of the same city struck under Philip I, linking it to a civic festival (406). BIJOVSKY (359) attributed an unknown coin type showing a nursing woman, found during excavations in Sepphoris, to Caesarea Paneas. MANSFIELD (396) discussed the coin types of the coins struck in name of Antipatris during the reign of Elagabalus, which shows a clear connection to the worship of the Yarkon River. LE BLANC (362) reconsidered the presence of mythological founders on the coinage of Ascalon during the late Hellenistic and Roman period, focusing on the Lydian generals Moxos and Ascalus and the local goddess Derceto. PORTO (403) studied the provincial coinages at the western and eastern margins of the empire, i.e. from Iberia and Palestine, with a focus on two coins from Caesarea respectively struck by Herod Agrippa II and during the reign of Hadrian.

For **Mesopotamia**, LE BLANC (363) analysed the designs of some 3rd century AD coin series from Edessa, Carrhae and Rhessaena, depicting Marsyas, Aquarius or a local deity. For Edessa, DANDROW (369) examined the typology, dies and coin types of a series of small bronze coins issued during the reign of Caracalla, bearing Latin legends. He also added persuasive arguments to firmly assign the coinage to this city instead of Carrhae. CALOMINO (368) studied a series of gold and silver coins from the early reign of Elagabalus, most probably also struck in Edessa, with special attention of the historical framework in which they were produced. Regarding Arabia, WOYTEK AND BUTCHER (409) analysed a series of provincial silver coins struck during the reign of Trajan for circulation in the region, showing one or two camels on the reverse. The article offers a catalogue of the series, followed by an analysis of weights and die-axis, the chronology, typology, style, and possible mint. LICHTENBERGER (395) introduced a new coin type from the city of Dion in the Decapolis, struck in name of Septimius Severus and showing a river god on its reverse. For the city of Gerasa, KAPLUN (390) assigned a coin to Crispina instead of Faustina II, and presented a new example of a rare coin type with Artemis on its reverse struck during the reign of Elagabalus (389). The same author (390) was also able to reattribute some civic coins from the region to the cities of Bostra, Petra and Epidaurus in Achaea.

Some important studies on hoards and site finds of Roman provincial material were published for Syria and the East. The publications listed here represent only a selection. SYON (408) mapped the distribution and circulation of small change throughout the region of Galilee during the Hellenistic and Roman periods (300 BC – AD 260) based on coin material from c. 250 sites, including civic and provincial coinage, Nabatean coins and coins from the First Jewish Revolt. GOLDMAN (385) discussed the patterns in silver hoards in Roman Palestine between AD 73 and 300, with both imperial and provincial origins. BIJOVSKY (360) presented the finds from the Roman village of Wadi Hammam, two kilometers west of the Sea of Galilee, including isolated coins and three hoards with a large share of provincial coinage. FARHI (373) listed and analyzed more than 600 numismatic finds from Khirbet Qeiyafa, including local coins from several centres. Also new coin finds from Tel Hebron were published (377, 378 & 382) including a number of

civic issues. ARIEL AND BLOVSKY (354) presented and discussed the almost 1,000 coin finds from the excavations at Sepphoris. A heterogeneous hoard excavated at the Nesher-Ramla quarry in Central Israel with material dating from the Hellenistic period until the 2nd century AD is presented by FARHI AND MELAMED (384) and FARHI (379). Isolated finds from this site can be found in 379 & 380. ARIEL AND SOKOLOV (355) offered the catalogue and analysis of a hoard found at Kafr Bara in central-Israel deposited during the 3rd century AD, composed of 78 Roman provincial tetrachms, 15 *denarii* and a possible *antoninianus*. NURPETLIAN (399) discussed a hoard of 42 tetrachms with unknown findspot, circulating on the Beirut market. The hoard consists of 42 silver coins from the reign of Nero until the reign of Trajan, struck in Antioch, Tyre and Arabia. Two contributions focus on the coin finds from Assur in Mesopotamia. HEIDEMANN AND BUTCHER (386) presented the complete overview of the coins found during the excavations at the city dating from Achaemenids to the Nineteenth Century, with a separate catalogue and discussion of the Roman provincial specimens. A shorter overview of these finds is given by BUTCHER (365). For Petra in Arabia, LAUWERS (392) discussed the monetary circulation based on the coin finds, including a small number of civic issues dating to the 2nd and 3rd century AD.

Egypt

Several publications were dedicated to the coinage of Alexandria. SAVIO AND CAVAGNA (416) offered detailed remarks on the work by PICARD *et al.* (415) on the bronze coins of the city, with some pages (pp. 301-308) dedicated to the Roman provincial issues. TRAVAGLINI (423) presented an overview of the 294 Alexandrian coins at the Archaeological Museum of Bari (Italy), dating to the reign of Augustus until Constantius Caesar. STAFFIERI studied several specific series of Alexandrian coinage. A first article (419) focused on the presence of Livia on a small number of bronze coins, referring to her as partner of Augustus rather than empress. Furthermore, he analysed a type depicting the temple of Horus at Edfu struck during the reign of Trajan (420), and discussed the coin type of the fountain of Trajan on the coinage struck during the reigns of Domitian and Marcus Aurelius (418). Two more of his publications were devoted to specific features of the Alexandrian coinage (421 & 422). HUBER (116) analysed some new coin types that can be linked to Nero's visit in the years 66/67 AD, struck by different cities in Greece and Alexandria. MARTIN (414) studied the coin design of an altar – probably for Agathos Daimon – on drachms issued during the reign of Hadrian and the Antonines, and links its presence on the coinage to the cult of Antinous. VANEERDEWEGH (424) presented a study of the series of Alexandrian coins from the reign of Antoninus Pius showing Zodiac imagery, and analysed their context of ancient astrological practice and the possible connection with the Sothic cycle. The link between this same Sothic cycle and the presence of the scorpion on the Alexandrian coinage during the Antonine period, was the subject of the contribution by ZANOVELLO (425). For the Nomes coinage, LUCHELLI (413) discussed a type from Ombitos struck in name of Hadrian, which was mentioned and drawn in a 19th century letter.

Regarding coin circulation and use, LEROUXEL (412) offered an insight into the use of coinage on the countryside Roman Egypt during the 1st – 3rd centuries AD, using two private archives of papyri from the village of Tebtynis is the Arsinoite nome. SAVIO AND CAVAGNA (417) used evidence from hoards and isolated finds to evaluate the role of imperial gold coinage within the monetary system of Roman Egypt. ASOLATI (410) presented a preliminary report of the coin finds from the Kom al-Ahmer/Kom Wasit Archaeological Project near Alexandria. This overview comprises *c.* 600 coins found during the 2012-15 campaigns, including Ptolemaic, Roman provincial, Roman imperial and Byzantine pieces. CASTRIZIO (411) studied a hoard of bronze coins struck during the reign of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, found in a funerary context during the excavations at Antinoöpolis.

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VOLUME II

4. MEDIEVAL AND MODERN COINAGES

INTRODUCTION

Mateusz Bogucki and Jérôme Jambu

This section covers medieval and modern coinages of Europe, America, Africa, and Oceania. It is divided into 27 chapters written by 37 authors. Unfortunately, three colleagues, who agreed to participate in compiling the *Survey* did not submit their texts. So, Hungary, the Low Countries and Spanish America are missing. We nearly could not find an author for the ‘Merovingian Kingdom’ as well. It is much to our regret that these important countries are not covered by this *Survey*. The main difference of the current *Survey* from the previous ones is the authors’ selections regarding the number of numismatic publications. To be sure, Internet access to library holdings and specialist databases makes the creation of a complete list not only impossible, but also pointless. Therefore, the main task of the authors was to select the most important publications in their opinion and to make a critical presentation. However, this task was sometimes very difficult because of the general COVID-19 situation between 2020 and 2021, which restricted mobility and made physical access to libraries difficult. Despite these difficulties and thanks to the efforts of the contributing authors, the *Survey* texts are of very good quality. We would like to underscore that in each contribution the journal abbreviations used are specified only if they do not occur in the abbreviations list offered by the ANS’s library homepage (See online: <http://numismatics.org/Library/Abbreviations>).

There are a number of publications for Northern and the Eastern Europe that in our opinion deserve special attention. For Denmark (MOESGAARD’s Part) HORSNÆS, MOESGAARD and MÄRCHER (48) provide an excellent overview of the functioning of money from the earliest times to the present day. For Norway, a comparative study of *Commercialisation and urbanisation c. 986–1448* between Denmark and Norway by GUNDERSEN (31) and a collective volume on *Money and the Church in Medieval Europe, 1000-1200* edited by GASPER and GULLBEKK (13) are worth mentioning. For Sweden *Divina Moneta – Coins in Religion and Ritual* examines coins as part of ritual and religious practices (BURSTRÖM MYRBERG et al. 16). For the Baltic Countries (LEIMUS’s Part), a very impressive volume was published by GRIMALAUSKAITĖ and REMECAS (20, 21) on Lithuania, but the book by LEIMUS, KIUDSOO and HALJAK (52) on Estonia is also worth mentioning. For Poland (BOGUCKI and ŚNIEŻKO’s part), a critical five volumes were published in the series *Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Polen*, edited by BOGUCKI, ILISCH and SUCHODOLSKI, where all the finds from all over Poland from around 650–1150 were gathered (47–51). For Czechia and Slovakia (ZAORAL, MILITKÝ, HRADIL’s Part) there were several important monographs published, but we would like to point out those by GROSSMANNOVÁ devoted to Moravia (53, 257). For the regions of Romania and the Balkans, the collective work *Moneda în Republica Moldova* (7), presents the monetary situation in the region between the rivers of Dniester and Prut.

For Western Europe we welcome a new author for the French part. After years of Marc BOMPAIRE’s good and loyal service for his contributions and to whom we want to express our deepest thanks, we decided to divide the French section into two periods and to assign them to new researchers: the Medieval period to Thibault CARDON (Université de Caen) and the Modern period to Jérôme JAMBU (Université de Lille). If the former tried to present the most exhaustive inventory of publications, the latter concentrated himself on a representative selection. It is difficult to present here the list of the mains titles, but CARDON concentrated on defining and illustrating three mains’ axes of study in the renewal of medieval numismatic: mines, monetary discoveries and the question of the coins’ classification. For his part, JAMBU highlighted the slow but ever-increasing interest in the study of modern French numismatics particularly with the contributions on monetary and metallographic studies of recent periods, the recurring question of counterfeit coins, and the increasing place of bill notes. To round out these two surveys, Guillaume SARAH shines light on the research on Carolingian coinage, of which obviously the geographical influence goes far beyond the Francks’ kingdom.

For Great Britain (NAISMITH, ALLEN's Part), NAISMITH (148) builds an analysis of all major segments of the period around a catalogue of the Fitzwilliam Museum's coins, while ALLEN (11) has uses data from coin hoards and single finds to assess the size and composition of the English money supply between *c.* 973 and 1544. It is worth mention that British tokens and other exonomia studies are now so advanced that they have a separate chapter. The important works of HERDICK (176) and WITOWSKI (193) show the use of money in medieval economics of the Holy Roman Empire (HENGSTBACH, MÄKELER's Part). For Switzerland (ZÄCH's Part), the three-volume monograph by FROIDEVAUX (35) deals with the history of coins and money from Neuchâtel (16th–19th centuries) based on all possible sources, and with «histoire économique» of the monetary system in early modern western Switzerland. For the medieval history of coins and money in Austria, the volume edited by HYLLE, TORGGLE, HOFER and PIZZININI - *Geprägte Bilderwelten der Romanik. Münzkunst und Währungsräume zwischen Brixen und Prag* is particularly important, which was published in 2017 for the exhibition of the same name (74, also in Italian 75).

For Southern European and the Mediterranean area, Spain and Italy are also organized in two parts as now is France: for Spain the Visigoth period (RUTH's Part) is then followed by the Medieval and Modern periods (ESTRADA-RIUZ's Part). If the former is relatively short because of the limited number of publications listed, the latter part, thanks to Alberto ESTRADA-RIUZ and the thoroughness of his work, is exhaustive and no territory nor theme has been left unstudied. Italy's High Middle Age has likewise benefited from a rigorous study (ROVELLI's Part), while Lorena PASSERA did similar meticulous work for Spain between the 11th and 21st century. Finally, with her recognized expertise Julian BAKER has selected the most representative articles published during the last six years on coinage in Greece, Cyprus and the Crusaders.

The American continent has also benefited of a revision of its surveys. Although, as already mentioned, the studies for Latin America could not unfortunately be finished, a section on the colonial coinage of the Caribbean and North America was prepared by Jesse C. KRAFT (American Numismatic Society) with Jérôme JAMBU, and the United States and federal Canada of the 19th–20th centuries were explored by David BERGERON (Banque du Canada). Regarding colonial coinage we are pleased to announce the introduction of an already promising new revue, the *Journal of Early American Numismatics* (JEAN). Regarding the studies themselves, the famous "Continental Dollar" still inflames passions, but the first North American coppers remain a favorite topic for US numismatists.

The African continent, not including certain areas and the Islamic periods that are linked to other studies (see *Asian and Islamic Coinages* (pp. 962–1039) and *East and South-East Asia* (pp. 1041–1095) sections in this *Survey*), remains the poorest in publications, perhaps due sadly to a lack of interest on the part of researchers, despite the bibliographic references compiled by Josette RIVALLAIN, who recently undertook study of the occidental regions, and by Vincent WEST for Ethiopia. Finally, for Australia, included in this section because of the nature of its occidental coinage, Walter R. BLOOM explains that it is mainly the collectors that dominate the publications.

EUROPE

BYZANTIUM

Marcin Wołoszyn

Introduction

Similarly to the preceding *Survey* dedicated to Byzantine coinage and prepared by PAPADOPOULOU (29) the present report must open with a eulogy of the Editors of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* for publishing with an admirable regularity the critical bibliographies on the progress of Byzantine studies. Traditionally, the contributions on numismatics were brought together by Cécile Morrisson with the participation of Julian Baker and Pagona Papadopoulou (but also Miroslava Dotkova, Andrei Gandila and Stoyan Mihaylov). The data collected in BZ (from volume 98:2005 up to the present day) are available at present also in digital form on the **Byzantinische Bibliographie Online** platform: Byzantinische Bibliographie Online (degruyter.com).

Not to be overlooked here is the literature database for medieval research RI-Opac (Regesta Imperii), also of major help for students of Byzantine numismatics (RI OPAC (regesta-imperii.de)). Every month the Byzantine *News* newsletter edited by Sergei Mariev and Annick Peters-Custot under the patronage of the International Association of Byzantine Studies (Association Internationale des Études Byzantines – AIEB) brings new information about developments important for the progress of Byzantine studies, the field of numismatics included.¹

*

Next to sigillography, Byzantine numismatics is at present the best developed area of studies in the material heritage of the *Basileia tōn Rhōmaiōn*. The development of these two disciplines appears to be similar with a tendency to increasingly evolve into archaeology, which mostly means that the context of discovery² – rather than solely style analysis – have become of a key significance for the study of these artefacts (we note also a steady increase in the importance of technical science analyses). Although the new developments in sigillography are not the subject of our later discussion it may be useful to draw attention to studies which in their analysis go beyond seals found in museum collections to address their finds from individual archaeological sites; on occasion the two categories of object (coins and seals) have been examined by coin specialists see PAPADOPOULOU (28) see also KOUKOUNI (13); VIONIS (46); on the importance of seals and their archaeological context see SEIBT (39, p. 33); for the use of seals in today’s Byzantine studies see SHEPARD (41) or WASSILIOU-SEIBT (48).

Let it be noted that the progress of Byzantine numismatics (and sigillography) is a derivative of the development of Byzantine archaeology, or more broadly, archaeology of the Mediterranean region, an only recently practiced discipline. As noted by the Italian archaeologist FRONZA (5, p. 315, f. 1) “Medieval archaeology [...] is a relatively young discipline in Italy developed [...] more consistently, with the 1990s.” For Greece an important breakthrough came when Antiquity ceased to be regarded as the only valuable element of Greek heritage (on this subject see remarks in GOURGOURIS [9]; HAMILAKIS [11]; MANER and ZELEPOS eds [15]) which perspective not only largely used to be responsible for slowing down the progress of archaeology of periods later than Antiquity; cf. WOŁOSZYN (49) but also hindered identification of Byzantine objects recovered outside the territory of the Empire (cf. ROSLUND [36], p. 241: “the dazzling brilliance of the white marble columns has made it hard to perceive a politically and stylistically more elusive medieval period”).

¹ For helping me access individual publications and prepare this survey I extend my thanks to: Zeliha Demirel Gökalp (Eskişehir, Turkey), Georgios Kardaras (Athens, Greece), Eleni Lianta (Oxford, UK), Monika Maziarczuk (Lublin, Poland), Pagona Papadopoulou (Thessaloniki, Greece), Gözde Yazıcı Cörüt (Leipzig, Germany). All errors and omissions must be my own.

² To cite Burström (1, p. 243) “[...] from an archaeological point of view, coins differ from each other not only in what they are but perhaps even more in how they are *found*”.

Today – although there is still much to do – the progress of Byzantine archaeology in Greece, Turkey and other countries in the Mediterranean region is unmistakable (cf. DECKER [2]; MORRISSON [24]). The growing focus on archaeology within Byzantine studies has made it possible to contextualize coin finds. This is greatly assisted by publication of coins recovered from regularly investigated sites like Butrint in the Balkans, or Amorium, Sagalassos and Hierapolis in Asia Minor (see below). They make it possible to compare the findings about *e.g.*, the chronology of specific settlements, based on the dating of the coin finds with dates obtained basing on other archaeological objects, and even on paleoenvironmental data (see *e.g.*, NIEWÖHNER, DEMIREL, IZDEBSKI, SANCAKTAR, SCHWERDT, and STÜMPEL [26]; on the importance of contextualization of Byzantine coin finds see also MORRISSON [19], p. 71, note 4; MORRISSON [20]; PAPADOPOULOU [30]; ROLAND [34-35]).

As a result, Byzantine numismatics and Byzantine archaeology have been increasingly integrating with historical sciences, and alongside them – as stepsisters – can be used to reconstruct the history of the Byzantine Empire (for archaeology, numismatics and Byzantine studies see GANDILA [7]).

Defining the most outstanding achievements of Byzantine numismatics of recent years is a formidable challenge. Taking a risk let me make the following three points:

1. a major improvement of our understanding of the history of Anatolia, 5th-8th century (also thanks to coin finds);
2. a steadily growing record of Byzantine coins recovered in South and East Asia;
3. thanks to the efforts of J. Baker there has been a vast improvement in our understanding of coin circulation in the Late Byzantine period, particularly on the territory of modern Greece.

Obviously much remains to be done (there is an urgent need *e.g.*, to intensify the study of coin finds from the Byzantine countryside; cf. MORRISSON [18]), and we cannot overlook some negative phenomena affecting Byzantine numismatics.

Byzantine coins have been recovered on a vast territory, and the stage of research of individual regions is by no means even. The best recognized (for the Early Byzantine period) is the region of Dobrudja (Scythia and Moesia Secunda), which “boasts the highest output of published coin finds in the entire Byzantine world. The rich numismatic material from the sixth and seventh centuries, which includes around 5,000 single finds and around 650 coins from hoards, is all the more impressive as Dobrudja was a frontier region and did not enjoy the level of urbanisation and economic development of [...] provinces from the eastern Mediterranean” (Gandila [8], pp. 296–298). The same author goes on to note that “drawing any conclusions about the level of monetization in the northeastern Balkans compared to other parts of the Empire would be premature because the level of publication in different countries still varies by great margins” (Gandila [8], p. 298, note 6).

Wars, like the one in Syria (cf. WARTENBERG KAGAN [47]) cause robbery of heritage objects, coins included. With Russia waging war on Ukraine, developing a corpus of Byzantine coin finds from East Europe, an urgent and long overdue task (cf. below) must be even harder to accomplish (to say the least).

Another question relates to the consequences of different approaches to metal detector use that are observed in different countries. The lack of uniform methodology poses a problem when we wish to make comparisons between different regions (cf. MORRISSON [18], p. 104). Some countries in northern and central Europe have adopted a liberal approach and metal detectorists are invited increasingly often to join in fieldwork alongside qualified archaeologists (within projects of so-called citizen science). On the other hand, in Belarus, Russia, Ukraine, and some Mediterranean countries as well, the approach to metal detectorists has been much less generous (metal detector use by amateurs is illegal, and accessing their finds is very difficult; see *e.g.*, THOMAS and STONE eds [44]; DOBAT, DECKERS, HEEREN, LEWIS, THOMAS, and WESSMAN [4]). We need to remember that, depending on the approach (more liberal or more distrustful), we can expect to see a more rapid (where coins from amateur metal detector finds are included in the record) or slower (where they are left out of the record) increase in the number of coin finds (cf. MORRISSON [18], p. 103; one example of a great hoard we owe to metal detectorists is the find from Beydağ (545 coins, cf. ÜNAL [45]). This is true also of excavation methods used by professional archaeologists in the south and in the north. The result of universal use of metal detectors in mainland Europe and the north has been a huge increase in the number of metal finds (including small coins). In Mediterranean region detectors are used rarely, sometimes replaced by sieving (assisting the recovery of a larger number of objects, as demonstrated *e.g.*, by the case of Corinth – see SANDERS [37–38]).

Yet another major problem worth addressing are museum coin collections. There is a tendency to regard museum collections found in the Mediterranean region as collections amassed locally (thanks to donations of coins found in the area nearest to the museum), and as such, possibly reflecting coin circulation in that region (for Anatolia see *e.g.*, LAFLI, LIGHTFOOT and RITTER [14], pp. 205–206, esp. note 35; but see also MORRISSON [19], p. 72 who stressed that we have to keep in mind “that museums tend to privilege precious metal finds and large copper coins over smaller denominations and that peasants may sell their discoveries to dealers rather than to museums”). Similarly, the museum collections in the Balkans are treated as formed locally (of coins discovered in the area nearest to the museum). However, a problem is posed by collections in Romania, Hungary and in countries found farther north. OBERLÄNDER-TÄRNOVEANU (27) has argued that coin collections in Romanian museums also reflect local coin circulation; similarly, GANDILA ([6], Appendix A, 50 n. 101). Differently, SOMOGYI ([42], p. 70, 72, n. 403, 78) who has been very sceptical. Here this problem was mentioned because we need to bear in mind that when we compare data on the circulation of Byzantine coins on the territory of the Empire and *e.g.*, Poland or in Scandinavia, we are comparing a pool of coins based in part on museum collections (South) with a pool which leaves out museums (North). Without negating the local character of museum collections in Turkey or Greece, I think it is crucial in such cases to make a study of the history of the museum collection (on the model of studies made by Prohászka and Somogyi in the case of Hungary see also below); it is worth invoking at this point the problem of the seals recovered from the site of the Ottoman ministry of war (Seriaskerat) at the Eski Sarai in Istanbul after 1869, cf. HEIDEMANN and SODE (12).

While traditionally the history of Byzantine Empire has been divided into the Early (-843), Middle (843–1204/1261) and Late Byzantine periods (1204/61–1453; cf. SHEPARD [40]), today many alternate divisions are in circulation. Although the triple division is used below it is used here only as approximate. If we were to write the history of the Byzantine Empire basing on coins on coins we could distinguish “two periods of higher monetisation [...]: the 5th and early 6th century before Justinian’s Plague and the 11th to 12th century. Contrary to the earlier historiography, the latter period is now recognised as one of expansion and economic growth, with a population increase, a higher rate of urbanisation and the rise of many cities producing artisanal and manufactured goods for wider ‘mass’ consumption. The 8th century is one of ‘retrenchment’, general crisis and a decline in territory, population, production; a period of de-urbanisation and the localisation of exchanges [...]. Almost complete de-monetisation is observed in all the ancient cities (*e.g.*, Athens, Corinth, Ephesos, Aphrodisias, Priene, Pergamon [...]). The so-called ‘Byzantine revival’ in the 9th century is best approached from the discoveries of the Amorium excavations over the last two decades (fig. 7) where an absolute apex is reached in the period 842–867 when the capital of the theme of Anatolicon was rebuilt following its sacking by the Arabs (838)” MORRISSON ([18], p. 106).

Let me note that I assign to the early Byzantine period issues of Anastasius (491–518) and later, associated with the reform of bronze coinage (498), which is traditionally regarded as a watershed which separates the Late Roman from Byzantine coinage GRIERSON (10).

Thus, essentially left out from my discussion are coins and coin finds from 4th-5th centuries, this is true also of the problem of Arab-Byzantine coinage, and early Germanic coinage, obviously modelled on issues of Late Roman/Early Byzantine emperors.

In recent numismatic publications listed below, coin finds and coins were examined primarily as a historical source. What is important to note in this context is, that next to the written accounts (*e.g.*, MORRISSON and PAPADOPOULOU [25]; see also RITTER [33]), which remain a significant source of data about coins, digital material culture databases (PARANI, PITARAKIS, and SPIESER [31]) have continued to gain importance as a tool of Byzantine coin studies.

The Byzantine Empire had many successors, and this makes it harder to embrace the full body of reports on successive coin finds contributed by researchers from so many countries. This is what makes projects such as FLAME (MORDECHAI [17]; Project FLAME [32]) so promising for Byzantine studies, because they help to bring together coin specialists from every corner of the former Byzantine territory, and through developing digital databases of finds can integrate findings made in the numerous centres of Byzantine studies. By joining forces in this way we can hope to better appreciate the significance of *Basileia tōn Rhōmaiōn* for the making of the medieval world.

Early Byzantine Period

While the main focus of research has been on gold coin, i.e., the solidus and its fraction (FISCHER and LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ [190]; JARRETT [243]; NAISMITH [359]; PAPADOPOULOU [388]), recently increasingly more attention has been given to bronze denominations. This is a legitimate development given that “bronze coinage was the lifeblood of the Byzantine market economy [...]” (GANDILA [6], p. 111). A separate conference was dedicated to silver coins (CHAMEROY and GUIHARD eds [128], but without addressing the problem of 7th century issues (including the hexagram introduced in 615; for hexagram see WHALIN [609]).

Sixth and seventh centuries are a period still well-illuminated by the written record which inform in detail about e.g., wars (with Vandals and Goths, Avars and Slavs, Persians and Arabs, cf. FENWICK [185]; SARANTIS [426–427]); this naturally leads to the temptation to associate individual finds (especially hoards) with political (military) events. We can hope to improve our understanding of this period by extending our focus to include both gold and bronze coinage. It seems for example, that the increase in the number of finds of coins of Justin II that is observed both in the Balkan region (e.g., Dobrudja; cf. CUSTUREA [139], p. 65) and Anatolia (MORRISSON [19], p. 74) can be interpreted as an echo of wars with the Avars/Slavs which persuaded the Byzantines to increase the volume of this coinage (issued for the use of the army).

*

The first study region addressed in the present review is Africa. Its history between the 5th and 8th century was recently examined using the evidence of coin finds in an excellent essay by MORRISSON [343]). An outstanding find from **northern Africa** are coins excavated at Ain Wassel (Africa Proconsularis, now in Tunisia), a site with a carefully analysed stratigraphy (ABRAM [51]). Another notable deposit is a hoard of late 6th–early 7th century Byzantine gold solidi (last issue: Maurice [582–602]) from Sidi Khalifa (Tunisia) discussed by BEN SLIMÈNE [98].

The coinage of Cyrene and Cyrenaica (6th–7th century, but also 10th–11th century) is discussed by ASOLATI (74), with emphasis on the problem of the widespread distribution range of African issues within the Mediterranean region and barbarian Europe (cf. ASOLATI [74], Fig. 24; see also ASOLATI [73]).

A significant find from **Egypt** is a hoard of 29 gold coins (tremisses of Justin II [565–578] and debased late Roman solidi from St. Paul’s Monastery of Deir el-Bakhît (Thebes-West) – see BECKH and CHAMEROY (94).

One of the more remarkable Egyptian coins are bronze denominations, e.g., dodecanummia. This group was discussed by CHAMEROY (127), with a special focus on the production of cast and irregular struck coins in the 5th–7th century, using the evidence of clay moulds for casting coins.

A notable series of early Byzantine coins came to light at Kom al-Ahmer and Kom Wasit near Alexandria. It is interesting that next to AE of the Alexandrian mint there are coins minted at Carthage and Rome, which “can be explained in the context of the Byzantine reconquista of Vandal Proconsular Africa and Ostrogothic Italy, and the subsequent return of Imperial troops to the East” (ASOLATI [73], p. 455). The absence of coins later than Heraclius is likely to be associated with the Arab invasion, although the continuity of circulation of AE issues of Heraclius cannot be discounted.

Our understanding of the coin finds from Marea is still unsatisfactory (cf. LICHOCKA [289]; for analysis of several thousand bronze coins [!] recovered from this location, see currently JAWORSKI [244]).

Remarkable discoveries made in the **Holy Land** include a hoard of gold coins (last coin: Justinian I [527–565]) from Ashkelon (excavations at the Barnea B–C) in the former province of *Palaestina Prima*. This hoard was presented against a broad comparative background (BIOVSKY, SANDHAUS, and MILEVSKI [107]). The chronological structure of gold coins in this region shows that “[...] Late Roman gold coins [...] were still in circulation during the early sixth century in Palestine” (MILEVSKI, BIOVSKY, SANDHAUS, KROKHMALNIK, and GORIN-ROSEN [329], p. 177). The same site (Ashkelon, excavations at the Barnea B–C) yielded also a series of 14 small coins (5th-mid–7th century; MILEVSKI, BIOVSKY, SANDHAUS, KROKHMALNIK, and GORIN-ROSEN [329]).

The hoard found at Oboda (buried in the reign of Justin II [565–578]) and described as “the most common type of copper hoard from sixth-century Palestine”, is made remarkable by the presence of a coin with the mark of the mint of Theoupolis, furnishing new evidence on the problem of the renaming of Antioch (Antioch on the Orontes; not in 528/529 but 512–518); cf. BIOVSKY and BENOVIITZ [106]).

Undeniably, the most interesting recent discovery from Israel is a hoard from Jerusalem (Givati Parking Lot) of

264 solidi of Heraclius issued in 610–613. Its deposition has been linked to events related to the Persian conquest of Jerusalem in 614 (BIVOVSKY [105]). The hoard is expected to play a major role in the study of *e.g.*, solidus weight and contribute to our understanding of the operation of the Jerusalem mint in the reign of Heraclius.

Also worth invoking is a hoard discovered in 2010 in Jericho (54 Byzantine folles; tpq 592/3). Its burial is thought to be associated with the Persian invasion of Syria and Palestine between 611 and 614 (ABRAMZON [52]).

Excavations in Jerusalem (Western Wall Plaza) yielded a series of 6th and 7th century Byzantine coins, more notably, an issue of Constantine IV (668–685, Syracuse mint) – rare in the region given its occupation by Arabs in the early 640s (BIVOVSKY [104]).

More notable museum collections include the Coin Cabinet of the Israel Museum, with a hoard of 476 Byzantine bronze coins (325–610) and Bronze objects (CALLEGHER [121]). The museum of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum (Jerusalem) has in its keeping early Byzantine coins, lacking a closer provenance but presumably recovered in Palestine (CALLEGHER [120]). It is legitimate to mention at this point other collections (some of them featuring Early and Middle Byzantine coins), like those formed during the Second World War by Polish soldiers serving in the Levant (cf. MIELCZAREK [323]).

A valuable contribution by ABOU DIWAN (50) addresses coin circulation in Byzantine Beirut in the period 491–641 on the basis of an impressive corpus of 1430 coins from single finds and 280 coins from hoards. An extensive discussion is made of the problem of change of the weight of bronze coins introduced by reforms of 498, 512, 538/539, not unexpectedly using the earlier study on finds from Palestine (BIVOVSKY [103]).

The excavations at Baalbek (Lebanon) produced 2200 medieval coins, of which 47 specimens are early Byzantine issues (incl. 7th century; cf. AL-‘AKRA [58]).

An important discovery was made in Jordania at Jerash – a hoard of not less than twelve Byzantine coins (last issues: Heraclius [610–641]) and two or three Arab-Byzantine coins (post-reform Umayyad coins) excavated from a house probably destroyed by the 749 earthquake (dating supported by C¹⁴ results; cf. LICHTENBERGER and RAJA [288]; see also SCHULZE and SCHULZE [434]).

More outstanding finds from Syria include 336 early Byzantine coins recovered at Apamea (AE, 6th–7th century) and 35 middle Byzantine issues (AE, 975–1098; cf. LAUWERS and MARGOS [277]).

An outstanding hoard of ca. bronze 6000 coins found in 2007 at as-Sanamein presumably was buried in the 7th century (KIWAN and MORRISSON [259]).

The publication of Polish research in Palmyra (1959–2001) reports on a series of early Byzantine (6th century) coins and hoard of 7th-century solidi (cf. KRZYŻANOWSKA and GAWLIKOWSKI [269]).

A promising new project worth highlighting addresses coin finds from Antioch on the Orontes. The materials from archaeological research carried out before World War II were recently re-examined (STAHL [447]; STAHL and GLYNIAS [450]). Observations from Antioch have been compared to the research findings from Cyprus and *e.g.*, Avkat in Anatolia (STAHL [449]). According to the evidence now at hand there is no sharp decline at Antioch in the volume of finds from the 7th–8th century (STAHL [449], Fig. 2).

In a welcome new development quite a few recently published interesting studies have been addressing coin circulation in **Asia Minor**. While it is a given that some contributions must deal with random finds (lacking context) as those from Mount Nif (Olympos) in Ionia (western Turkey) described as “found and collected by Durmuş Sulu who works as forester on Nif Monte” (6th and 12th century; cf. LENGER [281]) the increase in the number of studies which report on discoveries from regular archaeological research is undeniable. Some of them are focused narrowly on numismatics (similarly to the contributions by Morrißon studies by other authors are in the nature of a synthesis cf. *e.g.*, analyses of coins from south-western Anatolia, 6th–7th century, of DEMIREL GÖKALP [154, 158]). A number of publications report in detail of individual sites (*e.g.*, Ephesus: LADSTÄTTER [273]). To be sure, the coastal region of Anatolia continues better recognized than the interior (MORRISSON [19], p. 72) but improvement in this respect is undeniable.

The importance of this region for the Empire is obvious (particularly after the loss of northern Africa). Its economic potential is illustrated well by the coin finds (the value of coins present in Anatolian hoards of gold and bronze coins alike is at least twice as high as in the case of the Balkans; MORRISSON [19], p. 74).

It seems at present that coin finds are linked to the military rather than settlement history. According to Morrißon, “peaks in coin finds appear to be influenced more strongly by military events than by settlement history and should

not be accepted at face value as evidence against urban decline in the later sixth century, if such is suggested by other archaeological finds” (MORRISSON [19], p. 75). At the same time we need to bear in mind the extended life of late Antique coins, “Only hoards or stratified finds like those at Amorium, Sagalassos, or Hierapolis in Phrygia show how long coins remained in circulation and that late Roman coins occurred in sixth- and even in seventh-century contexts” (MORRISSON [19], p. 75). On the other hand, a comparison of coin finds and of other objects (esp. pottery) proves that some sites continued in use longer than suggested by coin finds, “Destructive layers with copper coins from 616, for example at Sardis and at Ephesus, used to be attributed to the Persian offensive, but more recent research has disproven a Persian date of the destruction layers in question; the ceramics found in the same layers date from after the Persian wars and the coins appear to have been in circulation for a longer period of time” (MORRISSON [19], p. 76).

This issue is illustrated by the impressive series of coins recovered in Ephesus: “For the early Byzantine residence to the south of the Church of St. Mary a large amount of finds and more than 3,500 coins provide evidence that the building was destroyed at the earliest in the mid-seventh century, more probably during the third quarter of the seventh century. It is noteworthy that the final phase of usage included numerous earlier coins, among them more than 1,000 *minimi* and a series minted under Emperor Heraclius (610–641) that is particularly strong in issue. The old coins appear to have remained in circulation for a long time, at least until the second half of the seventh century, probably because coins were then in short supply. It follows that many other destruction layers at Ephesus that have so far been dated to the earlier seventh century on the basis of relatively few coins may in fact date from the later seventh century or even thereafter, so those dates will have to be revised. Consequently, a catastrophic destruction of the entire city center in the reign of Heraclius as previously assumed is called into doubt and, in the case of the house south of St. Mary, already disproven. A chronologically differentiated destruction history, spanning a longer period and reflecting a more gradual transformation of the city, seems to be called for” (LADSTÄTTER [272], p. 245).

Another notable discovery made at Ephesus was an impressive group of coins recovered at the Verulanus Hall: over a thousand of bronzes dated to 6th–8th century, still undergoing analysis, and a remarkable series of Vandal *minimi* issued in Carthage. The supply of coins falters in the early reign of Heraclius (*ca.* 616), possibly in connection with the Persian invasion (SCHACHINGER [430], pp. 315–316; many coins of Heraclius were overstruck on earlier issues; cf. SCHACHINGER [431], pp. 251–252). To this impressive list of finds we need to add a hoard of 160 bronze coins (4th–6th century) which next to Byzantine issues (Anastasius I) includes some remarkable bronzes of Carthage (Vandals). The hoard was buried in the 520s (SCHINDEL and LADSTÄTTER [433]).

As expected, Byzantine coins have been recovered during quite a few other excavation projects.

Coin finds recovered from the Yenikapi port of Constantinople have been published comprehensively by ALI POLAT ([60]; see also ÖZTOPBAŞ [380–381]). Another important contribution reported on early and middle Byzantine coins recovered from a well-defined stratigraphic context on the Firuzköy Peninsula in the hinterland of the Byzantine capital was published by STANISLAWSKI and AYDINGUN ([451], pp. 115–133; see also TEKIN [467]).

Very important site of the ancient city of Sardis (Lydia) yielded an impressive series of coins from investigations in 1973–2013. According to a report published in 2018 the series included 595 Byzantine coins (491–mid–13th century [mostly from the early Byzantine issues]; cf. EVANS [184]).

The research carried out 1990–2016 on Sagalassos in south-western Turkey led to the discovery of 4000 coins, including 230 Byzantine issues. Of these 211 are single finds (nearly all of them AE; last coin 652/3–655/6), and 19 belong to a hoard (closing date 574/5). These finds were discussed against a broad comparative background (STROOBANTS [455]).

Less recent publications reporting on the research at Parion in Mysia mention a small series of early Byzantine coins (10 AE, last issue: Justinian I [527–565], cf. KELEŞ, YILMAZ, and OYARÇIN [256]; OYARÇIN [371–372]). More recently, a contribution recapitulating the results of research in the Early Byzantine Period listed 142 Early Byzantine Period coins from excavations conducted at Parion between 2005–2018 at (6th–7th century; cf. OYARÇIN [375]).

A larger series of early Byzantine coins from 6th–7th century (single finds, but also a hoard of bronzes) comes from Tyana in Cappadocia (ASOLATI and CRISAFULLI [75]). A series of 7th-century coins (including an issue of Leontius [695–698]) shed light on the final years of the city of Assos probably destroyed by an earthquake around 700 (BÖHLENDORF-ARSLAN [115]).

The series of coins recovered between 2008 and 2018 on the site of Stratonikeia (Caria) includes 199 Byzantine

coins, of which 117 are early Byzantine issues (6th – 7th century), których ukrycie łączy się z Persian and Arab raids of respectively 616 and 655/6 (TEK, KÖKER, and SARIIZ [465–466]).

Byzantine coins have been recovered during the fieldwork at Kyme near Aliğa (ancient Aeolis) in western Turkey. Out of 52 issues the vast majority were coins from late 5th and 6th century, with some 7th-century issues also in evidence (CARROCCIO [126]). A series of early Byzantine coins was recovered on the site of Metropolis to the north of Ephesus (DELIKAN [151]).

Finds from Hadrianopolis in Paphlagonia have prompted some interesting observations (21 coins; 1 AG, 20 AE, 6th–11th century; LAFLI, LIGHTFOOT, and RITTER [14]). More notable in this series of early Byzantine coins are issues of Heraclius [7 specimens]. It seems that the city was abandoned only in the 8th, rather than in the 7th century (LAFLI, LIGHTFOOT, and RITTER [14], p. 193). Neither the pottery nor the glass finds suggest that the 6th and 7th centuries were a period on the eve of the decline of that community (LAFLI, LIGHTFOOT, and RITTER [14], p. 203; for desurbanization of Paphlagonia see RITTER [421]).

The research made at Aphrodisias (Caria) revealed a reasonably good condition of this city in the 6th century, while a coin of Phocas (found 2016) shows that baths continued to be repaired into the early years of the 7th century. Furthermore, finds of later coins (incl. hoards of Heraclius issues) prove that “the dramatic change came in the seventh century, and seems to have been sudden and nearly total, involving widespread destruction by fire, very probably at the hands of the Persians” (WILSON [492], p. 219).

A perplexing situation is that of the site of Antandros in north-western Turkey (Balıkesir province) which produced no coins from the 6th century despite continued settlement of this city documented by pottery finds (AÇAR [54], esp. p. 4).

The site of Allianoı near Pergamon yielded an impressive series of 126 Byzantine coins dominated by issues from Anastasius to Heraclius (a few coins of Anastasius are Au and Ag specimens, the rest only Ae). There was also a single coin of Constantine IV (668–685; TEKIN and EROL-ÖZDİZBAY [468]).

Next, the investigations conducted in 2005–2010 at Myndos (Caria) brought to light 72 early Byzantine coins (last issue: Constans II [641–668]; cf. ŞAHİN [456]).

A series of 17 early Byzantine coins was recovered in seasons 2017 and 2018 at Pullu near Mersin in southern Turkey (last issues: Justinian II [685–695, 705–711]; cf. OYARÇIN and ŞAHİN [377]). The fieldwork (2011–2014) at Ziyaret Tepe (south-eastern Turkey, Diyarbakır Province) brought in a single follis of Justinian I (MATNEY, GREENFIELD, KÖROĞLU, MACGINNIS, PROCTOR, ROSENZWEIG, and WICKE [301]).

Early Byzantine coins are known from other sites, *e.g.*, Andriake (13 AE coins, latest issue Constans II [641–668] // a single anonymous follis [1030/35–1042]; BULUT and ŞENGÜL [116]); Sillyon (Pamphylia; 9 AE coins; 1 anonymous follis [1042?–1050]; cf. KÖKER [266]); Hadrianopolis in Paphlagonia (13 issues, ending in coins of Justinian II [685–695, 705–711]; cf. LAFLI, LIGHTFOOT, and RITTER [14]; but also from church C in Hadrianopolis [1 AE of Justinian I / several AE of Heraclius]; cf. OYARÇIN [373]). Yet another notable site is Papaz Tarlası, Vezirköprü (ancient Neoklaudiopolis, northern Asia Minor, with 2 early Byzantine AE coins; cf. WINTHER-JACOBSEN and BEKKER-NIELSEN [493]).

Early Byzantine coins (but also some middle and late Byzantine ones) were excavated (2008–2012) in Smyrna (103 issues; ERSOY, ÖNDER, and TURAN [183]).

Finally, not less notable are the findings from Miletus, a city which entered a period of decline in the 6th and 7th century (cf. NIEWÖHNER [362]). Coin finds from Miletus were published in a separate study of 149 late Roman and Byzantine coins deriving from excavations conducted between 1957 and 2003, with additionally 250 further coins from fieldwork continued until 2006 (NIEWÖHNER, DEMIREL, IZDEBSKI, SANCAKTAR, SCHWERDT, and STÜMPPEL [26], pp. 258–270). Nearly all of these coins are bronze issues (6th–7th centuries). The series includes a single middle Byzantine coin (an anonymous follis, class A2 [976 (?)–ca. 1030/35] and a hyperpyron of John II Komnenos (1118–1143). This nearly complete lack of evidence from the Middle Byzantine Period is in agreement with other observations concerning this age (“archaeologically, middle Byzantine Miletus is a blank”; cf. NIEWÖHNER [362], p. 260).

The need to extend research to the Byzantine countryside was mentioned earlier. In this context worth noting is the fieldwork on Kilise Tepe in Isauria described as “one of the first small Byzantine rural settlements in south-central Anatolia to be deliberately excavated” (JACKSON [241], p. 355). It is interesting that the site produced a single

early Byzantine coin (AE of Heraclius), regarded by Jackson as an unreliable chronological marker (“a single coin of Heraclius provides a seventh-century date for [feature – M.W.] 95207, but it should be treated with caution since coins are relatively rare at Kilise Tepe and this one provides only a terminus post quem for the deposit. A more substantial program of radiocarbon samples is planned based on samples of short-lived species from other areas of 95207; JACKSON [241], p. 368).

Other remarkable finds include a hoard of gold coins (incl. some light-weight solidi), buried presumably at the end of the 6th century from Gökler (Phrygia; 59 coins [last issues: Maurice [582–602]; only a part of this hoard is known; cf. DEMIREL GÖKALP and GANDILA [160]).

A hoard buried presumably at a slightly earlier date, in the early stage of the revolt of Heraclius (610), came to light at Bilecik, in Bithynia (81 gold coins; last issues: Phocas [602–610]; cf. GANDILA and DEMIREL GÖKALP [205]). An outstanding hoard came to light in 2019 in Anemurium (Cilicia Region) within the so-called Necropolis Church (located in the Necropolis area). It included 41 bronze coins of Heraclius (minted 610–618), most of them overstruck on coins of Phocas. Very likely, this hoard was buried in connection with Persian invasions in the early 7th century (OYARÇIN and TEKOCAK [378]).

An early find from 1978 is a hoard from Kavaklı (eastern part of the modern city Aydın; Aegean Region) of seventy gold coins of Constans II ([641–668]; ÜNAL [476–477]).

Fieldwork carried out in 2008 on the site of the Gymnasium Complex and the Latrine at Tralles (in the valley of the ancient Meander River, Caria) brought in a hoard of 67 solidi of Leo III (issues from 720–733; cf. ÜNAL [475]).

Information about coin finds from specific sites may be supplemented by data on coins now found in museum collections.

Two notable collections in south-eastern Turkey (near the border with Syria) are found at Adana and Tarsus. The Adana Archaeology Museum has in its keeping 27,965 coins. So far they are known to include 27 bronze early and middle byzantine coins (from Central Adana, Kadirli, Misis and Elbistan settlements; cf. BUYRUK [118]). Gold Byzantine coins were published separately (cf. BUYRUK [117]). The museum in Tarsus has a collection of 16,637 coins which includes 24 gold Byzantine coins (6th to 12th century) published by BUYRUK (119). The Bilecik Museum in north-western Turkey holds a collection of 147 Byzantine coins, including 81 gold issues (ending in coins of Phocas [602–610]) and 65 bronzes (Early and Middle Byzantine Periods; cf. DEMIREL GÖKALP [152]). Worth mentioning is a publication of 895 early and middle Byzantine coins (Anastasius [491–518] to Alexios III [1185–1204] from the collections of the museum in Malatya in eastern Turkey (DEMIREL GÖKALP [153]). The Museum in Kütahya (Phrygia) has in its collection 1415 Byzantine coins (DEMIREL GÖKALP [156]; see also DEMIREL GÖKALP [159]). The Kocaeli Museum (Bithynia) holds 593 Byzantine coins. They are thought to come from local finds and used to recognize the coin circulation in the region during the Early Byzantine Period (DEMIREL GÖKALP and KARANFIL [161]). Coin circulation and hoarding in Phrygia between the 6th and 9th century was discussed by DEMIREL GÖKALP [157], taking as a point of departure an analysis of museum collections in Kütahya and Bolvadin. The Bolu museum has a collection of 394 Byzantine coins (of all ages), out of which a half (184 coins) are anonymous folles discussed by KILIÇ (257). The Samsun Archeology and Ethnography Museum on the Black Sea has in its keeping 20 coins (12 Au / 8 Ag; cf. OYARÇIN and DERVIŞOĞLU [376]). The collection of 123 coins spanning Anastasius I (491-518) and Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180) now in the Erzurum Museum (on the Upper Euphrates) is recognized as representative for coin circulation in eastern Anatolia (OYARÇIN and PAYVEREN [379]). The rich collections of l'Institut français d'études Byzantines (1175 coins, 20% of them Byzantine issues) are regarded highly relevant for reconstructing coin circulation in Constantinople (RONDE, MORRISON, and D'OTTONE-RAMBACH [422]).

Concluding this part of the review of recently published early Byzantine coins we must note an important find from the modern city of Erbil, ancient Arbela, in Iraqī Kurdistan, Northern Iraq – an incomplete hoard now numbering more than 45 solidi (7th century). Apparently buried around 660 AD, the hoard could be an indication of the final days of Byzantine presence in Northern Mesopotamia prior to its conquest by Muslim armies (LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ and MARTÍNEZ CHICO [291]).

As expected, there are quite a few recent analyses of coin finds from the territory of Late Roman / Post-Roman **Western Europe**, either general (cf. FISCHER and LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ [190]; mostly for the period prior to 498); FISCHER [189]; DOYEN [178]; see also FUSCONI [195]), or covering individual regions, thus Spain (MORA SERRANO

[340]; PLIEGO [403–404]; OLMO ENCISO and CASTRO PRIEGO [369]; KURT [271]; for the early Muslim era: IBRAHIM and PLIEGO [231]), Gaul (FRANÇOISE and MORRISSON [193–194]), Benelux and Switzerland (POL [405]; BELIËN and VAN DER SANDEN [95]). However, there is no recent catalogue of coin finds from this region (for a comprehensive overview of contacts between the Merovingian environment and the Eastern Mediterranean, *e.g.*, using the evidence of coin finds see DRAUSCHKE [179]; for the western part of Austria see SCHACHINGER [429, 432]).

Arguably the most notable piece of numismatic writing concerned with Italy was an overview of past studies of Byzantine coins found in this area prepared by CALLEGHER (124).

Coin circulation in central and northern Italy between the 6th and 9th century was discussed by ROVELLI (423) and OSTINELLI (370). Three hoards of gold coins (5th–6th century) from Alpine passes were analysed by FISCHER and WOOD (191).

Capital results were furnished by excavations at Loppio - S. Andrea (Trentino / Northern Italy) where the archaeological record confirmed continuity of settlement in 6th–8th century, and included *ca.* 90 coins, some of them Byzantine issues. It is notable that stratigraphic analyses support the *longue durée* of late Roman coins and the “integration of old 4th–5th centuries issues in the three-metallic 6th century monetary system, as well of their re-use within the Lombard society” (CALOMINO and MAURINA [125], p. 169; on the re-use of Roman coins in medieval Italy cf. also MARANI [297]).

Coin finds from Classe, the ancient port of Ravenna, have been addressed in several publications (cf. BALDI [89–90]; and esp. BALDI [91: the series includes also coins from the 8th century!]). The mint of Ravenna and circulation of its coins have been studied extensively by PRIGENT ([409–411]; see also MORRISSON and CALLEGHER [345]). Also worth mentioning in this context are the results of the analysis of coin from the collection of the library in Ravenna cf. GARIBOLDI (206).

Another important publication reported on single finds *e.g.*, from Brescia by ARSLAN (69), and especially from Genoa (5th- and 6th-century Byzantine coins, no issues from the period 642–924; ARSLAN [68]).

A separate monograph was dedicated to the coin circulation in Latium, Late Antiquity through to 7th century (MARANI [299]; see also MARANI [298]). Coin finds from Rome (Santa Maria Antiqua, issues of Justin I [518–527]) have been discussed by PARIBENI [389]).

An outstanding collective find from St. Januarius in Capodimonte (Lazio) included early Byzantine coins was presented by EBANISTA and SANTORO (180–181).

An altogether exceptional find is the Forum Hoard of Anglo-Saxon coins discovered in 1883. Found among more than 800 coins was also a single Byzantine specimen (a solidus of Theophilus, 829–842) presented by NAISMITH and TINTI (360). For byzantine coins from Rome see NOESKE (365).

A hoard of 6th century bronzes (from the period of Gothic wars), the first of its kind to have been recorded in Campania, was published by MAMMATO (295).

Before we leave Italy let me note a study of Lombardian imitations of Byzantine coins made by ARSLAN (71–72). The mint in Sardinia and local coin circulation have been examined in depth in two contributions from MURESU ([352–353]; for Corsica and Sardinia see also remarks of BALDASSARI [88]).

An important contribution to Early Byzantine Period studies brought together data about coin finds from Campania (10th–15th century; cf. MAMMATO [294]).

In a separate study CALLEGHER (122) discussed at some length finds of Byzantine coins from **Dalmatia**, not only 6th–8th century issues but also from the Middle Byzantine Period (see also ILKIĆ and FILIPČIĆ [233] and esp. studies of ŠEPAROVIĆ [457–460]).

Already in the introduction to this *Survey* we noted the high level of recognition of coin finds from **Dobrudja**, partly thanks to studies undertaken recently by researchers from Bulgaria and Romania in recent years. Much interest had been taken not only by coins from this region (cf. general study addressing the Byzantine Empire and the region on the lower Danube between the 7th and 10th century: DAMIAN [147]).

The situation in the Lower Danube region in Late Antiquity was the point of departure for the research of Gandila, more notably, his studies of coins from Capidava (199–200) and the activity of the mint of Thessalonica (201). His transregional studies addressed early Byzantine coins of western mints (198), and more recently, the coinage of the Balkans in the context of the collapse of the antique world discussed in a book (202) and articles (203–204).

A significant study discussing past discoveries (13th to 19th century) contributed by CUSTUREA and VELTER (142) included 391 coins from Dobrudja.

A more notable research synthesis concerned with the Early Byzantine Period, the problem of coin finds and the collapse of the limes in the early 7th century was published by CUSTUREA and TALMAȚCHI (141). Custurea's more recent achievement was his extensive study of Byzantine coin finds from Dobrudja, 5th–8th centuries, which came out in 2019 (139).

Not less significant in studies addressing Dobrudja was a publication of coins held by the museum in Tulcea provenanced to the ancient Noviodunum. This collection of more than a thousand coins includes Early Byzantine issues (Anastasius [491–518] up to Heraclius [610–641]) was presented by POPESCU and IACOB (407). Also relevant in this context are the holdings of the Brukenthal National Museum which include coins from Dobrudja (cf. TALMAȚCHI and MUNTEANU [463]).

Next to many coin finds which derive from regular excavations some were found in hoards (tentatively provenanced to Dobrudja) confiscated by the Border Police, as *e.g.*, a group of 24 AE coins buried around 614–619; cf. CUSTUREA (137).

Research in Histria (Romania) brought in a hoard of 11 AE coins buried in late 6th century (cf. CUSTUREA and NASTASI [140]; on the subject of single finds from Histria, incl. coins of Justinian I and Maurice, see ISVORANU and DABÎCA [234]). Early Byzantine coins were also recorded in ancient Durostorum (cf. GANČEVA [197]).

In his vital contributions OBERLÄNDER-TÄRNOVEANU (366–367) has published hoards now preserved in Bucharest, early Byzantine hoards in volume I, middle Byzantine hoards in volume II.

Possibly the most outstanding of Bulgarian discoveries are two hoards from the Monastery in Slavnata Kanara. Preliminary results of analysis of these hoards were published by TOTEV, DOBREV, MIHAYLOV, and LAVYSH (470–471). The first one consists of 1,220 coins (mostly, Justinian I [527–565]), buried in an amphora, the second much smaller hoard includes 18 bronze coins from the 4th–6th century (found by amateur metal detectorists, known only from a fragment). The hoards had been buried during the second half of the 6th century.

Individual early Byzantine coins have been excavated on many sites, *e.g.*, Sexaginta Prista (a few 6th-century issues, and some middle Byzantine coins as well; cf. RUSEV, DRAGOEV, VARBANOV, and PACHEV [424]).

A series of early Byzantine coins is known also from the area near Varna (Shumen Province). A list of more than 60 coins (last issue: Heraclius [610–641]) from the collection of Alexander Russev of Varna was published by MITEV [336])

Let us note that the pool of coin finds from Bulgaria from the 6th century includes a handful of western issues, such as coins of Carthage (issues of Thrasamund, king of the Vandals [496–523]; cf. VASSILEV [486]).

A fascinating hoard came to light at Hvoyna (39 AE coins, 4th–7th century; cf. BOJADŽIEV [112]), another, of 7th and 8th century coins (ending in issues of Justinian II [685–695, 705–711]) was unearthed at Aquae Calidae (Burgas mineral bath) and was presented by KLASNAKOV (260). Imitations of gold coins of emperor Justinian II (685–695, 705–711) from north-eastern Bulgaria have been discussed by LAZARENKO (278).

Coin finds from northern Bulgaria (former province of Moesia Secunda), 5th–7th, and even 8th century issues, have been addressed in several studies published by MICHAJLOV (316–322); see also contributions of ZHEKOVA (515).

A larger series of coins deriving from the study of the centre at Stara Zagora (Beroe / Augusta Traiana) in central Bulgaria includes Byzantine coins from the 6th and 10th–13th centuries was presented by MINKOVA (331).

Quite a few early Byzantine coins were recovered from *e.g.*, the fortress at Golemo Gradishte near the village of Kladnitsa (6th century; cf. PENČEVA [399]).

Byzantine coins in the collections of the museum in Pazardzhik have been included in a new volume published within the *Coin Collections and Coin Hoards from Bulgaria* series (cf. IGNATOVA, FILIPOVA, TENCHOVA, and PROKOPOV [232]). Gold coins (5th–9th century) from the Regional Museum of History in Burgas were presented by KLASNAKOV (261).

Early Byzantine coins have also come to light in Sandanski (North Macedonia): issues of Justinian I were published by FILIPOVA ([187–188]; coins from the collections of the museum in Kyustendil [Bulgaria]).

In North Macedonia outstanding discoveries were made on the site of the Late Antique and early Byzantine settlement and fortress at Gradishte Taor (Taurisium) which yielded 345 sixth-century coins (last issue: Maurice

[582–602], as well as a series of middle Byzantine (11th–12th century) coins. These finds have been discussed by RISTOV (419–420). Early Byzantine Coins from Stobi (16 AE, Justinian - Heraclius) now in the National Museum in Belgrad were published by IVANIŠEVIĆ and RADIĆ (238).

Important insights were furnished by the research on the site at Caričin Grad in southern **Serbia** (identified with Justiniana Prima) both thanks to its long-term excavation and the fact that this settlement came into being *ex nihilo* during the fourth decade of the 6th century. Coins deriving from the study of the Lower Town have been presented by IVANIŠEVIĆ and STAMENKOVIĆ (240); see also IVANIŠEVIĆ (236); IVANIŠEVIĆ and STAMENKOVIĆ (239). A coin of Justinian I was recovered in Serbia from the site Gradac-Grbave in the vicinity of Svrljig (RADIŠIĆ [416]). Coins have turned up at other sites as well, typically forming a series containing coins from the 6th century, followed by issues from the Middle Byzantine Period, *e.g.*, anonymous folles, class A or B from the 10th–11th century, as for instance, from the site Vrčenovac in south-eastern Serbia (cf. MILOJEVIĆ and MILOJEVIĆ [330]).

Sixth-century coin finds from **Albania** have been discussed by META (313). One of the most important sites which has furnished invaluable insights into the history of Epirus is Butrint. Highly relevant for the study of the 6th-century history, the site is crucial for understanding subsequent centuries. Early Byzantine coins discussed by Moorhead include those from the Vrina Plain (excavation season 2002-2009; MOORHEAD [337]) and the Triconch Palace at Butrint (season 1994–2003; MOORHEAD [338]). Vrina Plain yielded just eight early Byzantine coins (6th century; the latest coin 548–549; MOORHEAD [337], p. 15). The group excavated from the Triconch Palace includes 33 coins (AE; 6th century) (“from the start of the 7th century Butrint was no longer being supplied with coinage”; MOORHEAD [338], p. 93).

It is fit to start the review of research in **Greece** by mentioning the study *The circulation of Byzantine coinage in mainland Greece and the Balkans. The hoard evidence: 5th–15th centuries* prepared by NIKOLAU and TURATSOGLU (364). It contains an impressive list of 728 hoards with a brief discussion. However, the section on the Early Byzantine Period evidently bases on data included in a catalogue published back in 2006 (cf. MORRISSON, POPOVIĆ, and IVANIŠEVIĆ 346a).

CURTA (132–134) included coin finds (6th-7th century, and some 8th century as well) from Greece in his research syntheses (see esp. CURTA [133]).

Worth recalling at this point are contributions dedicated to coin finds from the Peloponnese, some of them cover all ages (GALANE-KRIKU [196]), while focus only on the second half of the first millennium AD (see GIANNOPULOS [208]).

Needless to say, one of the most important Byzantine sites in Greece is Corinth. The study of coin finds from this centre have demonstrated conclusively the survival of Late Antiquity coins (4th century) into the 5th-6th century, which situation suggests that “large parts of any “Dark Age” is a problem of perception rather than reality“ (SANDERS [38], p. 375; see also SANDERS [37]).

Many Byzantine coins turned up during archaeological excavations. More notably, the site at Halai (Pthiotis) produced two hoards of bronze coins (41 and 24 coins respectively), buried in the 6th century but containing earlier coins as well (KAKAVAS [250], p. 125). This interesting phenomenon is known from other areas of Byzantium (KAKAVAS [250], p. 126) but also from *e.g.*, Bohemia. A small series of early Byzantine coins (AE of Justinian, Justin II, Phocas) is known also from the region of Corinth (Koutsongila Ridge [Kenchreai harbour]; KORKA and LAGOS [262], on the subject of outstanding Kenchreai hoards *ibidem*, p. 160, note 82]). Investigations at Messene furnished coin evidence for contacts in the 6th century with Vandal and later Byzantine Carthage and Gothic Rome (TSVIKIS [472]). Several late antique / early Byzantine coins (the latest of them an issue of Phocas [602–610]) are known also from Delphi (DESTROOPER [163]), and from excavations in Argos, Kefalari and Tiryns (13 coins, Early – Middle Byzantine Period; BASILEIU [93]; see also MALADAKES [292]).

Quite a few authors have reported on research made on the islands between the 5th and 8th century, more notably, on Naxos (VIONIS [489]; see also PENNA [400]). The site at Agioi Pente of Yeroskopou near Paphos on the island of Cyprus yielded a remarkable number of Late Roman and early Byzantine coins from 4th to 7th century, discussed by MARCELLESI (300). They included some isolated finds (114 AE coins, including a larger series of issues of Justinian I and Heraclius, the latest issue being a Constans II), and a hoard of 21 coins (AE of Heraclius, mostly from 624–633). However, by far the most significant are coins from “ossuaries” (it is unclear whether these were “veritable ossuaries

[...] or collective sepulchres that are the result of a catastrophe” (MARCELLESI [300], p. 429). They yielded a truly impressive quantity of coins ranging from the 4th until the 5th/7th century: “ossuary” 1–281 coins (ending in Justinian I or Justin II) // ossuary 2–722 coins (up to Constans II) // ossuary 3–12 coins (Anastasius – Heraclius) // ossuary 4–344 coins (up to Justinian I). This fascinating site (described as a religious centre) was abandoned in consequence of Arab raids in the 7th century (for Early Byzantine Period coins from Cyprus see also BODZEK [108] and ZAVAGNO [502–505]).

Excavations of the fishing community in ancient Halasarna on the island of Kos brought in a few bronze coins of Heraclius (610–641), an interesting insight into the economy of common people (MURELATOS [351]).

Very relevant insights have been furnished by studies concerning Rhodes and published by KASDAGLE (252–254). The publication of early Byzantine coin finds from the Dodecanese islands (252); including those from Rhodes (sanctuary of Apollo Erethimios, 10 coins, early and middle Byzantine, [253]) was followed by an exhaustive study of coins from Rhodes. This publication (254) covering the period from 498 to the Ottoman conquest in 1522 includes a catalogue of an impressive series of 3354 coins. The sheer volume of coins alone listed by this author (e.g., 850 for the Early Byzantine Period [498–668]!) must cause the material from Rhodes to be quoted often in studies concerned with Byzantine coins (for Crete see RANDAZZO [417]).

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A group of fifty or so early Byzantine coins known from the British Isles has attracted considerable interest of many researchers as e.g., MCINTOSH (312); MORRISON [342]; WEST (491) and MOORHEAD (339), accompanied by an ongoing discussion about the authenticity of these finds (BURSTRÖM [1], p. 244). The growing record of non-monetary Byzantine finds has encouraged recognition of these coins as authentic. Obviously, this problem applies to many regions of Europe, as e.g., Austria and Poland (see discussion below; cf. also the reference to early Byzantine coins from Gnezdovo in Russia).

For eastern Germany the primary task is publication of new coins from the Biesenbrow hoard. These coins were discovered in the mid-19th century. A metal detector survey made by BIERMANN in 2011 yielded ten more coins from the hoard ([101], p. 116): “The coins were struck, among others, in Constantinople, Ravenna and Rome for different East Roman emperors — from Theodosius II (401–450) to Justinian the Great (527–565). There were also golden coins of Germanic kings, from the Ostrogothic ruler Theoderich the Great (†526) and the Merovingian king Theudebert I (†547/48)” (for finds of Byzantine coins from East Germany see also BIERMANN [102]).

A study crucial for eastern parts of Europe in the 6th and 7th century is GANDILA’s book *Byzantium’s Northern Frontier* published in 2018. It includes a catalogue of finds “[...] from the Ore Mountains (separating Saxony from Bohemia) to the Caucasus [...] from eighteen modern countries” ([202], Appendix A, p. 1). Included in the Catalogue are finds from the 6th–7th century, the coins ranging from Anastasius (491–518) to Justinian II (685–695 / 705–711). GANDILA distinguished his study area into at least three zones, defining them as *the Land of Gold* (= Carpathian Basin), *the Land of Bronze* (= Lower Danube region), and *the Land of Silver* (= Transcaucasia). In my view he underestimated the number of bronze coins in the Carpathian Basin and in Transcaucasia (but this definitely does not reduce lessen the value of GANDILA’s contribution; see my detailed review: WOŁOSZYN [496]).

Finds of early Byzantine coins from the Carpathian Basin, especially those dating to the time of the Avar Khaganate (568–822) belong among the best investigated in Europe. They are discussed in the excellent study published in 2014 by SOMOGYI ([42]; in the first place, 6th and 7th century issues; the supply of gold coins stops for the most part in 626 in consequence of the Avar defeat at Constantinople). The 2014 study was subsequently supplemented by observations about the value of coins for dating (SOMOGYI [444]). SOMOGYI published also an extensive study of the hoard from Firtuşu (Firtosváralja), demonstrating that the latest coins in the hoard are issues of Justinian I rather than of Heraclius (443, 445). In a separate article the same researcher examined coins recorded in Gepidic burials (446; see also VIDA, GENNARI, and FARKAS [488]). Further finds of early Byzantine coins from Avar territory were published by PROHÁSZKA (415).

Not to be overlooked is the major contribution made by these two researchers by putting into scholarly circulation coins deriving from eighteenth century and early nineteenth century discoveries recovered through an at times very painstaking study of archival records of Austria-Hungary.

In a study of Avar relations with Rome and Constantinople published in 2019 by BÁLINT (92) coins play an

important role (especially Italian issues known from East Central Europe; cf. [92], esp. pp. 189–192, 200–203).

In my view the most urgent task at present when it comes to the Carpathian Basin is the publication of a corpus of coins of Anastasius, Justin I and Justinian I recovered in that region. This task is at present carried out by PROHÁSZKA (414).

For imitations of Early Byzantine coins by Avars (presented against a broad European background see CURTA [135]).

In the introduction to the present survey we mentioned the problem of unprovenanced coins found in museum collections. Some researchers whose area of study is the Carpathian Basin in 6th–8th century consistently regard these coins as local finds (*e.g.*, GANDILA) while others (*e.g.*, SOMOGYI) are very sceptical (cf. WOŁOSZYN [496]). Another problem also worth noting are coins recovered at Carnuntum. This site has yielded a substantial volume of early Byzantine coins (30 Byzantine and five Ostrogothic). None of them – despite many decades of archaeological activity – had been discovered during regular excavations, and information about them was obtained from private collectors only (NEDELIK and LERNER [363]). By many researchers these coins are not recognized as authentic finds, this is something worth bearing in mind (cf. Wołoszyn [496]).

Early Byzantine coins found in Eastern Carpathians were analysed by MUSTEAȚĂ (355–357).

The list of finds from Poland was later augmented by two coins by BODZEK, TUNIA, and WOŁOSZYN (109) and GORLIŃSKA, SUCHODOLSKI, BOGUCKI, ILISCH, MALARCZYK, and NOWAKIEWICZ ([209], Cat. Nos. 78–79, 102, 121, 126, 166).

A highly intriguing find is a solidus of Heraclius from Sambia Peninsula – the first coin of this type to surface on Balt territory put into scholarly circulation by ZAPOLSKA (501).

Coin finds from Eastern Europe will be addressed in the discussion of the Middle Byzantine Period. At this point let us move to Asia.

Recent years have seen an increase in the volume of early Byzantine coins (but most of all, Sasanian ones) and their imitations recovered in Central Asia (*e.g.*, on the territory of Sogdian culture; LIM [290]; XINJIANG [497]).

Single finds of early and middle Byzantine coins from Kyrgyzstan have been collected by MURATA (350).

Moving on, some of the bronze imitative coins recovered in Chāch (region around present-day Tashkent) were apparently inspired by issues of Justinian I (STARK [452], esp. Fig. 19).

A more outstanding discovery recorded in Mongolia in 2011 is the Shoroon Bumbagar Tomb dated to 7th century and identified with one of the Turkic ethnic groups. Its grave goods included “40 gold coins and gold pieces [...], among which four double-sided pieces could be identified as coins, while the others are single-sided bracteates copied from Byzantine gold coins and Sasanian silver coins” (GUO and CHEN [215], p. 1). According to the most recent analyses just one out of the four specimens turned out to be a true coin (AU, Heraclius, 610–623) the other three are imitations possibly “produced by Sogdians or other ethnic groups in Central Asia” (GUO and CHEN [215], p. 8; STARK [453]; see also SHULGA, GIRCHENKO, and FILATOVA [441]; ERDENEBOLD [182]; GUO [214]).

Bracteates with early (6th–7th century) Byzantine coin patterns have been recorded in People’s Republic of China: at Turfan twenty-five specimens were discovered “in funerary contexts, in the mouths of corpses”, at from Guyun a handful turned up in “Shi’s Cemetery where Sogdian descendants were buried” (GUO [212], esp. 342).

Byzantine coin finds recorded in China, India and Southeast Asia were discussed at the conference *From Constantinople to Chang’an. Byzantine Gold Coins in the World of Late Antiquity* held in 2017 in Changchun, China. An overview of research in Byzantine coins in China was presented by LI (282), the coins themselves by GUO ([213]; see also ŠULGA [461]). Apparently, the volume of early Byzantine coin finds is fairly small (100, possibly 200 specimens). Sixth-century issues may be seen to prevail, in contrast to coins of Heraclius, so abundant within the Byzantine Empire and *e.g.*, in the Carpathian Basin but rare in China.

A small number of coins is known from India (mostly issues of Justinian I; cf. DARLEY [150]) and Southeast Asia (AE of Anastasius found near Óc Eo in Vietnam; BORELL [113–114]).

In her convincing study DARLEY (149) was highly critical in her assessment of the authenticity of early Byzantine coin finds from Sri Lanka arguing *e.g.*, that specimens in the Leslie de Saram collection cannot be recognized as local (proving contacts of medieval Lanka with the western world). Instead, they attest the activity of early modern collectors.

Middle Byzantine Period

Before passing to discuss finds from respective regions I wish to note two research syntheses from PAPAPOPOULOU: a very relevant insight into the 12th century was furnished by studies of coins of John II Komnenos (1118–1143) – based on an analysis of iconography and coin finds themselves (384), and a comprehensive study of 12th-century mints (383)

Obviously, the Byzantine Empire which regained its influence in the ninth century was a formation than the empire of Justinian I, with a territory basically limited to Anatolia and the Balkans.

The economic revival of the Empire in Asia Minor is heralded by issues of Leo VI (886–912), thus somewhat later than in the Balkans where this process is observed since the early years of the 11th century (this is evidenced by *e.g.*, coin finds from Corinth). Economic recovery becomes obvious in the second half of the 10th and early 11th century, indicated by the great number of anonymous folles, type A2 minted at this time (LAFLI, LIGHTFOOT, and RITTER [14], p. 206; MORRISSON [19], p. 81), although obviously not every site has yielded coins from this period (*e.g.*, a single 10th century coin was recovered from Allianoī near Pergamon [an issue of Constantine VII (913–959)] and just a few from the 12th century (TEKIN and EROL-ÖZDIZBAY [468]).

The site at Amorium has an exceptional significance for the study of the Middle Byzantine Period. The archaeological record (incl. coins, but other finds too) confirm the existence of this city in the 8th–9th century (MORRISSON [19], pp. 78–79) which is highly unusual for Byzantium. Two hoards found at Amorium have been attributed to the Turkish expansion of the 1070s (MORRISSON [19], p. 81).

Ephesus remains an important centre continuing to be a recipient of coins (anonymous folles) until the end of the 10th century. “The Byzantine coin curve in Ephesus itself comes to an end with coins from the end of the 11th century. In the area around the Artemision it reaches into the 13th century. [...] In the first half of the 14th century the circulation volume must have changed completely; from that time on Islamic coins became predominant” (SCHACHINGER [428], p. 538).

A series of 53 anonymous folles dated to periods between 970/976 AD and 1075/1080 AD (in the first place, types A, B, C, D, E, F, G, I) was furnished by fieldwork on Parion, ancient Mysia (2006–2018). These coins were presented by KELEŞ and OYARÇIN (255) in the context of finds of anonymous folles from other regions of Turkey. The same site produced other middle Byzantine coins (Leo III [717–741] to Isaac II Angelus [1185–1195]) and one late Byzantine issue of Manuel II (1391–1425); cf. OYARÇIN (374).

The fieldwork at Komana (near Tokat) brought in 63 coins, including a handful of early Byzantine issues (Justin I, Phocas, Constans II). Most of them date from 10th and 11th century (in the first place, anonymous folles, classes A2, B, C, D, G, I, J). The latest coin is a bronze of Roman IV Diogenes (1068–1071) and an anonymous follis, type J, attributed to the early reign of Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118). The absence of later Byzantine coins must be due to Turkish expansion (ÜNAL [482]).

Middle Byzantine coins recovered at Kyme near Aliağa (ancient Aeolis) in western Turkey include a single late 8th century milaresion issued by Leo IV and Constantine VI (CARROCCIO [126]). The site of Hadrianopolis in Paphlagonia produced a coin of Leo III (717–741), some anonymous folles and a bronze coin of Roman IV (1068–1071) “which fits perfectly to the date of battle of Manzikert in A.D. 1071 and the lasting entry of the Seljuk Turks in Asia Minor” (LAFLI, LIGHTFOOT, and RITTER [14], p. 194). The studies carried out in 1954 at Daskyleion in Mysia brought in three middle Byzantine coins (10th–12th century; cf. KÖKER [265]).

The turbulent times of the Fourth Crusade are what prompted the deposition of the hoard at Uluköy in Sandikli, Afyonkarahisar in ancient Phrygia buried most probably after 1204 (DEMIREL GÖKALP [155]).

Finally, we need to note a remarkable series of 107 anonymous folles now in the Kayseri Archaeological Museum (central Turkey; cf. YUKA [499]).

In this overview of finds from the Balkans I leave out information about the changing political situation in respective regions (obviously, in late 9th, and in 12th century, Bulgaria was an independent state, while in early 11th century it was a part of the Byzantine Empire (for Bulgaria and Byzantium in the time of Basil II from a numismatic point of view see ZHEKOVA [508]).

The highly relevant series initiated in 2010 by MĂNUCU-ADAMEȘTEANU – *Byzantine coins discovered in Dobruđa* was followed by a new series of studies by this author collected in volumes II–VI:1–4 (MĂNUCU-ADAMEȘTEANU

[303–306, 308–311]. Some of the coins were additionally subjected to a physico-chemical analysis (POLL [406]).

The numismatic history of Dobruđja in the 10th and 11th centuries has been presented in detail (period 896–1001: 78 points with single finds and 13 coin hoards / 1001–1092: 155 points with single finds and 48 coin hoards; cf. CUSTUREA [138]; bronze coins from 10th–11th century see MĂNUCU-ADAMEȘTEANU [302]).

We owe a research synthesis on coin circulation in the lower Danube region in 10th and 11th century, i.e., the time of the Byzantine reconquista to JORDANOV and ZHEKOVA (249).

An extraordinary nomad burial containing a hoard of 13 coins (Electrum scyphati of Manuel I Komnenos [1143–1180], Andronicus Komnenos [1183–1185], and Isaac Angelos [1185–1195]) was excavated on Lake Kalabukh on the left bank of the Lower Danube; cf. RUSSEV and REDINA [425]; DOBROLIUBSKII and SMYRNOV [165]).

Among more notable finds from Bulgaria is a hoard of gold coins from the Markela fortress near the Bulgarian town Karnobat (37 issues, including Nicephorus III Botaniates [1078–1081], Alexios I Komnenos [1092–1018] and John II Komnenos [1118–1143]; cf. ALADŽOV [55–56]). The fieldwork in Veliki Preslav yielded a series of Byzantine and Bulgarian coins from 10th–14th century; cf. ALADŽOV (57). A find recently published from Pliska was an anonymous follis of the Emperor Nicephorus (802–811; cf. DIMITROV and INKOVA [164]), but also, a series of 47 Byzantine bronze coins from 10th–11th (additionally, also a coin of Leo VI [886–912]; cf. GRIGOROV [210]).

Plenty data on minting activity of the Middle Byzantine Period was furnished by the fortress at Silistra in north-eastern Bulgaria (Alexios I Komnenos; cf. PENČEV [393]; see also information about 11th-century hoard containing gold Byzantine coins [Romanos III Argyros; 1028–1034] from Professor Iširkovo village, Silistra region; cf. PENČEV [397]).

An impressive group of 1028 coins (early, but mostly middle and late Byzantine issues) came to light during the investigation of the fortress Ryahovets (Rachovets) in north-eastern Bulgaria, near Veliko Tarnovo (summary review: PETRAKIEV [401]).

The collection of A. Russev was found to include 49 bronze coins (9th–12th century) from the vicinity of Varna (Shumen Region) in Bulgaria (MITEV [335], for more about this region in the Middle Byzantine Period see MITEV [333–334]).

Some remarkable coins from Gradnitsa, Sevlievo municipality in central Bulgaria were published less than a decade ago (13th century; PENČEV [394]).

Likely to be associated with the Norman threat of the 1080s is a hoard of six pre-reform Thessaloniki nomismata histamena of Alexios Komnenos (from archaeological excavations in the medieval fortress of Balāk dere near Ivaylovgrad; cf. PENČEV [395]).

Another fascinating subject next to that of Byzantine coin finds is early coinage activity in the Balkans. The first known Bulgarian cast replicas of Byzantine coins were anonymous folles, class A-2 (976–1035), in the vicinity of Preslav evidence was found for the copying of earlier coins (from the 10th century; cf. DONCHEVA [177]; on the subject of Bulgarian coinage activity see also JORDANOV [248]).

A more recent find from Bulgaria are coins from the medieval village of Zlatna Livada (10th/11th–13th century) cf. MINKOVA (332).

Finds of 10th–11th century anonymous folles from the Strandzha massif (south-eastern Bulgaria / north-western Turkey) have been discussed by MILANOVA and VALERIEV (328).

Serbian finds include a series of Byzantine coins from 9th–12th century from the collections of the National Museum in Kruševac which reflect well the Byzantine revival of the 9th century, but also the importance of this region in the 11th and 12th century (cf. RAŠKOVIĆ [418]). For Middle Byzantine coin and seals from Mladenovac see IVANIŠEVIĆ (237).

As was noted earlier, among finds from the Balkans a truly exceptional site is Butrint (see HODGES [227]). The finds from the Middle and Late Byzantine Period were discussed by PAPADOPOULOU (387), who concluded (referring to the earlier contribution from Richard Hodges) that this site may be recognised “as ‘a microcosm of Mediterranean history’” ([387], p. 104). The site of the Triconch Palace produced no less than 61 single finds of Byzantine coins (9th–13th) and a hoard. The group of coins from single finds is evidently dominated by AE issues, most of them from the second half of the 10th and the 11th century (ending in issues of Nicephorus III [1078–1081]), the only exception being a gold tetarteron of Basil II (976–1025), and two silver miliaresia (Basil I [867–886] and John I [969–976]).

More notable later coins include 13th century issues (of the Despotate of Epirus, and the Empire of Thessalonica). The latest Byzantine coin among single finds is a stamenon of Michael VIII (1259–1282). To these finds we need to add a coin hoard recovered in 2002 (three stamena of Manuel I [1143–1180] and 91 stamena of Isaac II [1185–1195]), possibly buried at the time when the armies of the Fourth Crusade were on the move through this region in 1203 ([387], p. 101).

The excavations on the Vrina Plain – also discussed by PAPADOPOULOU – brought in 56 middle and late Byzantine coins ([385], p. 41). Eleventh century coinage is documented by four coins of the Amorian dynasty (9th century), minted on the island of Sicily. A mass influx of coinage started in the reign of Leo VI (886–912) and lasted for the duration of the 10th century until the early years of the 11th century. Byzantine coins from the Vrina Plain with the latest dating are issues of Manuel I (1143–1180) and John III Vatatzes (1246–1254).

It is significant that the coins from the 9th century (especially those uncirculated) and seals (9th–10th century; PAPADOPOULOU [28]) prove that “the middle Byzantine building from which these finds derived was the oikos of the local archon” ([385], p. 46, note 16).

Recent finds of Middle Byzantine coins from Greece include several specimens (Leo VI (886–912) and Nicephorus II (963–969) found among the grave goods in a cemetery “Rachi Mpompora” in Agios Thomas (Mesolongi; cf. CHULIARAS, CHAMILAKE, KATSIKA, and GEORGIU [131]). At Halai (Pthiotis) the Middle Byzantine Period is represented by a coin of Leo VI the Wise (886–912), but also by tetartera and half-tetartera of the Komnenoi from the 12th century (KAKAVAS [250]). Five middle Byzantine coins are known from Kenchreai, the latest of which, a tetarteron of John II (1118–1143) corresponds well with the destruction in 1147 of Corinth by Roger II of Sicily, marking the end of this centre (KORKA and LAGOS [262], p. 161). The excavation near the port of Naupaktos yielded a follis of Leo VI and an anonymous follis, Class A (KOSTI [264]).

The Peloponnese and its economy in the 9th–11th centuries have been discussed using evidence from the written sources by GEROLYMATU (207).

Middle Byzantine coins were also recorded in **Europe beyond the Empire**. Their finds in the British Isles have been analysed comprehensively by MORRISSON ([344]: 40 AE issues, Michael I Rhangabe [811–813] to Andronicus II and Michael IX [1294–1320]; for Albion and Byzantium see also HOBBS [226]).

The corpus of new finds of middle Byzantine coins from Poland is very modest. An anonymous Byzantine follis from Gródek upon the Bug River was presented by BODZEK, DEL HOYO-MELÉNDEZ, and WOŁOSZYN (110). Byzantine coins have been mentioned in a Corpus of coin finds from early medieval Polish contexts GORLIŃSKA, SUCHODOLSKI, BOGUCKI, ILISCH, MALARCZYK, and NOWAKIEWICZ (209), Cat. Nos. 16, 18, 30, 84–85, 117, 127–128, 153, 166, 174, 181; cf. also BOGUCKI, DYMOWSKI, and ŚNIEŻKO (111), Cat. Nos. 9, 21, 32, 34–36, 41, U.11). A more outstanding recent find is a bronze coin (1 AE Nikephoros II Phokas [963–969]) discovered in Poznań – Śródka during regular excavations (presumably in a burial context) – preliminary report by PAWLAK and PAWLAK ([391], p. 68 and Fig. 70).

Hungarian finds of 10th century Byzantine coins were brought together and analysed by PROHÁSZKA (412–413).

Byzantine coins from **Scandinavian** finds have been the subject of numerous analyses for some time now. The most commonly encountered denomination are silver miliaresia from the 10th and 11th century. More recently circumstances of their influx were addressed by ANDROSHCHUK (65–66), GRUSZCZYŃSKI (211), HORSNÆS (228–229), JANKOWIAK (242), JONSSON (246) and FÖLLER (192); their use (as pendants) was discussed by AUDY (76–77). The new edition of *Corpus nummorum saeculorum IX–XI* presumably will be expected to organise these finds further (cf. JONSSON ed. [247]).

Single finds of bronze coins recorded in Scandinavia (cf. HORSNÆS [229], p. 191, 196) help to improve our understanding of the appearance of similar specimens in Estonia (cf. KIUDSOO [258]).

A separate problem are Byzantine coins as a source of inspiration for the local Scandinavian minting activity – e.g., ANDROSHCHUK (64).

The study of the relations of the Byzantine Empire with other regions of medieval Europe continues to suffer from the lack of an updated corpus of coin finds from Eastern Europe while the most recent comprehensive catalogue continues to be the work of V. Kropotkin published more than six decades ago; see remarks in GURULEVA and MUSIN (224). Needless to say “Eastern Europe“ is a vast territory with several identifiable culture zones.

Crimea and the northern coast of the Black and Azov seas were the outlying territories of Byzantine civilization

and their immediate periphery. We owe a synthetic review of the history of the Byzantine Taurica and its coins to CHOREF ([129]; see also CHOREF [130]; GURULEVA [220]; for Crimea see also remarks in chapter Periphery without Dark Ages in CURTA [136], pp. 81–93). Byzantine coins of Tauric Chersonese with monograms of «Basil» and «despot» were addressed by ČAPAĖV (143). Coin circulation in Byzantine Chersonese were discussed recently also by ALEKSEENKO (59). Syracusan folles of Leo V (813–820) found in Chersonese (200 specimens!!) were presented by GURULEVA (219). Late 8th century Byzantine coins are represented by five solidi recovered at Phanagoria during the research seasons 2016 and 2018 (2 solidi of Tiberius III Apsimarus [698–705], a solidus of Leo III the Isaurian [717–741] and a solidus of Constantine V with Leo IV Khazar [741–775]; cf. ABRAMZON and OSTAPENKO [53]).

To my knowledge there are no comprehensive studies of Byzantine coin finds from the Caucasus. Let us note however, the regular study of finds from Armenia made by HOVHANNISYAN; so far one volume dedicated to anonymous folles, Class A has been published ([230]; see also PHILLIPS [402]).

Moving away from the south, an important location is the region of the Dnieper Rapids with a site which in 1812 yielded a hoard of Byzantine coins. The record of this find was revisited and pushed forward the date of the hoard's deposition from late 10th to the second half of the 11th century (the latest coins are anonymous folles, class H, from the reign of VII [1071–1078; cf. GURULEVA and GAJDUKOV [222]).

A brief report on nomad burials in the delta of the river Don River containing Byzantine coins (gold issues of Nicephorus III [1078–1081] and Manuel I [1143–1180]) was presented by ČCHAIÐZE (144).

Particularly depressing is the lack of a corpus of coins deriving from early Rus contexts. The routes of influx of Byzantine coins to the region between the 9th and 11th centuries were addressed by SHEVTSOV in his research synthesis ([436]; see also MUSIN [354]; PAPADOPOULOU [386]). Several contributions by GURULEVA are dedicated to Byzantine coins in the Hermitage Museum (216–218). More outstanding among them is a study of miliaresia (429 specimens; Leo III [717–741] to Alexios I Komnenus [1081–1118]), most of them (97 coins) with evidence of reuse (holes, loops; cf. GURULEVA [221]). Some of these coins may derive from local discoveries and presumably formed part of the wave of silver Byzantine coins observed in Eastern Europe and Scandinavia (cf. below).

A notable regional study has discussed coin finds from the 9th–11th century recovered in the upper reaches of the Desna River (Bryansk oblast): four gold coins, two gold imitations, more than 20 silver coins and 30 bronzes SHINAKOV, ZAYTSEV, and PISKUNOV (439); see also SHINAKOV, ZAYTSEV, and SOBOLEV (440). Belarusian finds of Byzantine coins of Tauric Chersonese were published in up-to-date contribution (cf. SIDOROVICH and SHEVTSOV [442]).

Worth special note is a study of Byzantine coins recovered at Gnezdovo and Kyiv by SHEVTSOV (438) discussing fifty coins from the former and 126 from the latter locality (a comprehensive catalogue of coins from Gnezdovo is now in the works). The corpus of coin finds from Gnezdovo includes early Byzantine issues (of Justin I [518–527] from the Chersonese mint; Heraclius [610–641] AE; Constantine VI [780–797] Ag). Not unexpectedly, the largest number are coins from 9th and 10th century (up to Basil II [976–1025]), but there are some individual 6th and 7th century issues (this is important in the context of the discussion on the authenticity of finds of early Byzantine coins *e.g.*, from Great Britain).

An outstanding series of coins from Gnezdovo are ten bronzes of Theophilos (829–842), possibly introduced to the upper Dnieper region with the first stream of Byzantine coins (SHEVTSOV [437]).

A truly remarkable hoard apparently came to light in the 1980s at the rural settlement of Ochovo in Belarus (outside Pinsk). It comprised a single *zlatnik* of Vladimir the Great, eight Byzantine solidi from 10th–11th century (ending in a coin of Basil II [976–1025]), and a gold earring (ZAJTSEV and MITJAEVA [500]). This assemblage of coins is important both for the study of the influx of Byzantine coins and the chronology of early Rus coinage.

Byzantine coins recorded in the north of Rus are mostly silver, which makes the gold coin of Roman III (1028–1034) recovered at Novgorod an even more remarkable find (GURULEVA, GAJDUKOV, and OLEJNIKOV [223]).

Several early Byzantine silver coins are mentioned by Myzgin in his discussion of ancient coins found in Eastern Europe (MYZGIN [358], Cat. Nos. 7, 19, 24, 26).

It is important to note a thought-provoking miliaresion of Basil II and Constantine VIII (976–1025) found with two other coins in a cremation burial in a cemetery on Cape Ristiniemi (North-Western Ladoga Lake Area; cf. BELSKIY, GORLOV, and LEMBERG [96]; KULESHOV and JONSSON [270]).

Recent years have seen an increase in the volume of finds of later Byzantine coins (*i.e.*, from the 12th–13th century). There is strong evidence that these issues (of the Komnenos dynasty, but also Latin and “Bulgarian” imitations) entered the region, the Dniester basin in particular, Volhynia, and Kyiv; this is suggested by finds published by GURULEVA, MUSIN, and OSTAPYUK (225).

Late Byzantine Period

Quite a few studies have been concerned with the period 13th–15th century, and in particular to the presence on Byzantine territory of Latin Christians. Of these more notable is an English-language edition of earlier works as *e.g.*, *Coins of the Frankish occupation of Greece 1184–1566* of TZAMALIS (473). 2015 brought the research synthesis of the coinage of the Empire of Trebizond by BENDALL (100).

A crucial contribution to understanding this age has been made by Baker and his regular publication of the most important coin finds, more notably his studies of the material (hoards included) from medieval Thrace and Constantinople (BAKER [79]; 82–27 hoards), Peloponnese (Argolid – see BAKER and TSEKES [87]) and the Cistercian Monastery of Zaraka (see BAKER [81]). The significance of Ephesos as a trade centre in the Late Byzantine Period, including a hoard of coins (“Aretemis Hoard 1871” / “İsa Bey Hamamı Hoard 1999” / “Ayasuluk Hoard 1979”) was addressed by DALANAY (146), but also by BAKER (83). Other notable publications include a study of the Miletus hoard (BAKER and KLUGE [86]), and another, addressing silver currency in late 14th century using the evidence of hoards from Belgrade (BAKER, DOMPIERI, and GÖKYILDIRIM [85]).

Baker has also contributed a number of research syntheses (BAKER [80]). The most accomplished of these would be his monumental work *Coinage and Money in Medieval Greece 1200–1430* (84). It covers the territory of modern Greece (leaving out Greek Macedonia, Thrace and the island of Crete). Next to an extensive catalogue of finds (Appendix I: Coin Finds, pp. 647–1196) this groundbreaking contribution includes a broad discussion of relevant types of coins (cf. Appendix II–III, pp. 1197–1597).

To continue our list of significant and exciting finds

A remarkable study addressed 12th/13th century hoards from Turkey: the Beydağ hoard (545 billion trachea of Manuel I Comnenus, and Aronicus I Comnenus, Isaac II Angelus, Alexius III Angelus; cf. ÜNAL [479]), the Ağacık hoard (ÜNAL [478]) and hoards excavated in 2011 and 2012 at Uzunuyava near Muğla (Mylasa). The latter, numbering “about six thousand pieces of silver coins minted by Seljuks of Anatolia, Menteşeoğlu, Ilkhanlı, Italian states, France, Armenian and Cypriot Lusignan provinces, and by the Pope, are significant not only for their artistic value, but also for the history of the region during the 13/14th centuries“ (PEKTAŞ [392], p. 435).

A fascinating group of three hoards which came to light during the research at Kadıkalesi (ancient Anaia) are a capital source to the history of the Nicene Empire and Late Byzantine Empire. The large number of coins from this research (cf. ÜNAL [480]) includes two very interesting hoards: ‘Kadıkalesi/ Anaia Hoard A’: 17 golden hyperpyra, John III Doukas Vatatzes (1221–1254); cf. ÜNAL [481] // ‘Kadıkalesi/ Anaia Hoard B’ (24 billion trachea; Theodore I Lascaris [1208–2221]; cf. ÜNAL and TOY [484] // and ‘Kadıkalesi/ Anaia Hoard C’ (33 copper trachea and stamena, from Michael VIII Palaiologos [1261–1282] until the joint reign of John V and John VI Palaiologos [1347–1352]; cf. ÜNAL and TOY [483]).

A more notable group are finds of coins of the Palaiologoi from the vicinity of the medieval Tarnovo (Veliko Tarnovo), addressed in a series of studies by DOČEV (166–176) and LAZARENKO (279–280).

A hoard from the early 15th century (with *e.g.*, half-stavraton coins of John VII and Manuel II Palaiologos, struck between 1399 and 1403) from Lăka village, Pomorie municipality in Bulgaria was presented by KRĀSTEV (267).

An important hoard of 194 coins of Isaac II Angelos (1185–1195), dropped in late 1240s or early 1250s, held by the National Museum of History in Sofia has been discussed by PENČEV (398).

A coin of Manuel Komnenos Doukas, Despot of Thessalonica (1230–1237) was found during the archaeological excavations on the medieval fortress of Balák Dere near Ivaylovgrad (cf. PENČEV [396]; for Bulgaria see also ZHEKOVA [510–511]).

Worth noting among finds from Greece are two hoards from the Frankish period (2130 and 233 coins) discovered in 2005 at Argos (KOSSYBA [263]). Two other exceptional deposits are the ‘Thessalonica/2007’ hoards (comprising respectively 79 and 215 coins) from late 12th – early 13th century (esp. LIANTA [287]). A gold hyperpyron of John III Vatatzes (1222–1254) came to light during excavations of a Byzantine church of Saint George in Evenochori

(Mesolongi; STAUROKOS [454]). Also worth noting are 13th and 14th century Venetian coins (Giovanni Dandolo [1280–1289] to Andrea Dandolo [1350–1354]) identified in the hoard from Naxos (KARDASE [251]).

Last but not least, worth noting are two important excavation projects. Their results are very relevant for all the periods of Byzantine history, including the Late Byzantine Period.

A notable group of Byzantine coins came to light during archaeological excavations conducted in connection with the construction of the Venizelou metro station in Thessalonica (2008–2015). Out of 16,277 single coins recovered from this site at present undergoing conservation treatment and determination 3227 specimens belong to the period between the 4th and 14th century, which corresponds to Late Antiquity and Byzantine age (coins from all periods of the Empire are represented: cf. LIANTA [283]).

A substantial coin series came to light during the Kadikalesi/Anaia excavation of a major centre on the western coast of Anatolia. Running since 2001 the fieldwork produced more than 1000 coins (from all periods of Byzantine history). To date, the part of the assemblage dating to 13th-14th century was published (cf. ÜNAL [480]).

Last but definitely not least to be mentioned in this survey is a series of coins (30 billon and copper coins of Andronicus II (1282–1328) and Andronicus III (1328–1341) found outside the territory of the crumbling Empire, between the rivers Prut and the Dniester in contexts dated to the period of the Golden Horde (KRIVENKO and BUTYRSKIJ [268]).

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VISIGOTHS

Ruth Pliego

The period 2014-2019 witnessed the publication of two works on Visigothic coinage. In one of them, STEINBACH (32) synthesizes in German the advances made in the field over the previous decade. KURT (8), for his part, examines Visigothic coinage comprehensively, beginning with issuing authorities, mints, and techniques, and tries to establish the uses of coinage over time, although, in my opinion, he lays excessive emphasis on the military function. Two hoards were published during this period; one, dated to Tulga's reign, has been in the possession of a family from Cordoba from at least the mid-20th century [PLIEGO (22)]; the other one is the Calle Cuna Hoard (Seville) [PLIEGO (20)]. This is one of the earliest known Visigothic hoards (mid-6th century); although it was found in 1972, it had until recently been inaccessible to scholars. BARLETT, YOON and PLIEGO (1) have examined their weight and composition, comparing it with the Reccopolis hoard, which is obviously later in date (c. 579). Finds in Reccopolis have been reported by CASTRO PRIEGO (3) who examines, based on the analysis of the distorted panorama presented by Visigothic hoards and finds, the absence of coinage in the central regions of the Iberian Peninsula [CASTRO PRIEGO (4); OLMO ENCISO and CASTRO PRIEGO (15)]. MARTÍN VISO (9) has addressed monetary finds in the center-east of the Iberian Peninsula from an archaeological perspective and has examined their possible fiscal function. The same region, more or less, has also been examined by MARTÍN-ESQUIVEL and BLÁZQUEZ-CERRATO (10), although these authors, perhaps prompted by the scarcity of Visigothic coins of known provenance, not only consider assemblages of different periods, the composition of some of which is uneven, doubtful and suspicious but analyze them in combination with isolated finds, against the grain of the numismatic method. Some methodological transgressions are also found in the confusingly entitled works by GONZÁLEZ GARCÍA and MARTÍNEZ CHICO (7, 11, 12), which address pieces of little or no interest currently in private collections or auctioned as if they were well-provenanced finds. For a review of numismatics novelties prior to 2014 see PLIEGO (21), with a report of Visigothic hoards in museums and institutions.

This period has also witnessed a renovation of the study of the so-called Visigothic bronzes [PLIEGO (19, 23, 27)], although these late pieces are still subject to a wide variety of interpretations [MORA SERRANO (13, 14)]. The novelties yielded by the site of València la Vella (Riba-Roja de Túria) were synthesised by CALDÉS (2). An examination of possible Visigothic silver issues was published by CRUSAFONT and others (5, 6).

Other aspects of Visigothic coinage have also been addressed during this period, for instance, their typological analysis and the relationship between typology and political power [PLIEGO (26)], the end of the Visigothic kingdom [PLIEGO (17)], and the transition between the Visigothic and Ummayyad periods [PLIEGO and IBRAHIM (30)]. Several works have added new items to the Visigothic monetary corpus [PLIEGO (18, 25, 29); RUEDA (31)] and the Visigothic coins in the large Roman hoard of Sovana have been examined [PLIEGO (16)]. Similarly, the foundations have been laid for the analysis of the Suevi coinage [PLIEGO (24)].

A historiographical review and update of the data, besides a commentary on most of these works, can be found in PLIEGO (28).

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CAROLINGIENS

Guillaume Sarah

Les travaux relatifs aux monnaies carolingiennes se répartissent en deux groupes principaux : le premier rassemble des catalogues ou des études portant sur des monnaies de collections ; le second, est constitué des publications de trouvailles isolées ou de trésors, dont le degré de connaissance va de la zone supposée de découverte au contexte archéologique.

Une publication notable est celle de KLUGE (41) qui présente la collection des monnaies des premiers souverains carolingiens (751-814) conservées au Cabinet des Médailles de Berlin. Les volumes d'actes de deux colloques importants centrés sur la période carolingienne sont également parus au cours de la période de référence. Le premier chronologiquement est celui dirigé par BOMPAIRE et SARAH (12), dont les contributions pluridisciplinaires traitent de la production et de la circulation de l'argent autour du cas de la mine de Melle. Le second, édité par GIANAZZA et ROSSINI (38) a trait à la circulation des monnaies entre l'Italie et la Suisse pendant le haut Moyen Âge. Outre des études nombreuses centrées sur un type inédit ou une nouvelle variante, trois publications traitant de l'économie à l'époque carolingienne dans une approche faisant un usage conjoint de la monnaie et des textes méritent d'être mentionnées : il s'agit des articles de COUPLAND (19) et de DEVROEY (33), et de l'ouvrage de KUCHENBUCH (43).

Pour ce qui concerne les trésors et les découvertes isolées, plusieurs ensembles importants ont fait l'objet de publications détaillées : Hermenches (78), Pilligerheck (87), Auzeville (90) et « Loiret » (67). On peut souligner la pratique croissante de l'étude systématique des liaisons de coins et l'apport des analyses de composition. La parution du volume XVII de la série *Trésors Monétaires* de la Bibliothèque nationale de France [DUYRAT (83)], même si les monnayages strictement carolingiens n'en constituent qu'une partie minoritaire, mérite d'être relevée ici. Toujours au sujet des trésors, COUPLAND (72) a proposé une mise à jour de sa *Checklist* des trésors carolingiens, ainsi que plusieurs notes ou publications relatives à des découvertes de nouveaux ensembles monétaires (71, 73, 76, 79 et 81). Bien qu'il s'agisse d'un ouvrage traitant des découvertes de trésors faite en Normandie pour une large période médiévale (754-1514), nous pouvons mentionner ici l'ouvrage de MOESGAARD (85) qui liste 16 trésors datés de la période carolingienne. L'étude de BIELLMANN *et al.* (69) centrée sur les découvertes isolées faites sur le site d'Oedenburg (Haut-Rhin), et celle de BALDASSARI (68) pour la zone haute-tyrrhénienne présentent des résultats importants sur la circulation des monnaies à l'époque carolingienne. Les découvertes monétaires en lien avec les raids hongrois ont fait l'objet de plusieurs publications, qu'elles aient été faites sur le territoire de la France actuelle [SARAH (88)] ou en Europe centrale [COUPLAND (75), COUPLAND et GIANAZZA (80)]. Enfin, on peut noter les publications de SARAH et ses collègues visant à faire connaître des découvertes de monnaies carolingiennes en contexte archéologique (91, 92).

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PENÍNSULA IBÉRICA

Alberto Estrada-Rius

Congresos y encuentros científicos

En los siete años sujetos a comentario debe destacarse, en primer lugar, la celebración de dos ediciones del *Congreso Nacional de Numismática*. El primero, organizado por el Museo Arqueológico Nacional (Madrid, 2014), se convocó, con ocasión de la reinauguración del Museo anfitrión, bajo el tema monográfico de *colecciones y museos* y sus actas recogen, como era de esperar, notables aportaciones sobre museografía y colecciones (10). El segundo, celebrado bajo los auspicios del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya (Barcelona, 2018), se convocó con el tema general de *tesoros y hallazgos monetarios* (6, 7 y 8) y se está a la espera de la publicación de sus actas. En un sentido similar cabe señalar la celebración del *XV Congreso Internacional de Numismática* (Taormina 2015), en el cual se hicieron aportaciones sobre la numismática hispánica recogidas, también, en sus actas (1).

En cuanto a otros encuentros científicos de carácter monográfico con formato de curso cabe señalar los que se comentan a continuación. El Gabinet Numismàtic de Catalunya (Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya) ha publicado, en 2017, una monografía con los estudios resultantes de la jornada internacional de trabajo celebrada en su sede con el tema bifaz de fabricación de moneda oficial *versus* falsificación de moneda en la Cataluña del siglo XIX (5). También ha publicado las actas de las sucesivas celebraciones del *Curso de historia monetaria hispánica* que organiza cada año con temas monográficos diversos. Esto es, desde manifestaciones paramonetales como los tantos de coro eclesiásticos (2) u otras formas de dinero (3), al repaso transversal de los sistemas y uniones monetarias desde una perspectiva del Occidente de Europa (4) pasando por asuntos de numismática contemporánea como la situación monetaria de España durante la guerra civil española (9). Este tipo de publicación suele convertirse en una síntesis o puesta al día de los asuntos tratados. Finalmente, cabe señalar la celebración de los tradicionales *Encuentros de la Semana Numismática* organizados, con carácter anual, por la Asociación Numismática Española y publicados en su revista corporativa *Gaceta Numismática*. Las distintas contribuciones presentadas en estas tribunas serán desglosadas en los apartados temáticos correspondientes.

Exposiciones

El Museo Arqueológico Nacional ha reabierto su sede en 2014, tras una profunda remodelación, y, con ella, la instalación permanente de sus colecciones numismáticas en una larga sala monográfica, así como su complementaria integración en el discurso general cronológico y temático de las colecciones del Museo (18 y 19). También ha acogido una exposición temporal coorganizada con el Museo Naval y dedicada a la mediática recuperación de la carga monetaria de la fragata de guerra *Mercedes* (16).

El Gabinet Numismàtic de Catalunya ha presentado en este período un conjunto de pequeñas intervenciones y propuestas monográficas dedicadas, sucesivamente, a la conmemoración colectiva de los centenarios de diversos numismáticos ilustres vinculados a la colección o a la numismática local catalana como Antonio Agustín, Joaquim Botet i Sisó o Josep Amorós (12); *Barcelona, fàbrica de balanzas* (15) a propósito del ingreso de un interesante donativo de documentación procedente de un taller de balanzas barcelonés de nombre primero Farriols y después Tarradell. Sobre esta última muestra véanse los comentarios complementarios en el bloc del Museo (151 y 152). La conjunción de los costes elevados de las producciones y la voluntad de llegar a un público cada vez más conectado a la red ha llevado a la propuesta de itinerarios consultables en su página web. Son un buen ejemplo los que, preparados con ocasión de la celebración del XVI Congreso Nacional de Numismática, ofrecen un itinerario dedicado a los tesoros monetarios y a hallazgos de conjuntos que puede verse en versión digital en su página web (13) o sobre las representaciones numismáticas en las obras de arte de la colección general del Museo (14).

El Museo de Artes Gráficas de Valencia ha dedicado la exposición *El poder en la butxaca. Imatges dels governants en les monedes d'Espanya* a la imagen del poder en la moneda con un documentado y extenso catálogo (11).

Igualmente, el Museu de Prehistòria de Valencia ha organizado una exposición en la que ha presentado al público sus últimas adquisiciones en monedas antiguas con el título *Històries en miniatura. Les nostres primeres monedes* (17 y 64). Finalmente, en varias exposiciones de temática diversa se han expuesto algunas monedas relacionadas con los temas generales de las mismas y, correlativamente, se han publicado fichas comentadas de las mismas en los correspondientes catálogos. Valgan, solo de ejemplo, la dedicada por el Museu Episcopal de Vic al célebre abad y obispo Oliba de Vic [ESTRADA-RIUS (235-237)] o las fichas redactadas por GRAÑEDA (347, 348) sobre billetes de tema cervantino.

Obras generales y catálogos

En relación a los catálogos generales cabe reseñarse la última edición actualizada del clásico CALICÓ (21) dedicado, de manera general, a la moneda española. En cuanto a catalogaciones sectoriales se ha desarrollado la sistematización de la moneda castellana moderna en el catálogo dedicado a los reales de los Reyes Católicos de LÓPEZ DE LA FUENTE (27) y, especialmente, de las monedas de vellón de los Austrias con los catálogos del mismo autor (26) y, siguiendo trabajos anteriores, de JARABO, SANAHUJA (25). El progreso del desarrollo del estudio de la numismática galaica, ya evidenciada desde hace algunos años, sigue creciendo con la publicación de un catálogo comentado sobre las emisiones medievales a cargo de NÚÑEZ (29).

En el ámbito de estudio de las emisiones de cecas concretas cabe destacar el catálogo sobre las de Segovia por MURRAY (28) y de Jubia por CASAL, NÚÑEZ (22). También debe señalarse la publicación de un manual universitario para la enseñanza de la numismática [VICO, FRANCISCO (30)], así como de un útil diccionario numismático español-inglés (20) y de un glosario catalán de numismática [CRUSAFONT (23)]. Este último, al tratarse de una obra escrita desde la más pura subjetividad, debe consultarse después de leer las observaciones sobre el mismo reseñadas por FRANCISCO (24).

Coleccionismo, museografía e historiografía

Un campo de estudio que en las últimas décadas se ha desarrollado con fuerza y que ocupa un lugar destacado en los estudios numismáticos es el que podemos calificar de historia del coleccionismo-colecciones y coleccionistas- y de la historiografía, generada esta última, a partir del estudio de las colecciones y de la vida y obra de los numismáticos desde el Renacimiento hasta nuestros días. En íntima relación con los anteriores conceptos también la museografía y la museología en cuanto operan sobre colecciones y sobre el estudio numismático.

La convocatoria del XV Congreso Nacional de Numismática con el tema general de patrimonio numismático y museos ha sido un aliciente para incentivar y agrupar esta materia en sus actas (10). Así, se han publicado diversos trabajos destinados a ofrecer visiones generales de los monetarios que albergan instituciones como el Banco de España en su cámara del oro (33), el Museo Provincial de Lugo (32), el Museo Arqueológico de Ibiza (57), el Museo de Mataró (72), el Museo Arqueológico-Municipal de Alcoy-Alicante (88), el Museo de la ciudad de Alicante (59), el Museo Arqueológico de la Vall d'Uixó (56), el museo Bíblico Tarraconense (90) y, de manera global, los museos provinciales de Extremadura (63).

En clara complementariedad a las citadas visiones de conjunto se han publicado aproximaciones a series concretas de algunas colecciones o monetarios como, por ejemplo, el caso de la moneda romana en el Museo de Historia y Arqueología de Silla, en Valencia (68); la moneda de Judea (31), las númidas y mauritanas (74), las monedas chinas procedentes de la colección Toda (62), las emisiones medievales de Florencia (38), las monedas de la ceca latina de Segovia (71) y las acuñaciones de los emperadores bizantinos Anastasio I, Justino I y Justiniano I (78) del Museo Arqueológico Nacional; también las emisiones de Jubia en el Museo Arqueológico e Histórico de A Coruña (37) y las medallas de devoción (48), los billetes locales de la guerra civil española (50), las emisiones griegas (49) y la colección Bosch Alsina (44) en el Gabinet Numismàtic de Catalunya o la colección Turró de billetes de la guerra civil española (45) en el Museu d'Història de Catalunya. Con idéntico planteamiento, se han publicado estudios sobre los denarios del Museo Cerralbo (80), las monedas ibéricas de la colección Llobregat en el Museo Arqueológico de Alicante (92), los tesoros monetarios del Museo Provincial de Lugo (42), los fondos numismáticos en la sección romano-imperial de la colección del Seminario Metropolitano de San Atón (51), la colección numismática Lorenzo del Prestamero del siglo XVIII de la Diputación de Álava (89), un pliego y una moneda de proclamación del legado del Marqués del Saltillo en la Real Academia de la Historia (58), las monedas romanas del yacimiento de Tiermes en el museo Numantino de Soria (69), un conjunto de monedas del monetario de la Universidad de Sevilla (46), la moneda

castellana y leonesa en la colección de la Art Gallery de la Universidad de Yale (82) o las emisiones españolas iniciales en América del Museo Soumaya de México (53).

Otro aspecto fundamental tratado en el citado congreso nacional es el relacionado con la museografía y la museología y, en definitiva, la gestión de las colecciones numismáticas. Esto es, la vida, en el sentido más amplio y genérico, del museo alrededor de la colección de moneda desde su ingreso y catalogación a su exposición y divulgación. También en cuanto a la fijación de conceptos y estándares a modo de diccionario [MOLINA (73)]. Numerosos trabajos se han acercado desde puntos de vista diferentes, pero convergentes, sobre el tema. Así, una visión general, a cargo de BELTRÁN (37) y CAMPO (39) o ejemplos particulares como el supuesto práctico del ingreso de un tesoro monetario [CLUA (47)] o una carga como la de la fragata *Mercedes* [OTERO, GRAÑEDA, CRUZ (76)]. También ha habido reflexiones sobre la difusión de uno de los tesoros [RAMÓN (140)] o el reto de la publicación digital de una colección determinada [RIPOLLÈS *et al.* (81)], así como propuestas de ordenación de un monetario legado (86) y un repaso del posicionamiento científico de las revistas numismáticas españolas (93). También los análisis de la composición metálica de las monedas (67), la fotogrametría digital (43), la conservación preventiva y la restauración curativa (77) y aspectos educativos y pedagógicos (99) que forman parte de la vida cotidiana de una colección. En otras ocasiones, se ha tratado de trabajos desde la moneda como fuente documental [BALSEIRO (34)] a la museografía en el ejemplo concreto del remodelado Museo Arqueológico Nacional [GRAÑEDA (65) y OTERO (75)], la gestión de la colección del Museo Casa de la Moneda de Madrid [TEODORO (91)] o los planteamientos de actividades en el Gabinet Numismàtic de Catalunya [ESTRADA-RIUS (54)].

En estas perspectivas, sectoriales y especializadas, también ha encontrado su lugar la profundización, en aspectos más personales o humanos de la historia de la museología y la museografía, de la mano de la aproximación a autores y su relación con distintos museos. Así, por ejemplo, Fernando Gimeno y el Museo de la Fábrica Nacional de Moneda y Timbre [GIMENO (60, 61)], el personal técnico histórico del Museo Arqueológico Nacional [GRAÑEDA, CASTROBEZA (66)] o, de manera más genérica, sobre el desarrollo de la numismática española e iberoamericana a través de sus protagonistas [ROMA (83)]. Como correlación de lo expuesto crece el interés en el conocimiento de los coleccionistas y los numismáticos antiguos y el tema ha continuado estando presente en la actual historiografía. Así, han sido objeto de estudio aspectos diversos de la vida y la obra de numismáticos tales como Antonio Agustín (41), Gabriel Flor (40), el padre Liciniano Sáez (95), la familia Salvador (55), Josep Salat (70), Joaquim Botet i Sisó (52), Joan Vilaret (85 y 94) y María Ruiz Trapero (87). En este apartado debe reseñarse el proyecto de publicación *on line* de las biografías de coleccionistas y colecciones catalanes que el Institut d'Estudis Catalans ampara bajo la dirección de los académicos Bonaventura BASSEGODA y Francesc FONTBONA (35) y en la que ya han aparecido en este período las de algunos coleccionistas del ámbito numismático catalán tales como Josep Salat, Artur Pedrals, Manuel Vidal-Quadras y otros más que lo serán en el futuro inmediato puesto que se trata de un proyecto en construcción. En este punto tampoco puede olvidarse el *Diccionario biográfico español* publicado en línea por la Real Academia de la Historia.

Teoría y política monetaria

El pensamiento y la política monetarias, sin ser aspectos estrictamente numismáticos, son importantes para una mejor contextualización y comprensión de las emisiones monetarias. En este apartado debemos reseñar una reedición del clásico del padre Mariana (100) sobre las alteraciones del vellón castellano. En contraposición al arbitristo castellano tenemos una exposición general sobre el pactismo monetario vigente en la Corona de Aragón como expresión del pacto político hacia una estabilidad monetaria en ESTRADA-RIUS (96 y 183), así como el ensayo sobre la moneda bajomedieval de EVANGELISTI (98). En un sentido similar se ha trabajado, desde una perspectiva comparativa, sobre las estrategias monetarias durante la gran crisis de la plata de la segunda mitad del siglo XIV (97). Finalmente, tenemos una visión sobre el tema para la España del siglo XVII (101).

Hallazgos y tesoros

La publicación de hallazgos monetarios de piezas y tesoros a lo largo y ancho de la Península ha sido una constante sostenida en el tiempo que permite profundizar en el estudio de la circulación monetaria bien, individualizada a partir de un hallazgo concreto, bien por el de la suma de muchos en un territorio más o menos amplio.

En cuanto a tesoros debe señalarse el de vellones medievales de Fernando IV y Alfonso IX (133), el de la calle Santos de Alzira (146) o el de Santo Domingo de la Calzada (142) y, ya en época moderna, el de maravedís de Murcia (102), el de maravedís de Medina Sidonia (131), el de ardites de Barcelona (112), el de un lugar no concretado de la

provincia de Girona (139), los de moneda española encontrados en Francia que recoge JAMBU (126), el de Sant Joan d'Alacant (140), el de Figueres (47), además de la carga de la fragata *Mercedes* (127, 128) ya citada al mencionar su exposición.

En cuanto a hallazgos monetarios, ya sea aislados y fuera de contexto o bien como fruto de intervenciones arqueológicas, y, en consecuencia, en su registro original, debe destacarse una larga lista. Entre los primeros debe señalarse como fuente principal su publicación en un apartado específico de *Acta Numismática* en relación a Cataluña a cargo, en general, de CRUSAFONT (117, 119-125) y de Mallorca de BOADA (104-106) y, finalmente, en relación a los de Galicia, a cargo de NÚÑEZ (134-136). Entre los hallazgos monetarios en contexto arqueológico cabe mencionar los de San Martín de Dulantzi (Álava) (144), de la necrópolis de Górliz (Vizcaya) (129, 130), de la cueva pintada (Gran Canaria) (189), del castillo de Ponferrada (León) (141) o los catalanes de la plaza mayor de Sabadell (138), del castillo de Rocabrúna (111), de l'Esquerda a Roda de Ter (113), del palacio condal en Castelló d'Empúries (110), del Castell Formós de Balaguer (109), del Hospitalet de l'Infant (108), de la judería de Tàrrrega (107) y un depósito de almacenaje en Linyola (132).

Metrología y metalografía

Los estudios de metrología han continuado teniendo una presencia significativa en este período de la mano de PELLICER (153) en la línea de extracción de información documental escrita (154, 155). En cuanto al estudio y catalogación de piezas concretas hay que señalar los estudios de BRAÑA (148, 149) y de ROMA (156, 157), en algunos casos, conjuntos sobre la metrología y los ponderales castellanos, a los que hay que sumar las recientes aportaciones de RUEDA (159, 160). Se señala una primera aproximación al taller de balanzas Tarradells y Farriols de Barcelona a cargo de ESTRADA-RIUS (15 y 152, 153). En relación al siglo XIX y a la introducción del sistema métrico decimal, con implicaciones también monetarias, señalamos por su interés general de contextualización los tres volúmenes de la obra de AZNAR (147).

Fabricación y falsificación

Una de las líneas de investigación más ricas en trabajos durante el período comentado ha sido, sin duda, la vinculada a la fabricación de moneda a ambos lados de la ley. Esto es, tanto en relación a la fabricación oficial en las casas de moneda como a la falsa en los talleres de falsarios. Ello se debe, en parte, a la celebración de un encuentro científico sobre la doble vertiente del tema (5) y, por supuesto, al atractivo innegable del tema.

Los estudios sobre las cecas oficiales y sus métodos de trabajo han sido muy variados. Se ha continuado profundizando en la organización y funcionamiento de las casas de moneda medievales en los territorios ibéricos. Así, ROMA (203, 204) en los talleres de la Corona de Castilla y del reino de Portugal (200) y ESTRADA-RIUS (180, 183) en los de la Corona de Aragón, así como BOMPAIRE (164) sobre la casa de moneda de Perpignan. En ese contexto se ha prestado especial atención al cuerpo de monederos, a su itinerancia inicial [ROMA (201)] y a sus asentamientos, acceso al oficio [ROMA (203)] y organización [ESTRADA-RIUS (180, 182, 183)]. En contraposición al mundo oficial de la fabricación de moneda medieval también se ha puesto el acento en la falsificación monetaria coetánea. Así, PERFETTO (197) en Nápoles, ROMA (205) en Castilla-León y SÁNCHEZ y ORTEGA (208) en relación a piezas del tesoro de Otaza.

Cabe destacar este interés por las épocas moderna y contemporánea en las que se ha transitado desde el propio aprovisionamiento de las cecas y los métodos de contabilidad utilizados [CANO (168)], hasta el estudio de cuños conservados (175) la introducción de nueva maquinaria como las prensas de volante en Barcelona (179), en Jubia (171) o en Segovia seguida a partir de las excavaciones arqueológicas (188), o de las máquinas automáticas por el mismo procedimiento en Barcelona (165, 177 y 178) y por algunos de los oficios y oficiales activos en los trabajos de acuñación como grabadores (169), abridores de cuños (195-196) y ensayadores (184, 198 y 199). Un caso particular es la atención en la introducción del celuloide durante la guerra civil española como nuevo material del numerario de emergencia de Reus (207).

Diversas casas de moneda han recibido, también, una especial atención. Así, BELINCHÓN (163) ha publicado una monografía sobre la casa de moneda de Linares y CANO (167) ha trabajado sobre las de Lima y Potosí. Albert Estrada-Rius ha seguido con trabajos generales sobre la casa de moneda de Barcelona previa a la guerra de sucesión (176 y 182) y sobre la ceca reabierto con la guerra de la Independencia y operante, de manera sincopada, a lo largo del siglo XIX (181). La casa de moneda de Madrid también ha recibido atención, en general, con el estudio de sus emisiones por parte de MURRAY (193) y respecto su renovación isabelina en los estudios de TORRES (209, 210) para finalizar, en

sus peripecias durante la guerra civil española por parte de FERIA (185). En especial, deben destacarse los resultados de las ya citadas intervenciones arqueológicas en las casas de Barcelona (165) y de Segovia (186 y 188). Un apartado muy interesante son las aproximaciones a los fraudes, autorizados o no, protagonizados dentro de las casas de moneda y, en este sentido, los ensayos monetarios de Felipe II en Segovia han merecido la detallada atención de MURRAY (194).

La falsificación de moneda ha despertado un interés paralelo al de la fabricación oficial. Se ha estudiado la falsificación de emisiones concretas tales como las de “sous” mallorquines (161) o los cuartos coetáneos napoleónicos de Barcelona (162). CLUA (173) se ha centrado en las emisiones de Isabel II mientras que el escándalo de los duros sevillanos ha sido abordado desde distintos puntos de vista. Así, MARTORELL (191) se ha ocupado del asunto de manera histórica y CADENA (166) lo ha documentado desde el tratamiento del asunto en las viñetas satíricas de la prensa coetánea. Especialmente interesantes son los focos puestos por JIMÉNEZ (190) en los fabricantes de botones como personas que tenían a mano el instrumental y los conocimientos precisados en una empresa de falsificación, así como por SALVADÓ (206) en las partidas carlistas operativas en Solsona durante la llamada guerra *dels matiners*. También se ha estudiado la represión policial de la falsificación en el siglo XIX [GONZÁLEZ FRAILE (187)] y la utilización del platino en las falsificaciones españolas [VIDAL (212)], mientras que MASSÓ (192) ha inventariado la singular colección de cuños de falsario depositados en el Museo de Reus. Finalmente, no debemos olvidar los supuestos de falsificación destinados al mercado anticuario, que han sido estudiados desde la perspectiva de la numismática malagueña [COMPAÑA, CARO (174)].

Edad Media y Moderna

Corona de Aragón

La Corona de Aragón, como es bien sabido, constituyó hasta la conclusión de la Guerra de Sucesión, una comunidad de reinos y territorios que compartían un mismo soberano y una diversidad de monedas entre otras instituciones privativas y particulares. En este apartado cabe reseñar un abundante estudio numismático de piezas individuales – conocidas o inéditas – o series propias de los diversos reinos y territorios cismarinos de la Corona de Aragón – esto es, Aragón, Cataluña, Mallorca y Valencia – en época medieval y moderna.

En el Principado de Cataluña destacan tanto los estudios de las monedas condales y reales, de curso general, como el de las monedas municipales, de curso local. En cuanto a las primeras se pueden reseñar, de manera cronológica, un interés por las emisiones locales carolingias a la luz de la aparición de nuevos ejemplares. Así, VALL-LLOSERA (255) sobre piezas de las cecas de Barcelona, Girona y Roses de Carlomagno y Luis el Piadoso. También CRUSAFONT, GELIS (232) sobre un nuevo tipo de dinero de Girona de Luis el Piadoso. Finalmente, SANAHUJA (246) sobre un óbolo de Barcelona a nombre de Carlomán II. Las emisiones condales siguientes también han sido objeto de investigación como la de Urgell (225) y Cardona (227) por Miquel Crusafont. En relación a las emisiones reales destacan el croat de Tarragona de Joan II (223), un florín de Perpinyà con la marca S (226) y las emisiones de Carlos V para la expedición de Túnez [SANAHUJA (245)] y de escudos de Felipe III [SIMÓ (252)] en la misma ciudad. Una mención especial merece, por su singularidad dentro del principado de Catalunya, la aportación de BRUNA (222) sobre el particular sistema monetario vigente en el Valle de Aran.

En cuanto a las emisiones locales ha seguido el goteo de publicación de piezas inéditas y variantes como las presentadas por SANAHUJA (248) y de referencias documentales nuevas para Girona (249) o Puigcerdà (247), que publica el mismo autor, o de nuevas cecas como la de Tivissa (250).

En relación a la moneda del reino de Aragón deben verse los estudios de CRUSAFONT (230). En cuanto al reino de Valencia, son notables las aportaciones de FORTEA (238-241), MACÍAS (242, 243) y SENDRA (251). En relación a los estudios de la moneda en el reino insular de Mallorca cabe destacar las aportaciones de AGUILÓ (213-218) y de BOADA (219-221). También en relación a los reinos italianos vinculados a la misma corona como los de DESSI (233) sobre Cerdeña, de PERFETTO (244) y de VALL-LLOSERA (256) sobre Nápoles, de VALL-LLOSERA (254) y de VILÀ (257) sobre Sicilia y de BOADA (219) sobre los territorios de la Acaya griega.

El estudio documental de la moneda también ha tenido su espacio tradicional. En este sentido debe destacarse, por su carácter recopilatorio, la obra de CRUSAFONT (224) y las monedas catalano-aragonesas presentes en un libro de ábaco italiano estudiado por TRAVAINI (253).

Corona de Castilla

El estudio de la moneda en la Corona de Castilla medieval presenta un gran número de trabajos. Así, se han analizado diversas emisiones vinculadas al ámbito episcopal en general (266) o abacial, como las de Sahagún (271), y, evidentemente, la serie real castellanoleonesa. Cronológicamente, las labras de Alfonso VI (295), doña Urraca (293, 298 y 308), Alfonso I el Batallador (292) y Sancho III (294), la catalogación de los morabetinos llamados alfonsíes (291, 301, 288 y 306), la reordenación de las emisiones de Fernando III y Alfonso X (277) y, en particular de este último (296, 298), las acuñaciones de vellón de Alfonso XI (281), el cruzado de vellón de Enrique II (282), el real de vellón del tercer cuarto del siglo XIV (279) y las meajas bajomedievales (280) pero, también, las grandes monedas de representación acuñadas por Juan II y Enrique IV (290).

Más allá de las emisiones concretas también se han planteado modelos teóricos generales sobre la inflación producida por cambios monetarios en la Asturias del año mil [NÚÑEZ (303)] o el uso y la circulación de la moneda sobre la Galicia altomedieval [NÚÑEZ (302)]. En esa misma dirección, trabajos de comparación de modelos monetarios de frontera como el de ROMA (311) sobre Castilla y los reinos cruzados latinos de Tierra Santa en el siglo XII. Este mismo autor ha presentado estudios generales sobre la moneda altomedieval castellanoleonesa (313), en particular, y, peninsular, en general (312).

Cabe destacar un especial interés en los aspectos que podríamos englobar, de manera muy amplia, dentro del estudio de los tipos monetales, tanto en cuanto a las imágenes, las inscripciones como a las marcas. Así, los estudios de José María de Francisco sobre las titulaciones (267), los emblemas (268), tipos de corona (278), las soluciones de representación de la soberanía compartida en la moneda de los Reyes Católicos y su influencia en los reinados posteriores (275 y 276), los de MOZO, GARCÍA (300) sobre la imagen real entronizada o las de ROMA (309, 310) sobre las marcas y contramarcas medievales.

También debe destacarse un incremento, más que notable, del interés por la numismática moderna con especial atención por las emisiones de vellón de los Austrias [SANTIAGO (317, 318)] y algunos nominales de plata (314). Finalmente, cabe felicitar por la emergencia de estudios sobre la moneda en las islas Canarias. Así, diversos estudios ya locales para algunas de las islas como Tenerife (260 y 283) y trabajos generales sobre el archipiélago en el siglo XVIII (264).

Reino de Navarra

El estudio de la numismática navarra no ha sido particularmente intenso, pero sí que variado en cuanto a los numismáticos que se han dedicado a ella. Desde un punto de vista cronológico han interesado, especialmente, las emisiones del período de vinculación de Navarra con Aragón. Así, las primeras emisiones de Aragón y Pamplona con el tipo del árbol crucífero [IBÁÑEZ (320)], los mancusos de Sancho V Ramírez [MOZO (321)] o las marcas de control de las emisiones de ambos reinos con anterioridad a 1134 [ROMA (322)].

En relación a etapas posteriores debe señalarse, por ejemplo, la publicación de un medio real de Fernando el Católico inédito [VALL-LLOSERA (323)] y una visión general de la moneda navarra en el siglo XVIII [CANO (319)].

Reino de Portugal

La historiografía sobre Portugal no ha sido muy prolífica, si bien hay que destacar el estudio del reinado de Joao II en relación a sus emisiones de Lisboa [CENTENO (325)] y de Porto [CANTO, RODRÍGUEZ (324)], o sobre las amonedaciones en cobre para sus posesiones en la India [VIEIRA (326)], además del ya citado de ROMA (200) sobre la organización de las cecas medievales.

Edad Contemporánea

España

Los estudios sobre el siglo XIX empiezan con el período de la Guerra de la Independencia para el que se han estudiado algunas piezas como los 2 maravedís de Jubia (337) o, de manera general, las emisiones del período en Mallorca (328). La etapa de la peseta como nueva unidad monetaria nacional, decretada al inicio del Sexenio Revolucionario, también ha sido objeto de estudio y desde la perspectiva iconográfica de las representaciones femeninas (341) y, de manera general, como símbolo del Estado por FERIA (334). Tampoco se ha evitado la relación entre la nueva unidad y la Unión Monetaria Latina [MARTORELL (336)]. Pedro Damián Cano ha trabajado la circulación de la moneda española más allá de sus fronteras en los siglos XVIII y XIX. Así, especialmente, en las trece colonias americanas y los EEUU (330), en Canadá (329), en el África subsahariana y en el Índico (331) o, simplemente, el papel de la plata española en

la economía de Europa en la misma época (333).

En cuanto a las emisiones de la guerra civil española debemos remitirnos a lo ya recogido en el apartado de fabricación, además de trabajos puntuales como el de las emisiones de Ibi [GARCÍA (335)] y los supuestos 10 céntimos de 1938 [BLANCO, DEMUCHO (327)].

Finalmente, desde una perspectiva de tasación de valor de algunas piezas en el mercado se ha estudiado el caso de las monedas de 25 pesetas de Alfonso XII (338) y de los determinantes de la prima de valor de los écus españoles (339).

Papel moneda

España y Portugal

En relación a los billetes del Banco de España buena parte del interés principal radica en su análisis iconográfico [ALONSO, MARTÍN (342), GRAÑEDA (347, 348)]. Por su parte, PÉREZ (350) se ha centrado en la emisión de estos billetes durante la Guerra Civil. El papel-moneda y los vales emitidos durante la Guerra Civil Española por los ayuntamientos de Cataluña, continúan ocupando un espacio significativo en los últimos años. Especialmente, aportaciones centradas en emisiones locales tales como las de Barcelona [ESTRADA-RIUS (346)] o Sant Sadurní d'Anoia [CRUSAFONT (345)] o en perspectivas comarcales como el Anoia [JORBA (349)] o el Montsià [BERTRAN, ALLEPUZ (344)]. En cuanto a su diseño y producción deben tenerse en cuenta las aportaciones de VÉLEZ (351) sobre el artista Josep Obiols y de BARJAU (343) sobre las imprentas comisionadas.

Paramonetal

Los estudios sobre las manifestaciones paramonetales han continuado teniendo un desarrollo más que notable en este sexenio en cuanto se refiere, especialmente, a dos grandes campos. A saber, tantos de coro – *pellofes*, en catalán – y jetones. La celebración de sendos cursos monográficos (2 y 3) en el Gabinet Numismàtic de Catalunya ha contribuido a esta producción.

En el ámbito catalano-balear se ha publicado numeroso material inédito relativo a las *pellofes* eclesiásticas catalanas y a los *ploms* eclesiásticos mallorquines. En cuanto a las primeras destacan aportaciones al catálogo existente tales como las de Sant Pere de Les Preses [JORBA (365)] y Sant Cugat del Vallès [RODRÍGUEZ (374)], entre otras inéditas [JORBA (368)] y localizadas en el registro arqueológico [CLUA (358)]. También, se ha hecho inventario de las tradicionales bolsas conservadas en las que se guardaban [JORBA (366)], los instrumentos de fabricación –especialmente cuños – [JORBA (366, 367), LLOBET (371)] y otra documentación de archivo [LLOBET (370), SACASAS (375)] que ayudan a complementar y a conocer de manera más completa este ámbito particular de la numismática. Todo ello sin excluir sus relaciones con la circulación monetaria [SANAHUJA (376)]. Otros aspectos que se han estudiado son en relación a su conservación y restauración (352) y su sentido patrimonial (362). En cuanto a los plomos mallorquines debe remarcarse la continuidad del trabajo de Jaume Boada en esta materia tanto con interpretaciones de conjunto (356) con estudios de piezas concretas (354).

En cuanto a los jetones debe señalarse el estudio de las piezas medievales vinculadas a Navarra, a cargo de IBÁÑEZ (364), como continuación a sus exhaustivos trabajos previos. En relación a vales, fichas y jetones contemporáneos cabe destacar el catálogo de SANAHUJA (378) centrado en los jetones publicitarios catalanes que culmina líneas de trabajos de conjunto anteriores del mismo autor (377). Otros ámbitos que han merecido la atención son el de los jetones de cooperativas y colonias catalanas [SERRA, CASTELLÀ (380)] y los generados durante la Guerra Civil Española en Mallorca [BOADA (355)] y en Cataluña [ESTRADA-RIUS (363)]. Finalmente, las nuevas formas de dinero desde las criptomonedas [SAYERAS (379) a la moneda social, OLIVELLA (373) y MARTÍN (372)] y los bancos del tiempo también han tenido sus estudios en el ámbito local barcelonés [ALTÉS (353)] y en el contexto de un curso dedicado a las otras formas del dinero en el Gabinet Numismàtic de Catalunya (3).

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ITALIA ALTOMEDIEVALE

Alessia Rovelli

Nota introduttiva

Gli anni 2014-2020 hanno visto maturare alcune importanti linee di ricerca, la pubblicazione o il rinnovato studio di collezioni numismatiche di rilievo, l'edizione di significativi contesti numismatici e archeologici. Nel breve testo che segue si cercherà di indicare i principali percorsi, ben sapendo che si tratta di un quadro incompleto non solo – parafrasando Andrea Giardina – per quella che potremmo definire una “esplosione” della bibliografia, ma anche per le attuali difficoltà di accesso alla medesima. Si è dovuto inoltre tenere conto dello spazio editoriale previsto per le singole voci. Per i contributi nelle riviste si è dunque scelto di citare solo quelle dotate di numerazione ISSN (ma si veda, per un orizzonte più ampio, con indicazioni che possono essere valide anche per l'arco cronologico di nostro interesse, la voce curata dal collega Lorenzo Passera – *Italia: XI-XXI secolo* – al quale va la mia gratitudine per avermi anticipato il testo). Per i dati relativi alle emissioni bizantine, verranno menzionati solo alcuni contributi, utili per seguire l'evolversi dei fenomeni monetari nell'Esarcato e nelle aree contigue, rinviando, per un quadro più completo, sia alla specifica voce sia alla recente sintesi delle principali linee di ricerca curata da CALLEGHER (52). Anche per le emissioni caroline è opportuno consultare la relativa sezione.

Non solo per problemi di spazio, ma soprattutto in considerazione della rilevanza dell'opera, per i dati sui rinvenimenti, sia singoli che associati, si rimanda soprattutto al *Saggio di Repertorio dei ritrovamenti di moneta altomedievale, bizantina e islamica in Italia, con la moneta dei Vandali e dei Visigoti*, ideato e curato da E. A. Arslan. Il Saggio (già *Repertorio dei ritrovamenti di moneta altomedievale in Italia (489-1002)*, Spoleto, 2005), introdotto da una importante e meticolosa nota sui metodi e le finalità del lavoro, si conferma essere uno strumento fondamentale per la ricchezza del materiale, reso a tutti fruibile sul sito www.museobiassono.it. Periodicamente aggiornato, è consultabile (e scaricabile) in PDF. Più recente, e con diversi ambiti spaziali e temporali, è la parallela iniziativa di Luigi Gianazza (*Repertorio dei ritrovamenti monetari – Bibliografia*, a sua volta reperibile in rete: <https://www.sibrium.org/CoinFinds/>).

Considerando l'importanza dei contesti, vale comunque la pena di portare l'attenzione sui materiali di alcuni scavi urbani, in particolare: Aquileia (STELLA (167): in massima parte reperti di età romana, ma utile punto di partenza per un'analisi della presenza di moneta in età ostrogota), Pavia [INVERNIZZI e VISMARA (97)], Ravenna [BALDI (41): puntuale analisi e commento dei 2564 esemplari rinvenuti negli scavi di Classe e dei 224 dalla Basilica di San Severo], Roma [MARANI (111); MOLINARI (116)], Trento [PAVONI (132): significativa attestazione di nummi di V-VI secolo], Verona [ARZONE (23): gli scavi dell'anfiteatro propongono dati sulla circolazione monetaria tra la fine del V secolo e l'età teodoriana].

Cataloghi e repertori

Una corretta catalogazione rappresenta, è superfluo ricordarlo, il punto di partenza obbligato per ogni ricerca di storia monetaria. Ciononostante, è senz'altro riduttivo limitare a questo aspetto l'importanza del dodicesimo volume della Collana progettata da Philip Grierson, *Medieval European Coinage*, curato da DAY, MATZKE e SACCOCCI (72), dedicato alle emissioni delle zecche dell'Italia settentrionale tra il X e il XV secolo e al catalogo degli esemplari conservati al Fitzwilliam Museum. Per quanto riguarda l'arco cronologico di nostro interesse, il volume colma la lacuna relativa alle emissioni di età ottoniana rimaste escluse nel primo volume della Collana, innovando profondamente le precedenti attribuzioni, sulla scorta, per quanto riguarda la zecca di Pavia di precedenti studi di Andrea Saccocci.

Rilevante, anche per la scelta di consentirne l'accesso online, è il proseguimento della revisione del *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum* con i volumi dedicati a Piacenza [FUSCONI (86)], alle prime emissioni pontificie e alla serie dei denari *antiquiores* della zecca di Roma [FUSCONI (85)] e a Verona [SACCOCCI (156)]. Altrettanto rilevante è l'edizione del catalogo delle monete arabe della Collezione di Vittorio Emanuele III [D'OTTONE RAMBACH (79)].

Si segnala inoltre la pubblicazione degli esemplari ostrogoti del British Museum [BALDI (40, 42)] e del museo de La Cour d'Or – Metz Métropole [MARANI (112)], degli esemplari tardo-antichi e bizantini della raccolta numismatica Maruffi [LANCHI (101)] e degli esemplari della zecca di Milano conservati presso la Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana [ALTERI (2)]. Tra i repertori spicca quello dedicato alle monete di Milano dal 757 al 1329 [CRIPPA e CRIPPA (70) recensione a cura di E. A. Arslan, *RIN* 118 (2017), pp. 415-418]. Il volume conclude la tetralogia dedicata alle emissioni milanesi da Desiderio al 1892 fornendo, nel giudizio di E. A. Arslan 'la più solida base catalogica oggi disponibile'.

Aspetti di metodo

Le ricerche dedicate all'interpretazione del dato archeologico e dei contesti numismatici costituiscono ormai (e non poteva essere diversamente) un tema centrale della ricerca numismatica. Diversi casi studio, che si aggiungono ai contesti urbani citati poco sopra, sono stati al centro del *Workshop Internazionale di Numismatica, Numismatica e Archeologia. Monete, stratigrafie e contesti. Dati a confronto* [PARDINI, PARISE e MARANI (129); CANTILENA, ROVELLI e SAGUI (57)]. Per l'ambito di nostro interesse sono discussi i casi di Pavia [INVERNIZZI e VISMARA (97): rinvenimento di un bronzo di Atalarico e di un decanummo di Giustiniano che rappresenta oggi il primo esemplare di questa serie rinvenuto nell'antica *Ticinum*], di Pisa e della Lunigiana [ALBERTI e BALDASSARRI (1); BALDASSARRI (35) e BALDASSARRI e PARODI (39)], di Verona [ARZONE (22)], di Ravenna [BALDI (43)], del *castrum* di Loppio [CALOMINO e MAURINA (56)].

Largamente improntato sulla lettura parallela dei dati archeologici e numismatici è stato anche il Convegno *Les trouvailles de monnaies romaines en contexte médiéval. Actes du colloque (Paris, 27-28 février 2015)* dedicato alla eventuale funzione della moneta di bronzo romana in età medievale [BOMPAIRE, CARDON, GENEVIÈVE e MARANI (49); MARANI (109); ROVELLI (146); SACCOCCI (157)]. Le tematiche affrontate sono a loro volta centrali per la comprensione delle modalità dello scambio in età alto-medievale quando i sistemi monetari appaiono semplificarsi notevolmente, riducendosi ad un solo nominale, fosse esso aureo, come è il caso della tarda età longobarda, o argenteo, a seguito dell'introduzione del denaro carolingio [ROVELLI (151, 148)].

Una ulteriore forma di 'riutilizzo' è stata individuata da ASOLATI (25) nella ripresa dei tipi di età romana-imperiale nelle monetazioni altomedievali, fenomeno particolarmente diffuso in ambito ostrogoto, ma non solo. Questo tema ci porta nuovamente verso il problema, tuttora controverso, della attribuzione delle contromarche incise da XLII e LXXXIII nummi ad ambito bizantino [SACCOCCI (155)] o ostrogoto [ASOLATI (30)] e delle emissioni anonime da 40 e 20 nummi della serie ostrogota [ROVELLI (141)].

Nel vasto e multiforme tema della lettura del dato archeologico-numismatico rientrano anche le ricerche dedicate all'interpretazione dei rinvenimenti monetali in contesti funerari che hanno permesso di precisare sia aspetti rituali, individuabili attraverso forme di selezione del numerario deposto nelle sepolture, sia dati riconducibili all'uso e funzionalità della moneta nei diversi ambiti socio-economici [ARSLAN (3); BARELLO (44); CANTINI, VIVA e MARANI (58); DE PASCA (73); EBANISTA e SANTORO (80) e (81); MANZELLI e PINAR GIL (108); MARANI (113); MOLINARI (116); SACCOCCI (159); SACCOCCI e TOMASSONI (161); SPAGNOLI (166)]. BALDASSARRI analizza i rinvenimenti monetali nelle chiese (36, riproposto in italiano in 37).

Tesori

Due tesori aurei di diversa consistenza, ma notevole interesse, mettono a fuoco alcuni aspetti della circolazione della moneta aurea a cavallo tra la fine del V e gli inizi del VI secolo. ARSLAN (5) e FACCHINETTI (82) presentano il ripostiglio di Braone (BS), attualmente composto da nove esemplari, da cui è sembrato possibile dedurre l'egemonia della zecca di Costantinopoli nel circolante aureo della Penisola. A cura di ARSLAN e TURCHETTI (21) è lo studio a più mani del ripostiglio di San Mamiliano (Sovana, GR), composto da 498 solidi, che si caratterizza per la presenza di alcuni esemplari con graffiti o particolarità iconografiche e, soprattutto, per la presenza di solidi di imitazione, presumibilmente della zecca di Tolosa, ritenuti un possibile indizio di percorsi economici tra la Provenza e la *Tuscia* – recensione a cura di ROVELLI (147). HOLLARD e CHARLET (96) riportano l'attenzione sul tesoro di oreficerie gotiche di Domagnano.

Aspetti della circolazione e funzione del bronzo minuto nelle fasi finali dello scontro tra Goti e Bizantini nell'Italia centro-meridionale sono analizzati da ASOLATI (32), attraverso lo studio del ripostiglio di Arpaia; da MAMMATO (106), tesoretto di Taurasi; e da MARANI (110) che torna su quello di Sessa Aurunca. Rinvenuto nel 1916, rappresenta un non frequente caso di tesaurizzazione 'mista' dato che attualmente risulta composto da due esemplari aurei e 1917

minimi di bronzo.

Tre celebri tesori di età carolingia, 'Ilanz', 'fiume Reno (BO)', 'Hermenches' hanno, a giusto titolo, nuovamente attirato l'attenzione. SARAH (164) presenta un quadro generale del tesoro di Ilanz (pur senza proporre il catalogo) che risulta ora composto da 138 monete, 2 orecchini aurei, 2 frammenti di gioielli in oro e due gocce auree. Tra le monete si contano 83 tremissi (43 longobardi e 40 di Carlomagno) e 55 esemplari d'argento (50 denari carolingi, 3 anglosassoni, 2 dirhem). PINAR GIL (135) propone una nuova interpretazione dei diversi rinvenimenti, avvenuti tra il 1758 e il 1910, nelle adiacenze del fiume Reno, di monete (solidi costantinopolitani, un solido e un tremisse beneventani, diversi dinari) e oggetti aurei di notevole fattura. Considerando la coerenza dei materiali e l'altissima qualità delle oreficerie, l'autore ritiene che siano riconducibili non tanto a 'mercanti, naufraghi o viaggiatori anglo-sassoni' quanto ad un'unica deposizione, plausibilmente di carattere funerario, relativa ad un membro di alto rango dell'élite imperiale carolingia. COUPLAND (65) riconsidera i 264 denari che rimangono del tesoro di Hermenches (cantone di Vaud), inizialmente composto di circa 320 esemplari. La descrizione del tesoro permette all'autore di riesaminare il problema delle attribuzioni dei denari del tipo *Christiana religio* e il ruolo delle zecche italiane (in particolare Milano e Venezia) nella circolazione dell'impero carolingio.

SARAH (163) ricostruisce le circostanze del rinvenimento di un nucleo originariamente costituito da nove denari (ora ridotti a sei), forati, alcuni a nome di Berengario I, altri di Ugo di Arles rinvenuti nella sepoltura di un cavaliere ungaro ad Aspres-lès Corps (Hautes-Alpes), fornendo i risultati delle analisi metrologiche e una riconsiderazione dei rinvenimenti monetali legati alle razzie di guerrieri ungaro. Su questo tema sono intervenuti anche COUPLAND e GIANAZZA (68). A NAISMITH e TINTI (127) si deve l'esemplare pubblicazione, con una storia degli studi e del contesto storico, del tesoro rinvenuto nel 1883 nel corso degli scavi dell'*Atrium Vestae* al Foro Romano. Il ripostiglio, chiuso verosimilmente tra il 942 e il 946, risulta composto da almeno 830 esemplari, in massima parte dei re anglosassoni, a cui si aggiungono un paio di fermagli ad uncino con l'iscrizione +DOMNO MA/RINO PAPA+ unici nel loro genere. Lo studio del tesoro dell'*Atrium Vestae* affianca l'organica sintesi condotta da NAISMITH (124) sui rinvenimenti di denari anglo-sassoni, compresi i rinvenimenti isolati, non solo a Roma ma più in generale in Italia. Il ripostiglio di Alife [ARSLAN *et al.* (20)], nel Casertano, aggiunge dati e conferma il fenomeno della tesaurizzazione dei denari *ottoni* nel corso dell'avanzato XII secolo.

Analisi metallografiche

NAISMITH, NORTHOVER e TINTI (126) hanno analizzato 24 denari *antiquiores* del Fitzwilliam Museum di Cambridge. Le indagini metallografiche hanno rilevato l'alta qualità della lega (93-95% di argento) nei denari di Adriano I (772-795) e Leone III (795-816) e la limitata quantità di bismuto e zinco. Quest'ultimo dato avvicina i denari *antiquiores* alle coeve emissioni anglo-sassoni e caroline. A partire da Leone IV/Lotario (847-55), le analisi evidenziano un netto calo di fino (valori medi intorno al 70%, a partire da un campione che presenta una variabilità compresa tra 50-80%), riscontrabile anche nelle emissioni successive. Nonostante ciò, gli autori ritengono che si possa parlare di una relativa stabilità. Le analisi suggeriscono inoltre che l'argento proveniente dalle più diverse fonti venisse indirizzato non tanto verso la zecca quanto verso la produzione di suppellettili di diversa natura. Al tema delle fluttuazioni del contenuto di fino nelle emissioni medievali e delle relative implicazioni etiche è dedicato un saggio di NAISMITH (125) che, per quanto riguarda l'Italia, sintetizza alcuni dati relativi a Roma.

Il progetto ERC nEU-Med (grant agreement n. 670792), premesse archeologiche e numismatiche in BIANCHI e ROVELLI (48), coordinato da R. Hodges e G. Bianchi ha consentito di analizzare un consistente nucleo di denari, principalmente di età ottoniana, provenienti sia da scavi toscani, in particolare dal sito di Vetricella, sia da alcune collezioni museali. Le analisi isotopiche hanno evidenziato la notevole compatibilità dei denari conati sia a Pavia che a Lucca con l'argento delle miniere dello Hartz in Sassonia. Sembra invece possibile escludere per il X-XI secolo, ad eccezione di alcuni apporti del tutto minoritari, il ricorso all'argento eventualmente estratto nelle locali Colline Metallifere [BENVENUTI *et al.* (46)].

Aspetti iconografici e tipologici

ARSLAN (6 e, inoltre, 17) propone un'ampia sintesi delle tematiche che ruotano intorno alle scelte tipologiche e ai presupposti giuridici e politici delle diverse monetazioni altomedievali.

Il monogramma, come strumento di legittimazione di un potere non di rado usurpato o di recente conquista è l'indiscusso protagonista di molte emissioni altomedievali. OPPEDISANO (128) analizza le premesse di questo fenomeno

nelle emissioni in bronzo con il monogramma di Recimero. ASOLATI (28), GENNARI, CECCHINATO e ORTU (91), ROVELLI (141) si soffermano sulle emissioni di Odoacre e della serie ostrogota, evidenziando, con accenti diversi, possibili nuove attribuzioni. ARSLAN (4, 9), in due contributi dedicati alle frazioni d'argento longobarde e alla loro presenza nel circolante, anche oltralpe, torna a discutere le attribuzioni di alcuni monogrammi. ROVELLI (150) analizza le premesse politiche e culturali riflesse nelle frazioni d'argento con monogrammi regi o ducali di ambito longobardo. Le emissioni ravennate di Astolfo sono state le protagoniste di diversi contributi che ne hanno indagato le peculiarità iconografiche [GENNARI (90); GENNARI e ROSSINI (92); IULA (99)]. GENNARI (90) porta l'attenzione su un esemplare in bronzo, attribuibile ad Astolfo sulla base del ritratto del diritto. Per quanto riguarda il monogramma nel campo del rovescio, composto dalle lettere AS, l'autore suggerisce di attribuire la S al pontefice Stefano: l'emissione potrebbe dunque indicare un tentativo di avvicinamento al papato da parte del re longobardo.

In relazione a Benevento, ARSLAN (13), ne analizza le scelte tipologiche e i richiami alle emissioni bizantine, con particolare attenzione ad alcuni segni del potere, ad esempio l'*Akasia*, IULA (100) illustra le vicende politiche del ducato attraverso uno studio dei tipi monetali. COUPLAND (66) si sofferma su due denari di Carlo Magno con monogramma greco probabilmente conati ad Aachen e non in una zecca italiana. GIANAZZA e VAN HERWIJNEN (94) mettono in luce le caratteristiche di conio e della singolare legenda di due denari di Ugo di Arles "imperatore".

Aspetti giuridici e amministrativi, zecche

CARLÀ (59) approfondisce diverse questioni relative alla falsificazione monetale nel diritto imperiale e alla trasmissione (o meno) delle norme romane nel diritto postclassico. L'attività della zecca di *Sirmium* (oggi Sremska Mitrovica, in Serbia) nel cosiddetto periodo delle Migrazioni è nota sin dagli inizi del secolo scorso ma solo recentemente la critica è tornata ad approfondire questo tema dalle molte sfaccettature. DEMO (74, 75, 76) e FALTIN (83) delineano le diverse fasi della presenza di Ostrogoti e Gepidi attraverso una aggiornata classificazione delle frazioni d'argento che compongono quello che Metlich ha denominato 'Sirmium group'. ASOLATI (33) evidenzia una serie di emissioni caratterizzate dalla precoce adozione del tipo del San Michele, per le quali è proposta l'attribuzione ai Gepidi.

In occasione della LXVII settimana di Studio della Fondazione Centro italiano studi sull'alto Medioevo, BARELLO (45) e ARSLAN (19) fanno luce sulle implicazioni giuridico-istituzionali e, dove possibile, 'finanziarie' delle emissioni franche e longobarde. Su queste ultime si vedano anche le annotazioni di ARSLAN (10) intorno al rinvenimento di un tremisse pseudo-imperiale riconiato su esemplare di Anastasio. Per quanto riguarda Benevento, ARSLAN (13) nel già menzionato lavoro sulle emissioni beneventane propone un aggiornamento delle ricerche pubblicate nel 1987 relative al calcolo del numero dei conii utilizzati.

MANSFIELD (107) porta l'attenzione su alcuni esemplari a nome di Giustino II con i marchi di zecca di Ravenna e Cyzico. Richiamando e discutendo un'ipotesi di W. Hahn, l'autore ritiene che possano essere il prodotto di una zecca militare itinerante. MORRISSON (118) mette in luce le emissioni bizantine in Sardegna negli anni di Giustiniano II e della caduta di Cartagine.

Una riconsiderazione ad ampio raggio della produzione ravennate in età bizantina è proposta da MORRISSON e CALLEGHER (120); tema su cui torna anche PRIGENT (137, 139). A latere si segnala, del medesimo autore, uno studio sulle strutture dell'amministrazione civile e sugli sviluppi della funzione ducale nell'Esarcato analizzati attraverso due sigilli (138). Su questo tema, si veda anche ASOLATI (27): lo studio di un sigillo probabilmente attribuibile al duca Orso I Particiaco è l'occasione per un'ampia analisi sull'utilizzo dei sigilli plumbei in ambito veneziano altomedievale.

Muovendoci verso le regioni longobarde, FUSCONI (87) considera la possibile esistenza di zecche periferiche nella Rezia, localizzabili nelle diocesi di Novara, Como, Costanza, Passavia ai cui vescovi sarebbe possibile ricondurre alcuni nomi in precedenza attribuiti a monetieri. In relazione alle emissioni di Berengario I, PIGOZZO (133) argomenta, con dati interessanti, sull'ipotesi di una rinnovata attività della zecca di Treviso; le produzioni pavesi sono riconsiderate da ROVELLI (153) sulla base di alcuni esemplari rinvenuti nel sito di Vetricella. PIGOZZO e VERONESI (134) attribuiscono a Mantova una inedita frazione a nome Ugo di Provenza e Lotario II, riaprendo dunque la questione sull'esistenza o meno di una zecca mantovana nel X secolo; RIZZOLLI e PIGOZZO (140) si soffermano sulle emissioni veronesi.

Riguardo a Roma, la sequenza delle emissioni nell'ultima fase bizantina è studiata da HAHN (95), mentre i problemi inerenti alla localizzazione della zecca in età tardo-antica e medievale sono affrontati da SERLORENZI *et al.*

(165) grazie ai dati dagli scavi dell'*Athenaeum di Adriano*, e da ROVELLI (145) a partire da quelli desunti da Federico Guidobaldi sugli scavi nella Basilica di San Clemente al Celio. Le produzioni della zecca di Capua, rimaste spesso ai margini, sono messe in luce da ARSLAN (14).

Mancuso

Tra i tanti temi aperti, quello del mancuso è tra i più longevi, intrecciandosi con quello delle relazioni commerciali tra Oriente e Occidente in età altomedievale. PRIGENT (136) confuta, con argomenti convincenti, l'ipotesi che dietro al termine *mancus* si celasse la moneta aurea musulmana e propone invece di attribuirlo alle emissioni auree siracusane riformate da Leone III nel 731. Assolutamente originale è l'ipotesi formulata da SACCOCCI (158), che animerà certamente il dibattito, secondo il quale il termine *mancus* non sarebbe altro che un espediente adottato per conteggiare, nell'ambito del sistema argenteo carolingio, le emissioni auree citate nella documentazione notarile dell'Italia centro-settentrionale.

Funzione ed uso della moneta, circolazione monetaria

Il bronzo, monetato e non, è il protagonista di due significative monografie scaturite da tesi dottorali. PASSERA (131) – recensione di Rovelli in *RIN* 120 (2019) – fornisce dati importanti e originali grazie al recupero capillare della documentazione archeologica e numismatica in Italia. L'attenzione è posta non solo al dato monetario, ma a tutti gli oggetti metallici recensiti nello spoglio dei dati relativi a 1566 siti. MARANI (114) concentra l'attenzione sul dato monetale e su un contesto regionale (il Lazio meridionale) restituendo visibilità ai depositi di molti musei di rilevanza sia nazionale che locale. A questa indagine si affiancano il parallelo riesame del materiale edito (34 monete d'oro, 69 d'argento, 8000 di bronzo) e un rigoroso studio metrologico delle emissioni enee. Entrambi i lavori mettono in luce l'importanza delle produzioni di bronzo per lo studio dei fenomeni economici e sociali altomedievali.

Quadri generali o analisi di casi-studio sulla circolazione monetaria sono proposti da ASOLATI (26), CALLEGHER (51, 53) e GANDILA (88) per l'ambito bizantino; da ARSLAN (7, 8, 16, 18), CALOMINO (55) con particolare attenzione alla fase ostrogota e longobarda; da ROVELLI (143, 144, 148, 149, 151, 154) in alcuni contributi relativi all'evoluzione dei sistemi monetari altomedievali e all'adozione del sistema argenteo carolingio. Su quest'ultimo aspetto, per un diverso punto di vista, che sottolinea il ruolo dell'Italia nella circolazione dell'impero franco si vedano i contributi di COUPLAND (63, 64) e di COUPLAND e EMMERIG (67). Gli atti del *Convegno Swiss and Italian Monetary Relations. The Early Middle Ages (VI-XI centuries)* [GIANAZZA e ROSSINI (93); MATZKE (115); BALDASSARRI (38)] offrono un'interessante discussione su molti aspetti della circolazione monetale in età altomedievale, andando anche oltre il quadro geografico enunciato nel titolo.

Volgendo lo sguardo verso le regioni meridionali e insulari, MAMMATO (104) fornisce notizie sulla circolazione monetaria nel X secolo in Campania e sulla circolazione dei tari [MAMMATO (105)]; ZECCHINO (170) analizza i rinvenimenti in Irpinia. La circolazione monetaria nella Sardegna bizantina è la protagonista dei contributi di MURESU (122), in particolare il volume, a sua volta frutto di una tesi dottorale, dedicato alla ricostruzione dell'insediamento e delle principali vie di comunicazione attraverso lo studio delle presenze monetali (123).

Per concludere, si segnalano alcune ricerche di taglio storico-economico, che dedicano ampio spazio all'ambito monetario: l'analisi di TEDESCO (168) sull'economia monetaria e la fiscalità tardoantica, lo studio di DI MURO (78) sull'economia longobarda di VIII secolo; quello di DEVROEY (77) per l'età carolingia, l'indagine di FELLER (84) sui metodi di pagamento in età medievale.

Nel 2020 è prematuramente mancato Michael Matzke. Le sue ricerche hanno inciso profondamente su aspetti importanti della storia monetaria dell'Italia medievale, basti pensare agli studi sulle emissioni di Lucca e alla sua partecipazione al progetto concepito da P. Grierson sulle emissioni dell'Europa medievale concretizzatosi nella serie *Medieval European Coinage*. Per il suo valore di studioso e per la sua amabilità lo ricorderemo tutti con stima e affetto.

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ITALIA, XI–XXI SECOLO

Lorenzo Passera

Considerazioni generali

Il periodo dal 2014 al 2020 annovera un'annata ulteriore rispetto al quinquennio considerato tradizionalmente dal *Survey*: questo aspetto ha reso ancora più arduo il lavoro di censimento per indicare i contributi significativi sulla monetazione medievale e moderna di area italiana. Si ringrazia qui tutti i colleghi che, inviando i loro materiali in formato digitale, hanno contribuito a facilitare il lavoro allo scrivente.

Nella redazione si è tentato di considerare tutti gli aspetti della ricerca numismatica in qualsiasi forma essi siano stati prodotti ed è forse utile osservare che, nel lasso di tempo considerato, lo sviluppo delle tecnologie informatiche hanno consentito un'apprezzabile diffusione della bibliografia soprattutto su piattaforme dedicate. Va sottolineato anche che diversi autori sottostimano l'utilità di questi nuovi strumenti informatici tralasciando, forse, che è proprio la condivisione del proprio lavoro a renderlo noto e a rappresentare una pratica vetrina che fornisce di fatto pubblicità alle idee, fermo restando – naturalmente – il rispetto dei diritti editoriali d'autore. In realtà, come in gran parte si sta già facendo su riviste specialistiche come la *RIN*, sarebbe sempre opportuno rendere disponibili perlomeno dei riassunti tematici dei propri lavori: si otterrebbe così l'effetto desiderato di attrarre lettori presso la fonte originaria.

In aggiunta alle osservazioni poco sopra espresse, sembra comunque che il sempre maggior libero accesso alle informazioni consenta una sorta di riavvicinamento tra quanti compiono ricerca pura (tradizionalmente “gli accademici”) e gli appassionati della materia (tradizionalmente “i collezionisti”) grazie ad alcune realtà oggi ormai consolidate; il riferimento è ad alcuni siti internet e a gruppi di studio che propongono riviste in cui editano le loro ricerche.

Tra i portali del web merita certo una menzione il sito *Lamoneta.it* che propone discussioni tematiche su serie monetali, singole emissioni e novità bibliografiche e vede ormai abitualmente studiosi e collezionisti (o semplici interessati) impegnati in approfondite e preziose discussioni. A ridurre questo divario tra mondo accademico e collezionistico contribuiscono con continuità anche le riviste *Panorama Numismatico*, *Cronaca Numismatica* e *Il Giornale della numismatica* (questi ultimi due solo on-line): i periodici, oltre a presentare curiosità e soprattutto considerazioni su singole emissioni, propongono a volte veri e propri spunti davvero originali su storia monetaria e intere serie monetali, e offrono anche interventi di rinomati studiosi. Non è secondario, inoltre, il fatto che queste testate forniscano informazioni riguardo ad incontri, mostre, conferenze, nuove pubblicazioni e convegni così da veicolare in maniera diretta ed efficace molte informazioni che non sono sempre facilmente raggiungibili per i non addetti ai lavori. Questi apporti sono oggi fondamentali a mantenere vivo l'interesse verso la disciplina numismatica e a incentivare la ricerca e il collezionismo, soprattutto nei confronti delle nuove generazioni.

Un altro periodico on-line di notevole successo, nato in seno al Portale Numismatico dello Stato, ha proseguito la lodevole iniziativa di revisionare e aggiornare la catalogazione del *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum* e, a partire dal 2014, ha editato in forma monografica ben 44 lavori: i materiali sono liberamente accessibili e scaricabili. Gli ultimi 14 numeri, ed alcuni precedenti, sono inoltre acquistabili in forma cartacea.

Una realtà di recentissima costituzione è la rivista *Dialoghi di Numismatica. Protagonisti, prospettive, ricerche* che ha edito ad oggi 2 numeri a partire dal 2019 (liberamente consultabili anche sul web) e che mette a disposizione studi e analisi numismatiche di qualità su tutti gli argomenti monetari; la rivista ha raccolto anche informazioni sugli studi che vengono affrontati in ambito universitario suggerendo quali siano le direzioni di ricerca attualmente in corso.

Nel periodo qui considerato sono proseguite le attività, anche editoriali, dei circoli numismatici che hanno avviato la pubblicazione di Bollettini e Notiziari contenenti lavori da tenere in considerazione benché non prevedano un sistema scientifico di revisione critica anonima. Alcuni di questi circoli, spesso di ispirazione collezionistica, sono di nuova nascita (o anche di rifondazione), e nel futuro potrebbero rappresentare delle sedi editoriali molto interessanti. Tra questi ricordiamo il rifondato *Bollettino del Circolo Numismatico Partenopeo*, il *Quaderno del Circolo*

Numismatico Romano Laziale. Appunti di Numismatica, il Gazzettino di Quelli del Cordusio. Un apprezzamento speciale crediamo debba esser attribuito al proseguo delle attività dell'Accademia Italiana di Studi Numismatici e all'Associazione Culturale Italia Numismatica con le loro pubblicazioni.

L'unico censimento delle pubblicazioni recenti, per quanto parziale, è ad opera di MIRRA (283), che ha raccolto parte di quanto edito dal 2009 al 2015 aggiornando la precedente raccolta.

L'attività molteplice di un ricercatore, Luca Gianazza, sta contribuendo a raccogliere e rendere disponibili informazioni per la ricerca numismatica attraverso raccolte bibliografiche di lavori editi e all'impostazione dell'originale database *Eligius*, ospitati all'interno del sito www.sibrium.org: per quanto riguarda *Eligius*, si tratta di una peculiare banca dati (nata in verità quasi vent'anni fa) che tenta di colmare la lacuna pertinente alla ricerca prosopografica del personale coinvolto nelle officine monetarie. Anche questo contributo appare oggi indispensabile per intrecciare i dati e valutare sempre più opportunamente il ruolo da riconoscere alle maestranze e alle autorità di zecca.

Il lavoro di certo più significativo, per estensione territoriale considerata, per numero di zecche analizzate e per la complessità dei temi analizzati, è senza dubbio il dodicesimo volume della collana *MEC*, edito dalla Cambridge University Press e curato da DAY, MATZKE e SACCOCCI (179). Il ponderoso volume è dedicato alle regioni dell'Italia del nord per il periodo che va dal X al XV secolo; le regioni considerate sono Piemonte, Liguria, Lombardia e Veneto (comprendente anche Trentino Alto-Adige e Friuli Venezia-Giulia).

L'opera, nello spirito della collana *MEC*, offre un'approfondita analisi delle emissioni su scala regionale ma presenta un'impostazione decisamente innovativa rispetto al panorama editoriale noto che, secondo schemi consueti e purtroppo consolidati, abitualmente propone lavori circoscritti a zecche emittenti o al massimo a regioni con una certa individualità politica. *MEC 12* affronta invece lo studio numismatico valutando anche le interazioni e le relazioni tra autorità e zecche emittenti delle regioni considerate concedendo uno sguardo d'insieme sull'intero contesto monetale dell'Italia medievale settentrionale per rappresentarne l'evoluzione e giustificarne le trasformazioni. Si tratta, di fatto, di una novità metodologica e speculativa rispetto ad altre opere tematiche che spesso non esaminano l'intero contesto geopolitico. Quest'aspetto, in verità non sempre rilevato con adeguata opportunità dai vari recensori, molto concentrati a verificare le nuove attribuzioni rispetto al passato, rappresenta una novità poiché non valuta solo la produzione e la circolazione monetarie dei territori in esame, ma le considera anche nel loro insieme proponendo risposte a molti dubbi e razionalizzando in forma consecutiva connessioni, imitazioni, influenze. In *MEC 12* non sono inoltre rare le nuove letture proposte, alcune decisamente inedite rispetto al quadro precedente. Com'è forse ovvio, un lavoro così complesso di revisione ha implicato, da parte degli autori, una serie di scelte attributive che hanno alimentato un dibattito molto vivace.

Per l'Italia del Sud, è stata presentata la ristampa anastatica del lavoro di Lucia TRAVAINI sulle monete dell'Italia Normanna (426) del 1995, corredata da un'introduzione aggiuntiva e da una nuova appendice dei ritrovamenti avvenuti dal 1995 al 2014 ed esposti per regioni coordinata da Giuseppe SARCINELLI (393, si veda anche 394; Abruzzo: DI PIETRO (330); Molise: DE BENEDITTIS (89); Campania: SANTORO (391); Puglia: SARCINELLI e DINOI (395); Basilicata: SOGLIANI (401); Calabria: RUGA (365); Sicilia: TRAVAINI (427)).

Storia degli studi

Un interessante lavoro di SAVIO (396) ha ricordato efficacemente la storia degli studi italiani di numismatica (pertinenti anche al periodo medievale), gli impegni delle riviste storiche e la nascita delle nuove iniziative editoriali, dipanando la matassa dei principali filoni di ricerca che sono stati condotti nel secondo dopoguerra fino agli anni Ottanta del secolo scorso.

L'importante ruolo di Giovanni Brunacci per gli studi numismatici nel Settecento, con particolare attenzione alla zecca padovana, è stato ricordato da ASOLATI (28) e quello di Cornelio Desimoni, in relazione alla zecca di Genova, da BALDASSARRI (37). La storia degli studi dedicati alla "numismatica pontificia" è stata oggetto di un intervento di ALTERI (11) che in sintesi ne ha definito i contorni.

Gli studi numismatici tra Cinque e Seicento (anche in Europa) sono stati oggetto di un contributo di CAVALLARO (142) che ha schematizzato i principali filoni della trattatistica. Sugli studi nel XVIII secolo è intervenuto SACCOCCI (376) evidenziando il ruolo svolto dal Muratori nell'incentivare l'interesse anche per la numismatica medievale. Sugli studi numismatici vedi anche BALDASSARRI (52) relativamente alla Toscana e per l'area veneta CALLEGARI (118).

Alla corrispondenza tra Zanetti e Antonioli, che non completò mai una storia della zecca di Correggio, è dedicato

un contributo di FABBRICI (189). Una ricognizione archivistica ha consentito a MOSCA (290) di recuperare informazioni sull'evoluzione degli studi sulla Val di Sole (Trentino) corredandola ai ritrovamenti sin dall'età antica.

Collezionismo, cataloghi di collezione e repertoria

Il collezionismo numismatico è stato celebrato in occasione del ventennio dell'Associazione Numismatici Italiani Professionisti con un volume (163) in cui trovano posto numerosi interventi che hanno ricordato figure rilevanti di collezionisti moderni e contemporanei, tra cui Baldanza (114), Bellucci Ragnotti (211), Borgia (424), Bottacin (117), Brambilla (261), de Falco (248), Grierson (424), Magnaguti (103), Papadopoli (143), Spano (1), Verri (166), Vittorio Emanuele III (424); nel volume sono presentate anche le collezioni medievali e moderne nei Musei di Strada Nuova a Genova (346) e in quello di Como (299), vi si tratta inoltre del collezionismo dei Medici e delle collezioni a Firenze (140) e si ricorda l'istituzione del Circolo Numismatico Napoletano (349). Carteggi inediti tratti dall'Archivio storico dei Musei Civici di Bologna hanno permesso a ZECCHINO (473) di documentare lo scambio di informazioni e idee tra diversi numismatici del XIX e XX secolo (Frati, Bignami, Morchio, Vitalini, Sambon), comprese notizie di inediti ritrovamenti. In alcuni capitoli di uno studio dedicato all'epistolario di Cristoforo Madruzzo, SIRACUSANO ha offerto un quadro del nascente collezionismo numismatico del Cinquecento del nord-est italiano (398, spec. Capp. I e II). APPARUTI (18) ha coniato il termine *petrarchismo* per indicare la stretta relazione tra lo sviluppo di questa passione e la figura di Petrarca umanista. Da segnalare anche il contributo di MORUZZI (289) che ha sottolineato l'importanza del collezionismo e l'impegno dei collezionisti per la disciplina nel rispetto del contesto giuridico nazionale italiano (cfr. al riguardo il Convegno di Studi a cura di MORACE PINELLI (286)). BALDASSARRI ha esaminato e contestualizzato la raccolta numismatica e sfragistica di Moisè Supino (41) e CASAROTTO ha illustrato la figura di un grande collezionista padovano del XVII secolo: Giovanni de Lazara (131).

A partire dal IV numero del *Notiziario del Portale Numismatico dello Stato* (314) è stata avviata un'iniziativa che si propone di raccogliere ed editare informazioni sui medaglieri italiani. Per quanto riguarda il periodo considerato nel presente contributo si segnala nel volume il lavoro di RINALDI (348) sul progetto di studio e digitalizzazione della collezione napoletana Scacchi, composta da monete dall'alto medioevo alla costituzione del Regno d'Italia. Lo studioso ha recentemente edito il risultato delle sue approfondite ricerche in tre volumi corredati di catalogo che segue le più recenti cronologie (350, 351, 352).

In un convegno dedicato in particolare ai beni di interesse archeologico, edito su altro numero del *Notiziario* citato (196), sono stati presentati contributi anche sul collezionismo tra cui un inquadramento generale di ROSSINI (360) e un intervento di PERASSI sulle collezioni della Cattolica di Milano (317). In numeri successivi del periodico sono presentate altre collezioni: LIBERO MANGIERI (260) ha trattato del medagliere di Taranto con riassunto dei tesori medievali e moderni raccolti in Puglia. Si ricorda poi un lavoro di MUSCOLINO (393) su Biagio De Spuches e sul patrimonio collezionistico siciliano del XVIII secolo e i contributi di GANDOLFO (208, 209, 210) sulla collezione del Museo Salinas di Palermo e sulla figura del collezionista. Due volumi monografici del periodico, a cura di GARGANO e PENNESTRÌ (213) restituiscono storia e consistenza del Medagliere di Reggio Calabria che conserva anche monete medievali, medaglie, pesi e beni para-numismatici; per questa sezione sono state raccolte le notizie di rinvenimento a partire dall'inizio del XX secolo tra Calabria e Basilicata e vi si trovano elencati ripostigli e relative consistenze, compresi dati inediti (162, 212).

La collezione di Parma presso il complesso della Pilotta è stata oggetto di un altro numero monografico del *Notiziario* (315) in cui si segnalano, per la storia della collezione e l'elenco dei pezzi, i contributi di BURANI (112, 113), CATARSI (141) e il corposo contributo, non catalografico, in cui BAZZINI (66) ha elencato la consistenza dei materiali medievali e moderni (con anche beni para-numismatici). Alla formazione delle collezioni del Museo di Torino, ad opera di Domenico C. Promis (che ne fu curatore per quarant'anni), è dedicato un più recente numero monografico del *Notiziario* (61).

GARIBOLDI ha documentato la storia delle collezioni del Museo di Classe, recuperando informazioni archivistiche e sottolineando in particolare l'importante ruolo svolto dai monaci Camaldolesi nella composizione delle raccolte (215).

Nell'edizione degli atti relativi al Congresso Internazionale di Taormina (115) sono compresi interessanti contributi pertinenti soprattutto alla storia delle collezioni e al loro studio e riordino, con riferimento ad indagini territoriali di rinvenimenti (62, 138, 168, 388).

La riedizione a cura di LOMBARDI (116) di un volume di Memmo CAGIATI, edito nel 1925, ha consentito il recupero di notizie riguardo a raccolte pubbliche e private presenti in Italia e ha tracciato un quadro dello scenario della ricerca e del collezionismo numismatico dei primi decenni del Novecento. Lo stesso curatore ha proposto anche la riedizione di un lavoro inedito di SAMBON (386) dedicato alle provincie meridionali d'Italia dal XII al XV (da Ruggero II a Giovanna d'Angiò). L'opera appare interessante grazie all'analisi critica delle emissioni sulla scorta di documentazione oggi non più reperibile.

Il nuovo medagliere della Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana è stato presentato, in più contributi, da ALTERI (8, 9, 10).

CANORO ha raccolto le informazioni sulle emissioni di Salerno nel Museo Bottacin di Padova e nell'Archeologico di Bologna (121), mentre delle collezioni pisane ha scritto BALDASSARRI (40). VALCI ha edito i denari provisini presso la Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (448), mentre DE BENETTI ha redatto un catalogo dei fiorini (*ante* 1533) conservati al Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Madrid (92). IULA (249) ha dedicato una monografia tematica alla zecca di Salerno basandola sulla collezione a lungo inedita del Museo Diocesano locale (in particolare si vedano i capitoli successivi al III: da Roberto il Guiscardo al 1194).

Un'opera impegnativa è stata la recente edizione del I voluminoso tomo sulle monete medievali italiane conservate al British Museum; il lavoro è dedicato all'Italia meridionale, con Sicilia e Sardegna: si tratta della pubblicazione ragionata dei pezzi compresi tra il periodo longobardo e l'Unità d'Italia (165). Il lavoro è corredato da introduzione sulle collezioni e presentazioni delle singole serie.

Il Portale Numismatico dello Stato, nella sezione *Materiali*, ha proseguito la riedizione critica delle serie monetali nella Collezione Reale edite nel *Corpus* con monografie dedicate alle zecche medievali e moderne. L'incremento riguarda le emissioni di Aquileia (PASSERA, ZUB (312, 313)), Bologna (CHIMIENTI e VIGNA (156); DI VIRGILIO (458-463)), Bozzolo (BELLESIA (79, 80); si veda dello stesso autore anche (72)), Camerino (BELLESIA (81, 83)), Casale Monferrato (GIANAZZA (221, 222)), Castro (BELLESIA (84)), Firenze (PUCCI (339-341, 343)), Gorizia (PASSERA (309)), Massa di Lunigiana (ESPOSITO (185, 186)), Milano (BAZZINI (63); BAZZINI e TOFFANIN (70, 71); GIANAZZA e TOFFANIN (226, 227); ROSSINI e TOFFANIN (362); TOFFANIN (414, 415)), Mirandola (BELLESIA (76, 77, 78)), Piacenza (FUSCONI (203, 205, 206)), Piombino (PUCCI (342); si veda anche GIANNONI (228)), Pomponesco (BELLESIA (75) ma si veda anche (72)), Regno di Napoli/zecche minori (FABRIZI e GIULIANI (192)), Roma/emissioni pontificie (FUSCONI (204)), Roma/denari provisini (VALCI (447)), Sulmona (GIULIANI (232), ma si veda anche GIULIANI e MATTIOCCO (240) sulla collezione del Museo Civico), Verona (SACCOCCI (375)).

Per quanto riguarda i repertori generali, scollegati a collezioni, ROVERA (con CAMPANA e GRELLA (364)), ha presentato un' "enciclopedia ragionata" delle emissioni sabaude dal 1051 (Oddone) al 1440 (Amedeo VIII duca). La voluminosa opera considera l'analisi di ogni moneta fornendone una scheda corredata da informazioni sul contesto politico e dati tecnici. Il lavoro, almeno a livello catalogico, rappresenta al momento un valido compendio di confronto fino all'uscita di un volume della serie *MEC* che comprenda anche questa serie monetale. CAPPELLARI (127) ha proposto invece uno studio complessivo sulla monetazione sabauda circoscritta alla Sardegna.

Carlo e Silvana CRIPPA (167) hanno curato il primo volume (ma quarto in ordine di edizione) della monumentale opera iniziata da Carlo Crippa nel 1986 con la parte dai Visconti agli Sforza. In questo volume il tema è relativo ai primi periodi della zecca milanese, dall'apertura nel periodo longobardo al consolidamento del potere con Azzo Visconti nel 1329.

RIZZOLLI e PIGOZZO (354), in un ampio studio (disponibile anche in lingua tedesca, 362), hanno inserito un corpus catalografico delle monete prodotte nella sezione atesina della Marca veronese, proponendo novità di attribuzioni e cronologie che hanno stimolato il dibattito tra gli studiosi (vedi SACCOCCI (375)).

BELLESIA (73) ha ripreso l'analisi delle monete di Rimini dalla metà del Duecento agli inizi del Quattrocento con particolare attenzione all'agontano d'argento, di cui propone un'analisi e una seriazione su base tipologica. Dello stesso autore si ricordano poi due monografie dedicate a Sabbioneta (74) e Solferino (88) che fondano lo studio anche su una consistente parte documentaria. La monetazione estense di Modena, posta al confronto con quella di Ferrara e Reggio, è stata oggetto delle indagini di Claudio e Guglielmo CASSANELLI con CHIMIENTI (135) che in un lavoro monografico evidenziano le connessioni numismatiche (anche dal punto di vista tipologico e tecnico) tra le tre zecche.

Per la serie M.I.R. sono stati editi i volumi relativi allo Stato Pontificio (I volume dal 651 al 1521, II volume dal

1521 al 1621) a cura di TOFFANIN (416, 417) e al Triveneto (e zecche minori comprensive della costa balcanica) a cura di KEBER (257). Un progetto che mira a proporre il corpus delle monete delle Marche ha prodotto, a cura di VILLORESI (457), il primo volume dedicato all'intera produzione della zecca di Ancona (compreso il legato pontificio che operò nella Marca ed una parte finale riservata alle falsificazioni). NASSAR (296, 298) si è occupato della zecca di Arezzo e della successione delle sue emissioni.

Alla piastra papale (13), introdotta da Sisto V, 1585-1590, è dedicato un volume a più mani che prende in considerazione anche altre emissioni di largo modulo precedenti; su questa moneta si veda anche il contributo di GIAMPICCOLO (219).

Le emissioni della zecca di Modena di XVII secolo sono state argomento di una serie di contributi tipologici di VERONESI (455).

Alle monete prodotte (e relative zecche attive) in Italia meridionale sono stati riservati diversi lavori: GIULIANI e FABRIZI hanno curato due volumi sull'intera monetazione angioina nel sud Italia (I volume, 237: introduzione storico-critica alle emissioni, II volume, 238: catalogo) al proposito si veda anche un altro contributo degli stessi autori (239).

D'ANDREA e CONTRERAS (15) hanno proseguito l'edizione delle monete coniate nelle zone corrispondenti all'attuale Campania fino alla conquista normanna. D'ANDREA, BONANNO e SANTONE (14) hanno approntato un manuale sulle emissioni aragonesi nel meridione d'Italia dal 1282 (Vespri siciliani) al 1412 (Compromesso di Caspe). Alla monetazione moderna e contemporanea della zecca di Napoli MAGLIOCCA (268, 269, 270) ha dedicato tre volumi di stampo collezionistico in cui sono comprese anche informazioni archivistiche, si presenta il panorama storico e soprattutto si individuano varianti ed incisori. RUOTOLO (368) ha illustrato le monete di Messina dal periodo magno greco alla chiusura della zecca nel 1676.

LUPPINO (266, 267) ha proseguito l'opera di raccolta delle monete di prova, delle rarità numismatiche e dei progetti per la monetazione di area italiana, dal V secolo all'introduzione dell'Euro, pubblicando l'VIII (con San Marino, Città del Vaticano, Repubblica Italiana e A.F.I.S.) e il IX volume (monete napoleoniche) dell'opera prevista in 12 tomi di cui era stato edito finora soltanto il primo.

OLIVARES ABAD (303) ha pubblicato un volume, dedicato soprattutto ai collezionisti, in cui si presentano le emissioni spagnole coniate in Italia (Milano, Napoli, Sicilia e Sardegna), naturalmente pertinenti all'età moderna.

Produzione: attribuzioni e cronologie, attività di zecca, aspetti tecnico-giuridici, falsificazioni

Sono stati prodotti diversi studi su singole serie, o pertinenti a emissioni di singole autorità, spesso con proposte di aggiornamento dei repertori: si tratta in molti casi di approfondimenti basati su considerazioni tipologiche, studio di documentazione, analisi di materiali già noti che andranno certo consultati in occasione di revisioni catalografiche.

Per l'area settentrionale JONIAUX (253) ha identificato nel medagliere della Bibliothèque Nationale de France un mezzo testone inedito e al momento unico emesso da Luigi XII (1507-1512) a Genova. JAMBU (252) ha attribuito per la prima volta ad Andrea II Doria (1606-1622), principe di Loano, un ducato argenteo del 1606 riscoperto nella collezione della stessa Bibliothèque Nationale, mentre PROKISCH (338) ha individuato un ongaro di XVII secolo di Tassarolo emesso a nome di Filippo Spinola nelle collezioni dell'Abbazia di Kremsmünster: questi due ultimi ritrovamenti hanno stimolato gli autori ad analizzare e descrivere in maniera articolata le due emissioni. TOFFANIN (421) si è concentrato sulle coniazioni di Gian Galeazzo Visconti (1371-1402) e PIGOZZO (333) ha discusso l'origine del termine *pegione*, confermando ipotesi già consolidate (cfr. 179, *MEC* 12, pp. 743-744). TOFFANIN ha studiato la pratica della riconiazione verificandola dall'osservazione di un ducato di Galeazzo Maria Sforza impresso su un ducato mantovano di Ludovico III (418). Sull'argomento si è espressa anche BALDASSARRI (45) che ha considerato il fenomeno della riconiazione in età medievale, tentando di inquadrarlo in una seriazione cronologica generale.

RIPAMONTI (353) ha proseguito e aggiornato lo spoglio bibliografico dei documenti sulla zecca di Milano nel Quattrocento già indagata da Motta e Bernareggi.

PANAZZA (307), sulla scorta della documentazione, ha tracciato una storia della moneta di Brescia dalla riattivazione della zecca ad opera di Pandolfo Malatesta (nel 1406), appaltata alla famiglia locale dei Porcellaga, discutendone criticamente e cronologicamente tutte le emissioni e firmando un catalogo con Rizzonelli. BAZZINI (68) ha dedicato un contributo ai grossi emessi a Tortona, discutendo le nuove attribuzioni proposte in *MEC* 12 (179, cfr. tavola 23 e pp. 234-240).

VIDALE (456) ha analizzato le mutazioni stilistiche del grosso carrarino di Padova per proporre una seriazione

cronologica; FERUGLIO (199) ha dedicato attenzione ai bisanti approntati dagli uomini della Serenissima in luogo di fortuna (e non in Patria) durante l'assedio di Famagosta di Cipro: ne ha ricostruito le attestazioni documentarie, le tipologie e i dati metrologici, le ricorrenze in un lavoro pressoché completo. Al grosso matapan dei conti di San Martino, moneta originalissima e poco studiata, è dedicato un intervento di LONGO (265).

CHIMIENTI e MORETTI (154), all'interno di uno studio su contraffazioni e imitazioni, si sono concentrati sulle emissioni argentee comunque denominate "bolognino", considerando tutte le zecche che hanno coniato questo nominale, definendone l'evoluzione e la presenza nel territorio dell'Italia centrale anche attraverso l'esame dei rinvenimenti.

Per l'area centrale BALDASSARRI (52) ha presentato i risultati delle sue precedenti ricerche sulle zecche toscane nel basso medioevo; la studiosa ha inoltre proposto interventi sulle emissioni di singole zecche, con proposte di aggiornamento cronologico: ricordiamo i contributi su Genova (42; con RICCI (58); con LOCATELLI (56)) e Pisa (46, 47).

Alle indagini archeologiche della zecca di Firenze sono stati dedicati due lavori (159, 160) mentre GIACCARDI (217) ha dedicato uno studio alla localizzazione della zecca di Napoli.

La zecca di Massa di Maremma, grazie ad un recente incontro di studio (51) a cui è seguita una mostra, è stata oggetto di specifici contributi tra cui ricordiamo quello a firma di SOZZI (402) che ne ha proposto un compendio presentando le emissioni e i coni superstiti (vedi anche 55, pp. 160–163). Nello stesso contesto, grazie a indagini archeologiche, è stata riproposta da BIANCHI e CICALI (99) la lettura del sito di zecca e del suo ciclo produttivo presso il castello minerario di Montieri, località presso cui si batteva moneta per i vescovi di Volterra sin dal XII secolo. Nel catalogo della citata mostra sono stati presentati commenti e spunti critici sulle emissioni di Pisa (55, pp. 151–153), Lucca (55, pp. 154–155), Firenze (55, pp. 156–157), Siena (55, pp. 158–159).

L'opera di revisione complessiva sulla monetazione fiorentina, ad opera soprattutto di DAY e DE BENETTI, ha proposto diverse novità scientifiche: DAY, in un articolato lavoro diviso in due contributi, ha studiato la presenza nella circolazione e la produzione della moneta spicciola fiorentina (fiorino piccolo) fino agli inizi del Trecento, quando inizia il Fiorinaio (172, 175). DE BENETTI ha analizzato il tema in due ricerche che correlano le prime emissioni d'argento fiorentine con quelle d'oro e di mistura fornendo osservazioni soprattutto epigrafiche e tipologiche e ricorrendo alle fonti (93, 95).

Approfondimenti e precisazioni sulla zecca di Correggio sono stati forniti da BRUNI con BELLESIA (109).

Nuove conoscenze sulla zecca dei vescovi di Volterra sono offerte dagli studi di PAGANELLI (304); al riguardo NASSAR (295) ha proposto di assegnare all'officina impiantata al castello di Casole (e non Berignone) le emissioni di Ranuccio. BALDASSARRI (43) ha richiamato l'attenzione sull'identificazione del *miliarense* nel panorama della circolazione pertinente alle zecche italiane tirreniche. CIABATTI ha rivisto la seriazione delle monete di Ferdinando de' Medici (157). La revisione delle notizie sull'apertura della zecca di Roma nel XII secolo, in base alle opinioni avanzate dagli studiosi, è stata curata da SISSIA (399), mentre BELLESIA ha dedicato diversi contributi alla serie degli zecchini papali del Settecento (82); CASSANELLI, con CHIMIENTI e VIGNA (137), ha studiato le emissioni di Pio VII a Bologna; SISSIA e RIMOLDI (400) hanno proposto uno studio sui quattrini romani (detti cinque) proponendone una seriazione. DAY (174) ha analizzato le caratteristiche stilistiche del ducato romano indicando seriazioni cronologiche inedite basate su varianti tipologiche, fonti documentarie e ripostigli.

Alla storia della zecca de L'Aquila, nei suoi trascorsi storici tardo medievali e della prima età moderna (spesso in riferimento alla storia monetaria aragonese), ha contribuito GIULIANI (231, 234–236) sulla scorta della documentazione archivistica che attesta i rapporti tra autorità conianti e appaltatori di zecca.

Venendo all'area meridionale, PERFETTO ha dedicato diversi contributi di approfondimento alla monetazione del Regno di Napoli, alla sua zecca e ad alcune emissioni di carlini, gigliati, robertini e tornesi (320, 321, 322, 324), in particolare, riguardo ai gigliati napoletani, ne dimostra la probabile coniazione postuma nel corso del XV secolo.

CANORO (120) ha riconsiderato le serie monetali di Guglielmo d'Altavilla e ha in particolare discusso delle sue ramesine. CASTELLACCIO (139) ha dedicato alla serie sardo-aragonese un documentato contributo ricco di spunti speculativi. BONANNO ha pubblicato alcune serie monetali messinesi (quasi tutte inedite) emesse per la città dal Maestro Portulano nel XV secolo (105).

D'ANDREA e MORETTI (16) hanno indagato le emissioni di bassa qualità prodotte durante la guerra di successione ad Alfonso I tra aragonesi e angioini nel Regno di Napoli, nelle zecche di Alvignano, Atri, Barletta, Campobasso, Capua, Chieti, Cosenza, Gaeta, Isernia, Lecce, Limosano, Lucera, Oratino, Ortona, San Severo, Sora, Sulmona,

Taranto, Termoli. Gli stessi autori (287) hanno poi chiarito l'esistenza effettiva della zecca di Lucera, documentata da un atto di Ferdinando I d'Aragona, probabilmente attiva nella II metà del XV secolo durante la guerra fra gli Angioini e gli Aragonesi.

ARICÒ (20) ha proposto l'attribuzione a Reggio di un'emissione simile al follis bizantino di classe C datandola al 1038 e, in altro contributo (19), ha classificato le kharrûbe siciliane attribuibili a Ruggero I e II delineando lo sviluppo che questa monetazione ha avuto tra gli ultimi due decenni dell'XI secolo ed i primi quattro del XII. In un volume curato da CASTRIZIO (132) a corredo di una mostra sulla zecca di Reggio Calabria (dal VI secolo a.C. al XV d.C.), Aricò ha anche presentato e discusso la circolazione e i tipi della monetazione sveva, normanna e aragonese nel Sud Italia (pp. 54–68). SANTORO (392), riprendendo un'opinione già di Grierson, ha chiarito la cronologia dei tari di Amalfi (dal 1057).

Riguardo alle tecniche di coniazione e alle strumentazioni impiegate in zecca, sono apparsi nel periodo considerato diversi contributi, alcuni particolarmente apprezzabili per mole di materiale analizzato e per completezza. VANNI (451) ha proposto un catalogo dei coni e dei punzoni (dal 1564 al XVIII) conservati presso l'Archivio di Stato di Lucca spiegandone l'uso fino all'età della produzione meccanica di moneta e portando in luce le note di spesa della zecca; grazie alla documentazione presso il medesimo archivio a Lucca, l'autrice ha potuto anche delineare lavoro e personalità dell'incisore G. B. Tonelli (452). CHIMIANTI e CASSANELLI (150) hanno esaminato circa duemila reperti, tra coni e punzoni, pertinenti alla zecca di Bologna (1191-1805) fornendo osservazioni artistiche e stilistiche e considerando le maestranze che hanno lavorato nella zecca.

TRAVAINI (431, 436) nel ricordare quali oneri e impegni prevedesse l'attività di zecca ha affrontato anche aspetti tecnici trattando ad esempio del termine 'bolgano'. DAY (177), sulla scorta di documentazione, ha illustrato la preparazione delle leghe e delle monete di Firenze dal punto di vista metallurgico e tecnico, procedura che rimase invariata fino all'età moderna. In altri lavori, lo studioso ha ricostruito l'identikit degli apprezzati monetieri italiani (per lo più toscani) nel ruolo di appaltatori in zecche straniere: ad esempio il ruolo dei Benzi presso la zecca di Massa Marittima a partire dalla sua apertura nel 1317 (176), o del lucchese Percivalle dal Portico nel nord Europa e in Inghilterra (173).

Ricordiamo poi gli aspetti tecnici trattati nei contributi di GIANAZZA e FORNACCA (225) per Masserano (alias Messerano) e quello di SOZZI per Massa (403).

CUCINI TIZZONI (170) ha trattato della zecca dei Trivulzio in Valle Mesolcina grazie a documenti inediti e ha fornito informazioni sui possedimenti di miniere e forni metallurgici di Gian Giacomo Trivulzio ricostruendone l'attività imprenditoriale nel ramo siderurgico.

Degli aspetti tecnici e meccanici per produrre i coni nel Rinascimento ha scritto CHIMIANTI (148), mentre VANNI (453) ha studiato l'evoluzione delle tecniche di realizzazione della moneta milanese fino all'età moderna. La storia della zecca di Roma, da un punto di vista tecnico, è stata proposta da BALBI DE CARO (36).

VOREL (464) ha dedicato attenzione all'introduzione della coniazione meccanica presso la zecca papale con Urbano VIII (1623-1644) nel 1634: lavorando soprattutto sul materiale superstite, nel lavoro si delinea la ricostruzione degli innovativi processi produttivi e della qualità in purezza delle emissioni.

Un volume, a cura dell'Accademia Italiana di Studi Numismatici, ha raccolto gli atti di un convegno dedicato allo studio delle figure di incisori italiani rinascimentali e delle tecniche adottate (202). Nel lavoro trovano spazio interessanti contributi sia di carattere generale (148, 385) che di interesse regionale o locale (85, 151, 12, 280).

PIGOZZO (331), sulla scorta di documenti già discussi, ha cercato di perfezionare la successione cronologica degli incisori operanti nella zecca padovana.

MOSCA (291), identificando sul mercato un grosso meranese inedito, ha richiamato l'attenzione sul ruolo degli zecchieri e cambiavalute toscani nella regione trentina e tirolese nel XIV secolo.

PERFETTO (323, 325, 326) ha studiato la documentazione relativa alla zecca di Napoli in età moderna e al suo personale.

Venendo alle contraffazioni e falsificazioni, in un ricco volume curato da MEZZAROBÀ (281) sono pubblicati gli atti di un incontro sulle contraffazioni monetarie organizzato dall'Accademia Italiana di Studi Numismatici: BELLESIA (87) e TRAVAINI (439) hanno posto l'accento sulla terminologia per indicare imitazioni, contraffazioni e falsificazioni. IULA (251) ha ricordato le motivazioni della nascita delle imitazioni dei tari da parte di Salerno e Amalfi per il commercio mediterraneo (si veda anche 250, in cui l'autore sottolinea il ruolo propagandistico dei tari come rappresentazione

del potere di Enrico VI). FERRO (198) ha prodotto una ricerca sulle contraffazioni del ducato di Venezia anche sulla scorta dell'importante lavoro di MAZARAKIS (278), edito nel 2012 in lingua greca ma oggi disponibile in versione italiana curata da Monica Baldassarri: un utile repertorio delle imitazioni/falsi/contraffazioni del ducato veneziano organizzandolo per aree: Egeo orientale, Asia minore controllata dai Selgiuchidi, colonie genovesi dell'Oriente Latino fino alla Moldavia. Sempre sulle contraffazioni di monete della Serenissima, ma stavolta sul grosso d'argento, imitato in Italia e in oriente, si è concentrato il contributo di PETTAZZONI (328). Alle emissioni contraffatte dalla zecca di Correggio tra XVI e XVII secolo è dedicato un ampio contributo di BRUNI e CHIMIENTI (111), mentre delle contraffazioni milanesi corrispondenti alla dominazione spagnola di XVI-XVII secolo ha scritto LIMIDO (262); sulla storia del tallero e le sue imitazioni si ricorda il contributo di MINERVINI (282). Le imitazioni di moneta medievale del Triveneto (soprattutto Venezia ed Aquileia) sono state oggetto del contributo di FABIANEC (190), che ha esaminato le caratteristiche tipologiche dei falsi circolanti nella zona dell'Adriatico settentrionale e in terra balcanica.

Un contributo di ODDONE, pertinente alla zecca di Asti (300, si veda anche 301) mira a fornire precisazioni su quanto appurato nel recente *MEC* 12 (179, alle pp. 111–132) e ha illustrato quattro monete le cui caratteristiche fanno pensare a dei falsi, forse del Cigoì. ODDONE e LAMANNA (302) hanno analizzato un falso astigiano realizzato con la tecnica della “cera persa”. Nella stessa area geografica, GIANAZZA e FERRO (224) hanno ricordato l'attività della zecca di Cortemilia per conto dei Signori del Carretto, con contraffazioni di Asti, Genova e Firenze destinate al Piemonte meridionale e Liguria e fortemente contrastate da editti di Enrico VII di Lussemburgo.

BAZZINI (65) ha discusso di contraffazioni del grosso aquilino di Parma e del denaro imperiale di Piacenza, forse non ascrivibili ad un solo falsario: se alcuni esemplari potrebbero, verosimilmente, essere ricondotti all'ambito del famoso Cigoì, altre sono certamente più recenti. Lo stesso studioso ha fornito poi chiarimenti sulla falsificazione moderna di un grosso di Tortona nella Collezione Reale (68).

Di zecche clandestine più o meno strutturate hanno trattato diversi autori. ASOLATI (33) ha presentato un catalogo di falsi sesini veneziani (esemplari e conio, parte della collezione Papadopoli) conservati presso il Museo Correr (VE). Gli esemplari rientrano nell'ampio fenomeno della falsificazione di questo nominale veneziano che indusse la Serenissima a dismetterlo nel 1603. BALDASSARRI e CARLI (53) hanno scritto sulle officine illegali in Toscana. PIGOZZO (332) ha raccolto le informazioni su una banda di falsari che nel 1336-8 operò tra Marche ed Umbria per riprodurre “cortonesi” di Perugia e soldini veneziani. GIULIANI e SISSIA (241, 242), analizzando un'ottantina di reperti monetali (databili dal XII al XVIII secolo) dagli scavi archeologici presso la chiesa di Sant'Egidio a Campo Imperatore (L'Aquila), hanno rilevato la presenza di falsi d'epoca per cui si ipotizza l'esistenza di zecche clandestine. Di una zecca clandestina attiva tra XV e XVI situata nel castello di Godano (SP), indagato archeologicamente, si parla in un lavoro che presenta monete, tondelli, scorie, lingottini e codoli di fusione: nel maniero venivano verosimilmente realizzate contraffazioni di monete genovesi, piemontesi e forse milanesi e toscane (BALDASSARRI *et al.* (54)).

SACCOCCI (380) ha proposto una sintesi dell'argomento sulla scorta della documentazione archeologica e ha osservato una crescita notevole delle officine clandestine celate in castelli di confine proprio nei momenti in cui si verifica carenza di circolante.

PEZZI (329), trattando in catalogo i falsi contemporanei del Regno d'Italia moderno, ha ricordato anche il loro utilizzo abituale nella circolazione.

Tipologia

Molto percorso è ancora il filone di ricerca sulle relazioni tra immagine monetale e i suoi possibili significati, anche se in molti casi, tranne quando si tratti studi che offrono considerazioni generali (TRAVAINI (433)), le minuziose analisi tipologiche sono volte solo ad individuare varianti monetali inedite.

Alla comparsa, tra XI e XIII secolo, di coniazioni recanti non solo motivi epigrafici ma immagini in stile romanico è rivolto un lavoro collegiale di taglio pressoché artistico che dedica attenzione alla varietà dei tipi prodotti soprattutto in Europa centrale con appendici nel Tirolo (25, 356).

TOFFANIN (419) ha considerato le rappresentazioni del “morso” su esemplari viscontei e ha valutato e contestualizzato le emissioni milanesi (parpagliola, soldino e terlina/quattrino) coniate nel 1593-5 per celebrare la fine di una carestia e come augurio di prosperità per Isabella Clara d'Asburgo (413); lo studioso ha anche esaminato le emissioni dei re francesi in Milano (422). BAZZINI (67) ha ricordato la duina di Luigi XII per Milano, e CARONNI (130) ha riconosciuto varianti inedite in emissioni di Bernabò Visconti. GIANAZZA e FERRO (223) hanno individuato presso

collezione privata un denaro mezzano dei marchesi Aleramici di Monferrato (con tondello piano e non scodellato come l'inedito proposto da Michael Matzke, cfr. 179, *MEC* 12, p. 167) che trova rassomiglianze tipologiche con emissioni astigiane presenti nel ripostiglio di Garlasco e che potrebbe esser stato coniato a Moncalvo. CASSANELLI *et al.* (136) hanno proposto la seriazione cronologica della muraiola modenese di Ercole III d'Este e presentato altri studi su alcune emissioni estensi (133, 134, 135).

MONTAGANO e SOZZI (285) hanno esaminato un'emissione pisana inedita (mezzo giulio 1555-1559) della zecca di Montalcino ad opera del monetiere Agnolo Fraschini.

DE BENETTI (94), in occasione delle ricerche sul fiorino, ha identificato un esemplare con segno di zecca sconosciuto presso il Museo Archeologico di Madrid; lo stesso autore (91), presso le collezioni bolognesi, ha riconosciuto un fiorino coniato "per dispetto", secondo l'accezione di Grierson, battuto alle porte di Pisa nel 1363.

Ricordiamo poi lo studio citato sulle monete bolognesi del periodo di Restaurazione ad opera di Pio VII (137) e i contributi di FABRIZI e VAGLIVIELLO (193) su un denaro inedito di Napoli datato 1555 con firma dello zecchiere e FABRIZI (191) su due tornesi napoletani del 1622 inediti.

ALCAMO (2, 3) ha analizzato l'adozione di immagini cristiane (o con significato cristiano) sui folles di Guglielmo II di Sicilia nei confronti della tradizione bizantina e greco-bizantina; BALDASSARRI (48, 49) ha dedicato attenzione, in diversi contributi, alla scelta iconografica dell'immagine del Volto santo sulle monete di Lucca. PASSERA (310) ha cercato di individuare quali criteri politico-araldici siano stati alla base delle scelte dei Patriarchi di Aquileia per le loro coniazioni; sulla serie aquileiese si ricordano anche le osservazioni di KEBER (256) in merito al soggetto del Santo Sepolcro sulla prima moneta patriarcale di Poppo e soprattutto gli interventi di ŠTEKAR (406-412) che ha seguito la sua analisi tipologica di motivi simbolico-religiosi sulla monetazione medievale slovena con consistenti e significativi riferimenti anche alle coniazioni di Aquileia, Trieste e Gorizia. SACCOCCI (374) ha individuato nella monetazione di Padova (nel periodo 1337-1385) un programma iconografico molto complesso, teso alla celebrazione del carattere regale della dinastia carrarese nelle monete, nei sigilli, nelle tessere prodotte sotto questa Signoria che lo ha portato a riproporre una nuova interpretazione anche degli affreschi dell'Oratorio patavino di San Michele.

GIACCARDI (216) ha raccolto e descritto le legende ricorrenti sulla monetazione dei Borboni (da Carlo a Francesco II) emesse a Napoli, mentre la storia monetale è stata ricostruita da RUOTOLO (367).

ROSSINI (361) e NASSAR (297) si sono occupati della cronologia dei primi ritratti monetari rinascimentali, mentre SACCOCCI (382), ha individuato l'origine del cosiddetto "ritratto all'antica" nella medaglia coniatata dai Carraresi per la riconquista di Padova (del 1390) in cui sono stati letteralmente copiati i ritratti dell'imperatore Vitellio e di suo padre per rappresentare i Signori della città.

In diversi contributi è stata dedicata attenzione ai segni distintivi delle emissioni, i così chiamati "punti segreti": CAPPELLARI (128) sulle monete millesimate del Regno di Sardegna; BELLESIA (86) sui grossi agontani, TRAVAINI e PIGOZZO (444) sui ducati veneziani del tesoro di Montella, LOCATELLI (264) sui ducati da Siracusa, KEBER (254) sui grossi veneziani e sulle monete del futuro Patriarca Aquileiese Gregorio (263), RIMOLDI (347) sulle emissioni milanesi di Filippo II, TOFFANIN (420) su monete grosse dei Visconti.

Le relazioni tra l'iconografia dei santi che reggono un modellino di città sulle monete e altri media sono state indagate da SACCOCCI (377) e TRAVAINI e LOCATELLI (443): emergono osservazioni sulla scelta del santo da rappresentare in ciascuna città considerata, come legittimazione del diritto di conio, del potere o come simbolo della religiosità.

Circolazione: fonti scritte e rinvenimenti

Sono stati editi alcuni importanti ripostigli, come quello del 2012 da Colle Iano (5; catalogo di ALTAMURA (4)) in cui erano nascoste 58 monete d'oro e d'argento medievali di zecche italiane ed europee databili al XIII-XIV secolo (con reperti romani, moderni e contemporanei). I materiali medievali (tra cui grossi romanini del Senato Romano) sono stati studiati da TRAVAINI (430) che ne ha proposto un inquadramento nella circolazione monetaria contemporanea, con particolare attenzione ai grossi romanini del Senato Romano e ai gigliati/carlini napoletani. Altro importante studio su un tesoretto è stato quello sul gruzzolo casertano di Alife, edito a più mani da ARSLAN, BOMPAIRE, MIELE e TRAVAINI (24, con Baldassarri e Bazzini): il consistente ripostiglio di 635 monete da una necropoli (interrato nel 1189-1195 ca.) è composto da monete italiane e francesi. Il ripostiglio appare coerente con la ricostruzione degli studi precedenti secondo cui nell'Italia Normanna, nell'ultimo quarto del XII secolo, fosse pervasa da argento straniero.

BAZZINI, GUIDOZZI e MARCHI (69) hanno edito un tesoretto di monete medievali di XIII-XIV secolo rinvenuto

a Parma dentro una brocca e che, sulla base di un fiorino grosso da 2 soldi (popolino), venne interrato attorno alla metà del 1312: la composizione del tesoretto ha suggerito agli autori di metterlo in relazione con altri peculi dell'Italia settentrionale.

TRAVAINI e BROGGINI (442), hanno presentato il ricco tesoro di Montella (del 1354 ca.), composto da 210 monete d'oro (89 fiorini, 1 fiorino falso, 59 imitazioni di fiorini di zecche europee e 61 ducati veneziani). Si tratta di un tesoro unico per data e varietà con importanti dati su diverse zecche, inclusi legami di conio tra le monete per Firenze, Venezia e le emissioni ungheresi.

LOCATELLI (264) ha pubblicato un ripostiglio medievale conservato al Museo Archeologico Regionale 'Paolo Orsi' di Siracusa, scoperto nel 1938 e composto da 91 monete d'oro (83 fiorini, 8 ducati veneziani di cui 1 d'imitazione) databili dal 1313 al 1369 ca. Lo studio ha rivelato le connessioni di conio con il ripostiglio di Montella (vedi 442). L'autore ha fornito notizie anche su due ripostigli di età moderna ritrovati sull'isola di Lipari nelle Eolie (datazione proposta: 1548 ca. e 1587 ca.) che evidenziano come le monete straniere al Regno (soprattutto di zecche spagnole collegabili alla residenza di truppe militari) supplirono alla carestia di nominali d'argento (263).

DAY e DE BENETTI (178) hanno studiato i 57 esemplari sopravvissuti di un ripostiglio composto da 163 monete d'oro (forse tutti fiorini) e acquistato nel 1853 dal Staatliche Münzsammlung München. Ne hanno tratto un lavoro complesso e completo di riscontro con i documenti dell'epoca e identificazione stilistica dei pezzi e delle varianti fornendo nuove proposte di cronologia e di riconoscimento di alcune emissioni. Il peculio (1325 ca.) è stato messo in connessione con l'attività delle truppe mercenarie provenienti dal nord delle Alpi che combatterono in Italia tra gli anni '20 e '30 del Trecento.

DE BENETTI (90) ha curato l'edizione di un tesoro rinvenuto nel 1932 (int. ante 1303) vicino a Grosseto (Alberese) durante una bonifica e conservato a Firenze: 76 fiorini d'oro i cui segni di zecca sono stati datati grazie al confronto con altri ripostigli e posti in successione cronologica. In appendice viene presentato altro ripostiglio di 36 denari lucchesi (già segnalato in passato da Giulio Ciampoltrini) rinvenuto l'anno successivo (nel 1933) nello stesso contesto di cui sopravvivono solo 18 denari databili alla II metà del XII secolo.

Il già noto ripostiglio di Offanengo (CR) è stato riesaminato da RIZZONELLI (358) che ha proposto i risultati delle analisi metallografiche sugli esemplari conservati presso le Civiche Raccolte Archeologiche e Numismatiche di Milano.

Per l'area piemontese BONA (103) ha riassunto i ritrovamenti in Val Camonica, Val di Sole e Valtellina e ha offerto una sintesi della circolazione medievale nelle Valli confermando l'ipotesi già formulata da Saccocci per la Val di Sole (292, Introduzione: p. 15): nelle zone montane lo stock monetario poteva risultare alterato rispetto alla pianura. A Palazzo Centoris di Vercelli gli scavi hanno recuperato 6 monete di dubbia lettura ma assegnabili a zecche dell'Italia settentrionale dal XII al XVI secolo (PANERO e PISTAN (308)). Da scavi al castello di Ponzone (AL) si segnalano 4 monete moderne (XVI-XVII secolo: CROSETTO e COMBA (169)). PISTAN (336) ha pubblicato le monete (anche medievali: XII-XV secolo, zecche Pavia e Milano) da scavi a Vercelli (Via Duomo).

L'area lombarda è stata oggetto dei lavori di PERASSI (318) e BONA (104) che hanno analizzato e contestualizzato, in un contributo coordinato, i rinvenimenti e i ripostigli provenienti in particolare dall'area milanese e hanno prodotto una sintesi aggiornata delle problematiche inerenti considerando anche le più recenti pubblicazioni. RIZZONELLI (357) grazie alla discussione su alcuni ripostigli dei secc. XII-XIII contenenti monete di Brescia, ha documentato l'attività di questa zecca affrontando diverse tematiche, comprese quelle inerenti al diritto monetario e l'ubicazione dell'officina anticipando un riordino della cronologia che prelude ad un lavoro generale più completo. Sono state pubblicate monete italiane medievali dagli scavi a Piuro (CANTATORE (122): 7 monete di X-XV secolo, zecche di Milano e Pavia), mentre alle valli montane lombarde (Valtellina: 146; Valchiavenna: 147) CHIARAVALLE ha dedicato due corposi contributi riassumendo tutti i ritrovamenti noti sin dall'età romana ed elencandoli in tabelle: l'autrice li ha presentati attraverso le varie fasi storiche contestualizzandoli nella circolazione.

L'area della foce del Mincio, nel Mantovano, è stata oggetto delle ricerche di GALEAZZI (207) che ha censito e studiato i ritrovamenti monetari decontestualizzati compresi tra i secoli X e XIX: la lettura ha evidenziato una vivacità di circolazione grazie anche alle monete provenienti da fuori l'area che potrebbero esser giunte nella zona in seguito all'influenza veneziana (Mantova passò all'area monetale veneta nel 1257). Gli scavi a Cairate, presso il monastero di S. Maria Assunta, hanno recuperato una trentina di monete, per la maggior parte di età medievale e moderna di zecche

locali e straniere databili dal XV al XX secolo (CHIARAVALLE (145)). Le 20 monete ritrovate nel quartiere milanese di Nosedo, di cui 12 in tomba, hanno suggerito a FACCHINETTI (196) di vederle come deposito rituale. La stessa autrice (195) ha pubblicato i reperti anche medievali dalla chiesa di San Giacomo (CO), tra cui 2 denari milanesi di XIV secolo.

Nel Triveneto ASOLATI (26) ha riconosciuto come pertinente alla zecca di Correggio (1569-1580) un'esemplare inedito recuperato dagli scavi di Sanzenone di Tassullo, in Trentino, e ha richiamato il problema delle imitazioni di tardo XVI secolo (e periodi successivi) ad opera di zecche dell'Italia centro settentrionale per raggiungere i mercati bavaresi. Lo studioso ha inoltre analizzato le monete dalla chiesa di San Giovanni Battista a Flavon in Val di Non (32): 63 monete dal XII al XV (Gorizia, Mantova, Merano, Mesocco, Milano, Padova, Trento, Venezia, Verona) che si inseriscono coerentemente nel quadro noto della circolazione trentina strettamente legata alla storia monetaria del Triveneto, il flusso di monete nella zona si interrompe nel XVI secolo a seguito del mutamento del quadro economico e di conseguenza monetario.

Un lavoro complessivo sulla circolazione monetaria in Val di Sole (292), ha editato i ritrovamenti medievali dalle chiese di Dimaro (Asolati alle pp. 64-71 e 73-75), Ossana (Asolati alle pp. 77-79), Piano di Commezzadura (Marcinik alle pp. 88-94), Ortisé e Menas (Marcinik a p. 95). ASOLATI (30) ne ha ricostruito il quadro della circolazione sulla scorta dei ritrovamenti e di precedenti contributi.

Le 5 monete medievali veneziane dagli scavi presso il battistero del Duomo a Padova (XV secolo) sono state oggetto di un ulteriore contributo di ASOLATI (31).

SACCOCCI e FASANO (383) hanno pubblicato un ripostiglio da Serravalle (TV), interrato tra 1414 e 1423 che rappresenta coerentemente, per le sue caratteristiche di ripostiglio in parte di emergenza, la circolazione monetaria in Veneto nel periodo 1271-1420. PASSERA (311) ha presentato un altro ripostiglio, scoperto in un'inumazione nella chiesa di Monselice (PD) e databile al X-XI secolo, con 12 denari d'argento svalutati assegnabili all'ultimo periodo di Ottone III.

Dall'Emilia si segnalano i rinvenimenti da Monte Lucio (MARCHESI e BALDI (277); CANTATORE e MARCHESI (125): 68 monete di XII-XVI, zecche di Ancona, Bergamo, Bologna, Como, Cremona, Ferrara, Lucca, Mantova, Merano, Milano, Parma, Reggio, Tortona, Verona; presenti anche monete romane considerate residuali), Nonantola (CANTATORE e CHIMIENTI (123): monete di IX-XVIII secolo delle zecche di Bologna, Ferrara, Gubbio, Lucca, Merano, Modena, Piacenza, Siena, Trento, Venezia, Verona; per le monete romane rinvenute in scavo medievale gli autori ne discutono l'eventuale residualità, senza particolare approfondimento), Novi di Modena (CHIMIENTI e PETTAZZONI (155): le numerose monete medievali sono denari lucchesi e grossi di zecche emiliane, soprattutto di Modena e Bologna, sono presenti anche monete lombarde), Castelnovo ne' Monti (MARCHESI (276): con esemplari databili dall'XI al XIII secolo per le zecche di Modena, Lucca, Parma).

Si ricordano poi i rinvenimenti monetali dalla necropoli presso Borzano (Reggio Emilia), con reperti dal XII al XIV (zecche di Milano, Ferrara, Cremona, Parma: BAZZINI (64)). Da Toano, in località Castel Pizigolo (124), scavi organizzati hanno raccolto 106 monete sporadiche (Bologna, Ferrara, Lucca e Mantova) di XII-XIV secolo e 1 ripostiglio di XIII-XIV secolo (zecche di Ancona, Bologna e Modena). ASOLATI (34) ha studiato le monete dagli scavi presso la rocca di Monte Copiolo nel Montefeltrino: si tratta di 57 monete di età medievale e moderna e 2 contemporanee di zecche dell'Italia centrale e 1 del Ducato di Atene. Nel contributo si richiama il rapporto tra il denaro lucchese e le aree orientali e l'importanza della stessa valuta lucchese nella zona anche in età più tarda (ipotesi già proposta in passato da Andrea Saccocci). La presenza di monete papali ha suggerito all'autore di metterle in relazione con il passaggio di pellegrini.

Un riordino dei rinvenimenti (anche medievali) dagli scavi di Classe (Ravenna) è in corso da parte di BALDI (59). Gli scavi dal cimitero ebraico a Bologna (288) hanno restituito 3 monete medievali (Ancona e Bologna), 1 moderna e 1 tessera plumbea.

Sono stati diversi i contributi di SACCOCCI (370, 371, 372, 373) allo studio della circolazione monetale in Toscana letta attraverso i ritrovamenti: un tesoretto di 9 monete in vaso nascosto sotto il piano di calpestio della "Casa degli Aranci" a Lucca (8 denari di XIV secolo, 1 bronzo coevo forse bizantino) ha suggerito di non considerarlo un deposito di fondazione ma un ripostiglio di accumulo e di fornire osservazioni sulla circolazione monetaria; le 9 monete dagli scavi del Castelvecchio di Piazza al Serchio (XII-XIII secolo: 9 denari di Bologna, Lucca, Pisa e Parma) sembrano

attestare una circolazione più ricca e varia in zone montuose rispetto alla pianura. Lo stesso autore (381) ha studiato le monete dallo scavo di Piazza San Giusto e Piazza della Posta a Lucca (X-XII secolo: 10 enriciani di Verona e Lucca, 1 ottolino di Milano e 1 denaro normanno).

La circolazione monetaria di Pisa e del suo contado, tra XI e XIV secolo, è stata oggetto di analisi di BALDASSARRI (47) che ne ha identificato le fasi monetarie e i rapporti tra la moneta cittadina e quella straniera: si conferma il quadro della circolazione già noto per l'area tirrenica, il Valdarno inferiore e per il contesto urbano. BALDASSARRI e PARODI (57) hanno proposto un'analisi della circolazione nella Lunigiana tra X e XIV secolo esponendo osservazioni sul confronto tra uso e funzione della moneta lunense con quella di zecche circostanti ed anche esterne alla regione.

Le monete recuperate dalle indagini archeologiche 2014-2015 presso Cittavecchia di Massa Marittima hanno suggerito a CICALI di puntualizzare meglio la circolazione di moneta minuta nella Toscana meridionale in età basso-medievale (161; vedi anche 55, pp. 169-170). Dagli scavi di Vetricella (GR) sono emerse monete antiche e medievali (ROVELLI (363); MARASCO e CICALI (275)): gli esemplari posteriori al 1000 sono 4 denari di Corrado emessi a Lucca. Dal Castello di Scopetulo presso San Miniato, Pisa proviene un enriciano di Lucca (CANTINI *et al.* (126)). Grazie allo studio dei rinvenimenti, CHIMIENTI e MORETTI (153) hanno registrato la diffusione del bolognino nell'Italia meridionale.

DEGASPERI (181) ha proposto un'indagine originale: cercando di identificare le monete su sette biccherne senesi sulla scorta dei ritrovamenti archeologici, ha proposto una sintetica analisi della circolazione monetaria della Toscana centro-meridionale nella seconda metà del Duecento.

Per l'area centrale italiana, le oltre 200 monete rinvenute a Santa Maria di Pistia sono state oggetto di un sintetico contributo per il Museo di Colfiorito di Foligno da parte di RANUCCI (344): si tratta di esemplari delle zecche di Ancona, Arezzo, Ascoli, Bologna, Castro, Camerino, Firenze, Lucca, Macerata, Napoli, Roma, Verona (XII-XX secolo); si registra anche la presenza di emissioni ungheresi e francesi. Le monete dagli scavi di Pietrarossa (Trevi) sono stati editi da CONTRAFATTO e DE LEONE (164): gli esemplari medievali e moderni sono ascritti alle zecche di Ancona, Bologna, Castro e Roma. LA SALVIA e MANCINI (259) hanno proposto una sintesi della circolazione anche di età medievale in Abruzzo in particolare per il territorio di Corfinio (AQ).

Venendo al territorio del Lazio, segnaliamo i rinvenimenti da Colleferro (Castello di Piombinara): 24 monete di cui 22 medievali, alcune in tomba (MARANI (273): XII-XVII, zecche di Siena, Roma, Ravenna, forse Ancona). Probabilmente dal territorio proviene un consistente ripostiglio di denari provisini (con 2 anconetani) conservato ai Musei Capitolini e studiato da VALCI (445, 446). Dagli scavi 1998 presso il foro di Traiano (Monastero di Sant'Urbano), si è recuperato un ripostiglio di 34 monete argentee di XVI secolo, probabilmente la rimanenza di un più ampio peculio (MENEGHINI e VALCI (279)). RANUCCI (345) ha edito i rinvenimenti monetali da Cittareale (RI) in cui sono presenti anche 156 monete medievali e moderne ed 1 tessera mercantile: oltre a ricostruire il quadro della circolazione e motivare i ritrovamenti nella Rocca, legati alla presenza di milizie, chiarisce l'inesistenza delle zecche di Cascia e Norcia. MARANI (274) ha studiato un butto dal Castello Baglioni di Graffignano (VT) che ha restituito 4 monete medievali di XIV-XV secolo (tra cui un ducato papale di Callisto III 1455-1458 forse celato in un sacchetto poi disfattosi) e 3 tondelli in mistura. In altro butto nel centro storico di Marino (ALTAMURA e RASCAGLIA (7)) erano presenti anche 3 monete medievali (XIII-XV sec. di zecca romana) e 6 emissioni moderne (XVII-XVIII secolo) con varie contemporanee.

Da fonti d'archivio si è appreso il ritrovamento nella I metà del XX secolo presso Largo Argentina (Roma) di un ripostiglio di 36 monete moderne (XVI secolo, zecche marchigiane, laziali e di Venezia): segnalati anche 1 denaro di Siena e 1 quattrino del Senato Romano (BARBATO e VALCI (60)). Da Allumiere (VALLELONGA (449)) due tombe hanno restituito monete tardo-medievali d'argento (XV secolo, zecche di Firenze e Roma) e d'oro (XVI secolo: zecche spagnole, Rodi, Napoli, Roma e Venezia).

L'Italia meridionale ha potuto contare sulla riedizione del già citato volume di TRAVAINI (426) con aggiornamenti sui rinvenimenti, ma corpose sono state comunque le ricerche. MAMMATO (271) ha censito tutti i dati da rinvenimento medievali noti in un compendio che presenta riassunti sulla circolazione organizzati per periodi. Sono stati resi noti rinvenimenti archeologici dalla rocca *Montis Dragonis* (CE) da cui si sono raccolte anche monete medievali (scavi 2001-2014): si tratta soprattutto di monete del Regno di Napoli anche da necropoli che sono interpretate come deposizioni rituali che reimpiegavano anche moneta romana. Presenti anche monete che attestano un uso economico

(GARGIULO (214)).

I rinvenimenti dagli scavi presso il Castello di Lecce (7 bronzi bizantini, 3 denari svevi, 1 piccolo ripostiglio di tari del periodo di Ruggero II e Guglielmo II) hanno permesso ad ARTHUR e SARCINELLI (26) di documentare le fasi costruttive del maniero. Altri ritrovamenti nel sito, in riempimento di una fossa scavata nella roccia presso la Torre Mozza (125 monete per lo più del regno di Napoli, 23 di Venezia, 9 quattrini di Siena) attestano la vivacità della circolazione nel XVI secolo; dal sito proviene anche 1 raro Rechenpfennig di Norimberga attinente all'uso dell'abaco (terzo esemplare noto in Italia meridionale).

Dal castello di Ariano Irpino (AV) sono state recuperate 19 monete medievali e moderne delle zecche di Napoli, L'Aquila, Ducato di Atene (ZECCHINO (472)).

Passando alle isole, per la Sardegna BALDASSARRI (44) ha proposto una sintesi su produzione e circolazione monetaria in età bassomedievale, soprattutto in confronto con l'area Tosco-Tirrenica e quella francese e aragonese.

SANTANGELO (387), presso l'Archivio di Stato di Roma, ha recuperato informazioni su un ripostiglio di tari normanni scoperto nel 1902 presso le campagne di Castiglione di Sicilia (Catania) e oggi sopravvissuto in tredici esemplari presso il Museo Archeologico di Siracusa. Lo stesso autore (389) ha presentato un lotto di 20 monete squadrate conservate presso il Museo Orsi di Siracusa acquistate nel 1926 e presumibilmente scoperto a Marsala (Trapani): si tratta di dirhams argentei degli Almohadi (1147-1269), e imitazioni (per lo più spagnole, francesi e italiane).

WEISS (466) ha raccolto le informazioni monetali (e paramonetali) raccolte negli scavi 1971-2008 presso Monte Iato, componendo un catalogo di oltre mille pezzi che coprono il periodo 638-1953. Lo studioso (465) ha edito anche un ripostiglio di 5 tari di XII secolo delle zecche di Messina e Palermo rinvenuto negli scavi presso la necropoli musulmana ad Entella.

Da San Vincenzo presso l'isola di Stromboli sono state scavate 20 monete di XII-XIV secolo (Regno di Sicilia, Principato di Acaia, Contea di Barcellona: YOON *et al.* (467)).

GUZZETTA (244, 245) ha pubblicato materiali medievali e moderni dal teatro antico e dalla rotonda di Catania e quanto sopravvive di un tesoretto in parte già noto ritrovato a Siracusa a fine 1800 (246): 19 denari di Enrico e Costanza (1194-1196, zecca di Messina o Palermo).

Per le informazioni su ripostigli e ritrovamenti al di fuori dal territorio italiano, APOLITO (17) ha evidenziato, a proposito di scavi a Cuma eolica (Kyme), che la quasi assenza di moneta veneziana nella città portuale a vocazione mercantile (è stato rinvenuto solo un soldino di Francesco Dandolo, 1329-1339), pare confermare la tesi (avanzata in passato già da Lucia Travaini), secondo cui le emissioni della Serenissima sono lacunose prima della riconquista di Costantinopoli nel 1261 e la restaurazione dell'Impero Bizantino.

DEMIREL GÖKALP e STAHL (183) hanno presentato e discusso un ripostiglio di 48 grossi veneziani forati (con 1 falso) che costituiscono il complessivo valore di 2 ducati: il gruzzolo, conservato al Museo di Kütahya (Turchia occidentale) è stato acquistato sul mercato come proveniente dal distretto di Emet e forse appartenne ad un mercante turco che commerciava con Venezia.

Per l'inventario dei ritrovamenti monetali svizzeri (IRMS), DIAZ TABERNERO e GIANAZZA (184) hanno scritto del rinvenimento presso il ghiacciaio del Valico del Teodulo (tra Val d'Aosta e il Canton Vallese) di 184 monete per lo più della II metà del Cinquecento ritrovate addosso ad un uomo deceduto tra XVI e XVII secolo (ducatoni di Milano, spiccioli di area piemontese-savoiarda, Messerano, Monferrato con rilevante presenza di falsi milanesi e di Savoia, poche le emissioni dall'Oltralpe).

GUSAR e ŠUĆUR (243) hanno edito i rinvenimenti dagli scavi 2006-2014 della chiesa di Santa Maria in Pakoštane (loc. Crkvina, in Croazia), da cui provengono anche monete medievali di Venezia, Padova, Aquileia, Brescia, Verona, Pisa. Nel sito sono presenti anche diverse contraffazioni.

Di una certa rilevanza documentaria è il ripostiglio di 127 gliati identificato da BAKER e KLUGE (35) nel registro dei Musei Reali di Berlino: le monete furono rinvenute agli inizi del 1900 in un vaso nascosto nel teatro di Mileto. Si tratta di monete emesse da più zecche, compresa Napoli e tra qualche esemplare è stata osservata anche identità di conio. Nel lavoro si propone un confronto tra il rinvenimento e ripostigli simili.

Storia monetaria ed economica, documenti di mercatura

Ricordando la recentissima riedizione critica del *Tractatus* di Oresme sulla moneta a firma BROLLO e EVANGELISTI (106), e un saggio di EVANGELISTI (188, in part. i paragrafi 4.8, 5.8. e 6.1) sul pensiero economico medievale, si sono

segnalati diversi contributi scientifici che hanno trattato di storia e natura della moneta anche dal punto di vista giuridico, etico, religioso soprattutto in occasione di convegni e incontri di studio (27, 119, 171, 258, 305).

STAHL (404) ha affrontato il tema della carenza, dalla fine del Trecento, di metallo monetabile in una crisi di approvvigionamento che colpì tutte le zecche in Europa. I dati lacunosi per Venezia possono essere però recuperati grazie al libro di conti del mercante veneziano Guglielmo Condulmer. Lo studio della documentazione ha consentito all'autore di spiegare ancor meglio la sopravvivenza della Serenissima, che trasse profitto grazie alle monete vili prodotte per le colonie. STAHL (405) ha ripreso l'argomento in altro contributo, ponendo l'attenzione sull'impiego dei lingotti argentei nel commercio a lunga distanza e sottolineando come la medesima fonte documentaria privata ne attesti un utilizzo che va ben oltre il Trecento e che non fu totalmente soppiantato dall'adozione della moneta d'oro. Le implicazioni dell'analisi coinvolgono anche il riconsiderare l'attività di zecca delle città del Tardo medioevo, poiché appare evidente che non tutto l'argento disponibile venisse monetato.

Un tema che è stato affrontato da più autori riguarda le vicende che condussero l'Occidente europeo a determinare la fine del monometallismo argenteo introducendo nominali aurei a metà XIII secolo. TRAVAINI (428), tra i molti argomenti trattati pertinenti anche a Firenze, Venezia, Roma, sinteticamente ha ripreso il tema della successione tra fiorino e genovino dopo il 1252. BALDASSARRI e LOCATELLI (56) hanno proposto il loro punto di vista sulle motivazioni e caratteristiche della nascita della moneta aurea nella metà del Duecento in Occidente. Una seconda parte del lavoro ha considerato il fiorino in una dimensione mediterranea.

MIRRA ha contribuito all'argomento con un lavoro pertinente alle zecche italiane (284). Accanto ad un riassunto della monetazione di zecca romana, TRAVAINI (434) ha proposto una breve sintesi dello sviluppo della storia monetaria in Europa (1150-1305). Un riassunto sull'attività di zecca delle officine medievali è offerta ancora in TRAVAINI (431), mentre BALDASSARRI (39) ha proposto un confronto nel periodo XI-XIV secolo tra le città del sud della Francia con quelle che si affacciano sul Tirreno, in particolare Pisa e Genova (con riferimenti a Lucca) cercando di individuare quanto e come la moneta concorresse alla costituzione dell'identità delle città.

La zecca di Brescello, aperta contemporaneamente a quella di Guastalla dal 1570, nell'ambito della rivalità tra Estensi e Gonzaga, è stata al centro del lavoro di SANTELLI e CAMPANA (390) che ne hanno riproposto la storia e la tipologia delle emissioni sulla scorta di documentazione.

SACCOCCI (378) ha studiato e identificato i nominali presenti in un gruzzolo rinvenuto nelle fasi di cantiere della rocca di Castiglione di Garfagnana (LU) sulla base di un documento del 1390 che registra opere e spese per quella fortificazione.

La monetazione del Duecento di Lucca è stata oggetto di studio di BALDASSARRI (49, vedi anche 38 in cui riesamina il ripostiglio di denari enriciani dalla chiesa dei SS. Giovanni e Reparata di Lucca già oggetto in passato di uno studio di Michael Matzke) che approfondisce la seriazione di quei denari (soprattutto in confronto a Pisa) e dei grossi argentei; DEL PUNTA (182) ha tracciato un quadro della situazione monetaria nella regione lucchese considerandone anche gli aspetti economici.

SACCOCCI (377), analizzando i materiali padovani, ha proposto una ricostruzione della storia monetaria della città collegandola all'importante ruolo che dovettero svolgere i vescovi che detenevano il diritto di conio. Per il Veneto TORGGLER (423) ha ricordato, sulla scorta di documentazione notarile, l'importante ruolo dei cambiavalute di Verona presso le aree settentrionali nel secolo XIII (soprattutto la zona bolzanina) inerenti alla fornitura di moneta veronese ai mercanti del nord che approvvigionavano la zecca con argento anche non monetato.

PERFETTO (319) ha proposto una monografia in lingua spagnola sulla storia monetaria del Regno delle due Sicilie e ARPAIA (22) ha tracciato una sintesi monetaria della Repubblica Napoletana. ZECCHINO (471) ha ricordato l'importanza del *Quaternus ex cadenciarum Capitinate*, registro delle entrate di metà XIII secolo della cancelleria sveva che acquisiva le rendite tramite monete di conto (soprattutto il *tari*).

CHIMIENTI e MORETTI (con RAPOSSELLI e RINALDI (152)), hanno avviato la pubblicazione dei bandi monetari della zecca di Bologna (il volume 1 comprende il periodo dal XIV al XVI secolo) fornendo agli studiosi un ampio ventaglio di informazioni specifiche sui documenti stessi, ma di conseguenza anche sui nominali.

GIROLA (229, 230) ha dedicato due corposi contributi alla storia delle emissioni coloniali italiane in Somalia e Libia.

La storia economica, trattata soprattutto in testi e riviste non strettamente numismatici ma piuttosto dedicati ai

risvolti storico-economici, ha raccolto diversi contributi: HOCQUET (247) ha ricostruito la storia del mercante veneziano Badoer nei suoi trascorsi commerciali nel Levante nella prima metà del XV secolo e l'uso degli strumenti bancari e finanziari contemporanei. BETTARINI (98) ha ricordato il declino dei commerci italiani nel Regno di Ungheria dopo la morte di Filippo Buondelmonti degli Scolari (alias Pippo Spano) e i tentativi della Signoria fiorentina di raccomandare i suoi mercanti a Cracovia e in Polonia. Nel libro di spese del pittore Lorenzo Lotto le molte citazioni monetarie per l'età moderna hanno consentito di condurre un'indagine sull'economia materiale in zona veneziana (a cura di DE CAROLIS (129)): non si tratta di ricordanze mercantili ma di una registrazione contabile d'affari riconducibile alla forma della partita doppia.

Riguardo ai documenti di mercatura, TRAVAINI (440) ha curato la riedizione del suo testo aggiungendo un'ampia introduzione, consistenti spunti critici, aggiornamento del glossario e l'indicazione di liste non edite a cura di PIGOZZO (335). BOCCHI *et al.* (101) hanno pubblicato l'analisi, anche numismatica, di un originale rotolo pergameneo conservato presso l'Archivio di Stato di Pisa che attesta l'uso commerciale e i cambi di diverse valute tra il Mediterraneo e l'Europa tirrenica e continentale attorno al 1350 ca. Altri documenti di mercatura sono considerati in BOCCHI (100).

SCHERMAN (397) ha edito un manuale di conti di inizio XVI secolo dall'Archivio di Stato di Treviso relativo ad un mercante veneziano e rivolto ai commercianti veneziani del vino.

Pesi monetali, exonomia, gettoni, medagliette votive, tessere

TRAVAINI e BAZZINI (441) hanno condotto uno studio su un documento del 1409 in cui vengono elencate e accuratamente descritte una trentina di monete, sia italiane che straniere, che fungevano da lasciapassare per accedere a fortezze e città emiliane.

CIAMPOLTRINI e SACCOCCI (158) hanno presentato una tessera mercantile dalla Piazzetta della Posta a Lucca e DE BENETTI (95) ha studiato 4 tessere mercantili tipo "Androclo/Leone" dalla cattedrale di San Lorenzo a Grosseto. FILIPPINI (200) ha pubblicato uno studio su un gruzzolo di oltre 150 Rechenpfennige di XVI secolo da Imola.

I *ferlini*, tessere emesse dallo Stato Pontificio in Bologna (XVI secolo) in occasione delle principali feste religiose e destinate ai meno abbienti per l'acquisto della farina, sono stati al centro di un lavoro di studio sistematico firmato da CHIMIENTI e BRUNI (149).

ROLLANDI e ROMANI (359) hanno considerato l'uso economico di beni alternativi alla moneta in carenza di circolante e valutati piuttosto per lo status sociale o il pregio. Le autrici, attraverso il confronto tra le funzioni di beni non monetari presso le classi sociali eminenti mantovane e genovesi nei secoli XV-XVIII, ne hanno analizzato diversi aspetti, tra cui le transazioni, l'opportunità di smobilizzo, gli investimenti, le difficoltà di valutazione.

L'ampio tema delle pseudo-monete utilizzate in periodo di guerra nel contesto dei campi di prigionia, costituite da materiale e valore differente, è trattato da PODDI (337) ed è sviluppato da PAMPANIN (306) in merito alle monete ritrovate nelle trincee della I Guerra Mondiale.

GIACOSA (218) ha presentato un catalogo in cui esamina dal punto di vista economico, sociale ed anche artistico i gettoni circolanti in Valle d'Aosta dagli anni Venti del Novecento fino alla fine della II Guerra Mondiale: essi portavano il segno di valore ed erano prodotti da attività commerciali private ed erano accettati per pagamenti locali in carenza di denaro disponibile nella circolazione.

Similmente VANNI (454) ha analizzato contesto, origine, funzione delle pseudo-monete fiduciarie emesse da enti privati successivamente all'unità d'Italia per sopperire soprattutto alla mancanza di circolante. ALTAMURA e PANCOTTI (6) hanno proposto un'indagine sulle medagliette devozionali basata sui ritrovamenti dai Colli Albani fornendo una sintesi delle tipologie iconografiche e del loro inquadramento cronologico tra XVII e XIX secolo. Sempre all'analisi di questa tipologia di materiali, spesso presenti in scavi, è dedicato uno studio condotto da PENNESTRÌ e TEKLEMARIAM BACHE (316) pertinente alle creazioni di una bottega romana specializzata ed il catalogo del Museo Francese di Roma.

Uno studio a più mani, condotto su monete pontificie montate a pendaglio di XVIII secolo e basato su sofisticate tecniche di analisi, ha rivelato che la lavorazione era reversibile per salvaguardare l'integrità della moneta (197).

ZAVATTONI ha proseguito le ricerche sui pesi monetari, dedicando diversi contributi a carattere generale (468), tipologico (470) o circostanziandoli al contesto politico territoriale (469). Riguardo alla cartamoneta, ricordiamo l'efficace attività dell'Associazione Italiana Cartamoneta che ha recentemente edito gli atti di un convegno (144) e alcuni contributi di RUSSO e ARDIMENTO (368, 369), ARDIMENTO e COLELLA (19): si tratta sia di monografie specialistiche che

di contributi su riviste che ampliano le conoscenze sulla tematica dal punto di vista sia storico che tecnico.

In alcuni contributi BRUNI ha studiato gli strumenti dedicati alla verifica delle monete per pesatura: in un lavoro monografico dedicato al Ducato di Modena (BRUNI (108)) l'autore ha raccolto e documentato le testimonianze tecniche (bilance, pesi) e quelle giuridiche ("gride") utili a mercanti, banchieri e chiunque se ne trovasse nella necessità, di controllare le monete in circolazione; in altro contributo presenta una rara scatola per pesare monete databile alla seconda metà Settecento di probabile origine bolognese (BRUNI (107)). Lo stesso autore, in collaborazione con CHIMIENTI (110), ha presentato sulla *RIN* una serie di inediti pesi monetali bolognesi di XVI secolo posti in relazione con i bandi che determinavano il peso legale delle monete.

DI FRANCESCO ha curato la riedizione della parte napoletana del Manuale di MARTINI (201).

Aspetti non economici: ritualità della moneta, depositi di fondazione

Uno scavo archeologico presso la rocca di *Tusculum* ha consentito a MANDATORI (97, 272) di identificare un rito di fondazione (probabilmente il primo attestato nell'Italia medievale) databile forse al 1183: in recipiente di terracotta un enriciano lucchese (1105-1125) e un sigillo plumbeo di papa Alessandro III (1159-1181) in eccezionale stato di conservazione vennero deposti per scongiurare l'assedio romano dell'insediamento. Il citato rinvenimento ha stimolato l'organizzazione di una giornata di studio, tenutasi nel 2018, presso la *Escuela Española de Historia y Arqueología en Roma* (EEHAR) dal titolo Un'economia verticale: i riti di fondazione dall'antichità all'età moderna: Mediterraneo e Europa, di cui si attendono gli Atti. GIAMPICCOLO (220) ha presentato un dossier in cui ricostruisce in breve la storia dei depositi di fondazione, dalle prime testimonianze a Siena (presso il duomo, 1284 e alla Torre del Mangia 1325) ne sottolinea la continuità fino all'età moderna e, attraverso l'adozione della medaglia o altre forme, all'età contemporanea. L'argomento è riproposto anche da MUNZI (294) riguardo al ben documentato deposito di fondazione scoperto presso il monumento dedicato a Camillo Cavour a Roma del 1885 e costituito da tubo plumbeo corredato da pergamena e 3 monete del Regno d'Italia. Il tema, in relazione al periodo medievale, è ricordato anche da PERASSI (318) in un contributo di stampo più generale sull'area del *Septimium*. GIULIANI e SISSIA (242), in merito agli scavi presso Campo Imperatore (AQ) hanno ricordato un denaro piccolo anonimo del Senato posto nella malta di costruzione (II metà del Trecento).

Sugli aspetti rituali e religiosi da riconoscere alla moneta, sulla loro interpretazione in diversi contesti e in genere sulla sacralità della moneta (e delle officine monetali), sono numerosi gli interventi di TRAVAINI che riprendono ed approfondiscono ipotesi e temi già ampiamente sviluppati dall'autrice in passato, tra questi anche la presenza di moneta in tombe di santi (425, 428, 432, 435, 437, 438). VANNI (450) ha sottolineato la volontà dei fedeli di riporre monete e medagliette presso il busto reliquiario di San Donato ad Arezzo, realizzato nel 1346 e restaurato nel 2008, come un gesto di pietà religiosa. Interpretazione rituale della moneta medievale in tomba è stata proposta da FACCHINETTI (196) per Nosedo (MI).

Sul tema è ritornato ARSLAN (23) che ha rielaborato un precedente contributo sulla tomba di San Pietro. Un censimento e una sintesi delle posizioni degli studiosi sulla tematica sono presenti in un contributo di BALDASSARRI (50) che ha sottolineato la difficoltà di individuare un'interpretazione condivisa.

Dal punto di vista dell'interpretazione dei rinvenimenti archeologici di moneta in tomba, SACCOCCI (379), tuttavia, ha confutato nella sostanza molte delle ipotesi sopra ricordate, richiamando la necessità di considerare sempre ineludibili ragioni di tipo economico o pratico in fatto di monete ed eventualmente di escluderle per poter procedere a letture rituali o connesse a vocazione magica. Riguardo alle monete nelle tombe di santi (e beati), lo studioso ha giustificato comunque tale usanza come recupero medievale della tradizione dell'ex-voto (SACCOCCI e TOMASSONI (384)). Analogamente, i riti di fondazione che impiegavano moneta, sarebbero da interpretarsi come un recupero colto di pratiche proprie della classicità romana.

Al proposito DEGASPERI (180) ha ripreso in esame il tesoretto bassomedievale ritrovato presso il convento di Taranto dei Celestini (già edito da Julian Baker) in cui, oltre a denari di età medievale, erano presenti anche due monete romane prima considerate intrusive: nel contributo si valuta se la loro presenza sia da riconoscere non tanto ad una permanenza in circolazione quanto ad un sentimento devozionale dovuto ad un fraintendimento dei motivi iconografici.

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FRANCE MÉDIÉVALE (X^E–XV^E SIÈCLE)

Thibault Cardon

Les enjeux du tournant numérique

Les études numismatiques des années 2014-2020 portant la France du Moyen Âge central et du bas Moyen Âge se traduisent par un nombre important de contributions (au moins 347), tant dans des bulletins régionaux que dans des revues d'audience internationale. Les publications locales, parfois difficiles d'accès, sont heureusement souvent disponibles en ligne, partiellement ou totalement (*Annales de la Société bretonne de numismatique et d'histoire*, *Bulletin de la Société numismatique du Limousin...*), accompagnant en cela la numérisation toujours croissante des revues nationales (*Revue numismatique*, *Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique*, *Cahiers numismatiques*, *OMNI...*). Le tournant numérique se confirme aussi par le développement de publications exclusivement numériques. Plusieurs associations numismatiques locales ou régionales tiennent également à jour des sites internet qui deviennent parfois le seul canal de diffusion de découvertes ou d'études numismatiques. Si ces initiatives facilitent la publication rapide, le tout numérique pose néanmoins la question de la pérennité des données, notamment lorsque les sites n'ont pas d'hébergeur institutionnel. Une autre question, qui prend déjà l'allure d'un problème, est celle du signalement des trouvailles monétaires. Celles effectuées dans un cadre légal, notamment celui de l'archéologie préventive, bénéficient aujourd'hui de bons inventaires à défaut d'une base de données nationales. En revanche, le durcissement de la législation sur les détecteurs de métaux n'a pas entraîné une baisse du nombre de trouvailles, mais repousse toujours les possibilités d'étude et de publication de ces dernières. Très nombreuses, elles sont au mieux simplement signalées et identifiées sur des forums et réseaux sociaux dont il est impossible de rendre compte dans une telle chronique, et pour lesquels il n'existe aucun enregistrement systématique ni archivage.

Enseignements et mémoires universitaires

Les travaux universitaires se poursuivent à un rythme soutenu, presque exclusivement autour du séminaire de numismatique médiévale animé par Marc Bompaire à l'École pratique des hautes études. Le résumé annuel des séances publié dans l'*Annuaire* de l'école permet de suivre l'actualité de la discipline en France ainsi que les travaux en cours des autres chercheurs et étudiants [BOMPAIRE (34, 38-39, 46-47, 49)]. Deux thèses de doctorat ont été soutenues, l'une sur la production et la circulation des monnaies dans l'espace du royaume de Bourgogne-Provence [BORREL (71)], l'autre sur les usages des monnaies médiévales d'après les sources archéologiques [CARDON (83, 92)]. Trois mémoires de master ont été soutenus, dont un sur le monnayage du comté de Nevers qui a bénéficié d'une publication partielle [PEIGNEY (291), PEIGNEY et SARAH (295-296)] et deux autres restés inédits consacrés pour l'un aux trouvailles monétaires de Saint-Denis [SIPOS (321)], pour l'autre au médailler du musée de Caen [MESNIL (261)].

Collections publiques, expositions

L'obligation faite aux musées français de procéder tous les 10 ans, depuis 2015, à un récolement des collections a incité plusieurs institutions à retrouver dans leurs fonds des collections numismatiques parfois fort riches, qui ont occasionnellement donné lieu à des expositions thématiques [JANÉ (236), JANÉ et KAZEK (237-238), JANÉ et STEF (239), VACHERET et RENARD (341), SALAÜN (303)], des publications [ADAM (9, 13), BOMPAIRE (48), BOMPAIRE et FRANÇOISE (55), CHARLET (131), DOSTERT et GIULIATO (173), HOLLARD et MÉZIANE (231)], un mémoire de master [MESNIL (261)], voire la mise en ligne de ces collections. À ce titre, signalons la poursuite de la mise en ligne des collections médiévales de la BnF, sur le portail www.gallica.bnf.fr, les monnaies royales d'or et d'argent étant plus aisément accessibles via www.archivesmonetaires.org. Cette dynamique, encore en cours, est l'occasion de publier des trouvailles locales faites anciennement [JANÉ et STEF (240), SALAÜN (303)], mais aussi de produire de nouvelles synthèses sur des monnayages locaux mal connus [BOMPAIRE (48), BOMPAIRE et FRANÇOISE (55), VACHERET et RENARD (341)]. La BnF publie régulièrement son « Bulletin des acquisitions » [KIND (244-246)]. Dans le cas de la Lorraine, les travaux ainsi initiés ont débouché sur la constitution d'un Projet collectif de recherche (PCR MoneLor) associant

archéologues, historiens, numismates et conservateurs autour du monnayage lorrain.

Mines, productions, techniques et savoir-faire

Les techniques et savoir-faire, allant de l'extraction minière jusqu'à la frappe, ont bénéficié d'avancées notables pour le bas Moyen Âge. Les mines d'argent ont principalement retenu l'attention, notamment à l'occasion d'un colloque dédié [MINVIELLE-LAROUSSE, BAILLY-MAÎTRE et BIANCHI (268), notamment BONNAMOUR (61), FLAMENT, TEREYGOL et SARAH (190), GAUTIER et VERNA (214), MÉAUDRE et TEREYGOL (260), MINVIELLE-LAROUSSE (267) et SARAH (304)] de deux thèses de doctorat portant sur Castel-Minier [FLAMENT (188)] et le Dauphiné [OURY (287)].

La production et la politique monétaire ont été moins abordées, mais il faut signaler plusieurs contributions sur la technique de la frappe au marteau [BOMPAIRE (44)], sur les prétendus « piéforts » médiévaux et leur fonction [BOMPAIRE (39-40), BOMPAIRE et MATHIEU (58), CARDON et KIND (100), COATIVY et VILLEMARD (142), SÉROT (318)], la politique monétaire de Philippe le Bel [BOMPAIRE (51)] ou encore les pratiques du change [BOMPAIRE (50)]. S'agissant du fonctionnement des ateliers monétaires, la publication numérique des sentences criminelles à l'égard des officiers monétaires royaux donne accès à une documentation souvent négligée [CLAIRAND et KIND (138)].

Enfin, les comptabilités ont notamment fait l'objet d'un colloque [BECK et JÉHANNO (22)] dans lequel plusieurs contributions s'attachent à faire une analyse des monnaies de compte ou réelles employées, ainsi que de leur conversion [BÉPOIX (28), BERNARDI (29), BOMPAIRE (33), JÉHANNO (241), LEGUIL (252)]. D'autres contributions s'attachent, dans la même veine, à mettre évidence les techniques de comptabilité et leur lien avec la circulation monétaire ou avec les usages monétaires [BOMPAIRE (49), BOMPAIRE et LEBAILLY (57), CARDON (92), DUMAS et MESTAYER (181)].

Trouvailles monétaires

La publication des trouvailles monétaires, dépôts et monnaies de sites archéologiques, conserve un rythme soutenu avec la publication. On pourra en trouver un aperçu, très régulièrement mis à jour, sur une base de données italienne [GIANAZZA (219)]. S'agissant des dépôts monétaires, on compte 32 notices individuelles présentant des dépôts inédits ou mal connus [ACHACHE (2), ACHACHE, BOMPAIRE et CASTELLAS (3), ALIX, LISTRAT et WIDEHEN (14), ARSLAN, MIELE, TRAVAINI et BOMPAIRE (15), BAUD, BORREL et FLAMMIN (19-21), BOMPAIRE et BLET-LEMARQUAND (53), FOUCRAY et BOMPAIRE (196), BOMPAIRE et FRANÇOISE (55), BORREL (62, 63, 70), BORREL et BOIS-DELATTE (72), CARDON (85, 88), CARDON et DARÉ (95), CARDON, MOITREL et LECLER-HUBY (104), CLAIRAND (136), CLAIRAND et MOESGAARD (139), COLLIN (143), DENGIS (157-160, 162, 163), DHÉNIN (165), DHÉNIN, MARQUETTE et REGALDO-SAINTE BLANCARD (167), DHÉNIN et POINSIGNON (168), FOUCRAY (193, 194), JANÉ et STEF (240), MOESGAARD (269, 276), PITTE, MOESGAARD et BELL (297), PARVÉRIE (289), TESTA (338)], auxquelles il faut ajouter 4 autres incluses dans un travail plus large [CARDON (92)]. Les inventaires régionaux de trésors apportent une fois de plus une documentation abondante et souvent inédite. C'est le cas de l'ex Haute-Normandie, pour laquelle a été publié un inventaire très détaillé (169 notices, dont inédits) pour les dépôts des années 754-1514 [MOESGAARD (273)]. En Loire-Atlantique, c'est une exposition au musée Dobrée qui s'accompagne de la publication de 8 dépôts monétaires médiévaux [SALAÜN (303)]. Malgré cela, nombre de dépôts monétaires découverts à l'occasion de fouille n'ont pour le moment fait l'objet que de rapport d'étude, non publiés, et il est extrêmement difficile d'estimer la quantité des trouvailles « fortuites », qui échappent presque toujours au recensement. Les XIV^e et XV^e s. sont les mieux représentés, mais il faut signaler l'avancée majeure pour notre connaissance de la numismatique des X^e et XI^e siècles apportée par la publication conjointe de 6 dépôts monétaires de Francie mineure, dans un volume coordonné par Marc Bompaire et Bruno Foucray [DUYRAT (182)]. Cette publication, presque quarante ans après celle du trésor de Fécamp par Françoise Dumas, renouvelle en profondeur notre compréhension de la transition entre les derniers carolingiens et les premiers capétiens. Signalons aussi la prise en compte plus régulière de la dimension archéologique des dépôts monétaires, à laquelle un article méthodologique a été consacré [BAUD, BORREL et FLAMMIN (19-21), BOMPAIRE (49), FOUCRAY et BOMPAIRE (196), GENEVIÈVE et CARDON (217)].

S'agissant des monnaies en contexte archéologique, un colloque a été dédié à la question des monnaies romaines découvertes dans des contextes médiévaux, incluant dans plusieurs cas des contextes du Moyen Âge central voire du bas Moyen Âge [CARDON (82, 86), CLÉMENT (140), GENEVIÈVE (215), MOESGAARD (274)]. Une thèse, publiée en 2021, s'est appuyée sur les trouvailles pour questionner les usages monétaires médiévaux [CARDON (92)]. La plupart des monnaies isolées et des dépôts monétaires issus de fouilles archéologiques sont inventoriés mais peu sont publiées [CATALO, GENEVIÈVE et PORTET (127), SIPOS (321)], la plupart restant au stade du rapport de fouille. Il serait trop

long et sans doute vain de les lister ici, et c'est un problème en soi de compiler cette documentation, difficile d'accès. Signalons le travail remarquable de la « Chronique numismatique » annuelle de la *Revue du Nord*, qui couvre aujourd'hui les départements situés au nord de la Seine [DOYEN, DUCHEMIN et SEVERS (174-180)]. Pour le quart Sud-Est du pays, une thèse récente a procédé à l'inventaire des trouvailles VIII^e-XIV^e s., rejoignant quelques efforts régionaux faits ces dernières années. Mais cette documentation, pléthorique, reste aujourd'hui inégale et très dispersée. Le défi est désormais de la rendre aisément référençable et consultable. Le passage à une base de données numérique n'a pas encore été effectué pour les données de la France médiévale.

Classification

Les travaux de classification ont également été prolifiques. Les fouilles archéologiques, dépôts monétaires, inventaires de collections muséales et dispersion d'anciennes collections privées ont livré un nombre très important de monnaies inédites. Si l'on retient une définition stricte d'espèce monétaire comme la combinaison unique d'une autorité, d'une valeur nominale et d'un type, ce ne sont pas moins de 80 nouvelles espèces monétaires qui ont été publiées ces dernières années pour la France médiévale des X^e-XV^e s. Et c'est sans compter l'identification de nouveaux ateliers, de nouvelles émissions, ou la publication d'exemplaires uniques jusqu'alors très mal documentés voire tombés dans l'oubli [BEDEL et ORTIZ (26), CARDON (90), CARDON, PROT et CREUSY (106), DECROLY (151), DIRY (169-170), MÉZIANE et ROCHER (263), RENARD (302)]. Trois tendances peuvent être dégagées pour ces espèces inédites :

- Les monnayages des X^e-XI^e s. ont bénéficié des travaux sur les ateliers de basse Lotharingie [ILISCH (232)] et surtout de la publication conjointe, sous la direction de Marc Bompaire et Bruno Foucray, de 6 dépôts monétaires majeurs de Francie [DUYRAT (182)] qui apporte 25 espèces monétaires nouvelles. Les productions attribuables au faussaire Farigault ont été étudiées en détail et certaines réhabilitées [FOUCRAY, KIND et SARAH (198), KIND et SARAH (247)] ;
- La découverte de nouvelles valeurs nominales pour un monnayage déjà attesté, typiquement d'une obole dont le denier est connu [CARDON, GALOIS et BROUILLARD (99), GRANDIS (222), MÉZIANE et VANDENBOSSCHE (264), RENARD (301)] ;
- Une attention plus grande portée aux monnaies noires, rarement présentes dans les dépôts mais bien documentées par l'archéologie et les trouvailles fortuites, a permis la découverte de nombreuses imitations des XIII^e-XIV^e s., frappées notamment dans l'Est [BENDERS (27), BOMPAIRE et MATHIEU (58-59), BORREL et SUBLET (73), CARDON (80), CARDON, CLAIRAND et PROT (94), CARDON, DIEULAFAIT, GENEVIÈVE, PROT, SUBLET et VANDENBOSSCHE (96), EUVRARD (184-185), EUVRARD et CUINET (186)] et le Sud du pays [BEDEL (23), BOMPAIRE (48), BORREL (64), CHAREYRON (128), CHARLET (132), CHARVET (135), CRUSAFONT I SABATER (149), DELAYGUES (154), GANNE (207-210), GRANDIS (221, 222, 228), SUBLET (325-331, 333-335)].

Cette documentation nouvelle, couplée à l'étude des contextes de découverte, a permis des avancées sensibles pour plusieurs monnayages, voire la publication de synthèses régionales ou périodiques, parfois portées par des associations locales. La Francie des X^e-XI^e s. a déjà été citée et il faut notamment se reporter à BOMPAIRE (45) et FOUCRAY (195), COUPLAND (145), KIND et SARAH (247)], mais il faut aussi mentionner la basse Lotharingie [ILISCH (232), MOESGAARD (270), TROSTYANSKIY et VAN LAERE (340)], la Lorraine [CARDON (90), DOSTERT et GIULIATO (173), JANÉ et STEF (239), VACHERET et RENARD (341)], l'Aquitaine [WITHERS, WITHERS et FORD (347)], la Normandie ducale [MOESGAARD (269, 272, 280-281)], le nivernais [PEIGNEY (291, 292), PEIGNEY et PROT (294), PEIGNEY et SARAH (295, 296)], l'Alsace [DIVO et HAMM (171)], la Champagne [ADAM (4-5, 8-13)], la Savoie [GRANDIS (222, 228)], Orange [SUBLET (324, 326, 327, 332-335)], la Provence [BOUVRY (74), CHARLET (130, 133), CHARLET et CHARLET (134); GANNE (207-210), TESTA (337)] et plus généralement l'ancien royaume de Bourgogne-Provence [BORREL (71)], les monnayages royaux [CARDON (85, 89), CARDON et KIND (101-103), CLAIRAND et KIND (137), CRÉPIN (146), DECROLY (151), DONNÉ et DÉAUX (172), GARNIER (211-213)], ou encore les très nombreuses contributions, allant parfois jusqu'à la micro-typologie, sur les monnayages bretons [CARDON et BEUCHET (93), CARDON et DARÉ (95), CARDON et KIND (100), CARIOU (107-126), COATIVY (141), MICHEL (265), MOULLEC (284-285), SÉROT (306-319)].

L'étude des méreaux monétaires en plomb-étain a fait l'objet de plusieurs contributions, l'une typologique [LUSTIÈRE (256)], d'autres proposant d'y voir de véritables monnaies imposées sur des chantiers de construction [CARDON (87, 92)], et une dernière revenant sur l'historiographie et l'usage des méreaux à l'iconographie sexuelle [CARDON (84)].

Circulation monétaire

Plusieurs travaux, parfois de grande ampleur, ont apporté des contributions significatives à notre connaissance de la circulation monétaire. La publication dédiée aux trésors des X^e-XI^e s., déjà citée, est l'occasion de présenter l'hypothèse de zones monétaires séparées se déployant alors à l'échelle de principautés [BOMPAIRE (45)]. Pour la même période, la dynamique de diffusion de certains monnayages du nord-est du pays vers l'Europe de l'Est, la Scandinavie et jusqu'en Russie gagne en clarté [BOGUCKI, ILISCH et SUCHODOLSKI (31), ILISCH (232-233), TROSTYANSKIY et VAN LAERE (340)]. La circulation monétaire dans le quart Sud-Est de la France a fait l'objet d'un examen détaillé sur le temps long, combinant données archéologiques et textuelles dans une thèse, dont certains passages ont été publiés [BORREL (67, 68, 71)]. La diffusion du monnayage des comtes de Nevers a été étudiée [PEIGNEY (291, 293)] d'après les trouvailles, et quelques aspects de la circulation monétaire des *Low Countries*, incluant le nord de la France, ont été étudiés pour le XV^e s. [SPUFFORD (322-323)]. Les publications de comptabilités, citées plus haut, sont souvent l'occasion de discussions sur les systèmes monétaires en usage.

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FRANCE MODERNE ET CONTEMPORAINE (XVI^e–XX^e S.)

Jérôme Jambu

La numismatique française des époques moderne (XVI^e-XVIII^e S.) et contemporaine (XIX^e-XX^e S.) pour les historiens – dite « numismatique royale » (XVI^e-XVIII^e S.) et « numismatique moderne » (XIX^e-XX^e S.) par les collectionneurs et marchands de pièces de monnaie – a connu un certain renouveau amorcé aux environs du dernier congrès de l'INC (Taormine, 2015). Jusqu'au début des années 2010, la numismatique des Temps modernes n'intéressait essentiellement, en France, que le monde de la collection ; depuis, elle est peu à peu entrée dans une phase de scientification. C'est la création de cours et de séances de séminaires à l'Université, la multiplication de journées d'études consacrées ou étendues à la période, et l'intérêt qu'a bien voulu y porter une nouvelle génération de chercheurs et d'étudiants, qui ont permis de la sortir peu à peu de sa torpeur. La tâche reste immense à accomplir avant d'atteindre le niveau et le nombre des publications de nos collègues espagnols (voir l'enquête d'A. Estrada-Riuz) et italiens (voir l'enquête de L. Passera). D'autant qu'à la différence de l'Espagne ou de l'Italie, la très grande majorité des universitaires français qui pratiquent la numismatique ne sont que très peu médiévistes, et plus rarement encore, modernistes, ou contemporanéistes. La numismatique scientifique, en France – et c'est l'affaire d'une longue tradition – relève des antiquisants.

Cependant, afin de souligner la perceptibilité de ce frémissement, il a été décidé, avec les éditeurs de cette nouvelle édition des *Surveys*, de séparer la période médiévale des périodes moderne et contemporaine. Ainsi cette contribution prend-elle la suite de celle réalisée par Thibault Cardon. Respectant la tradition de l'enseignement universitaire de l'histoire de France, nous proposons de regarder le pays dans ses frontières actuelles. Cela signifie que nous incluons ce qui prend le nom, selon les auteurs, de monnayages féodaux, seigneuriaux ou princiers, fussent-ils issus d'États alors indépendants ou d'enclaves étrangères. Seules les publications qui nous ont paru les plus significatives ont été retenues, formant un échantillon délibérément limité à 150 titres pour faire sens. Si cette liste ne constitue donc en aucun cas celle exhaustive de toutes les publications réalisées entre 2014 et 2020 sur la numismatique française du XVI^e au XX^e siècle, elle en présente les principaux thèmes étudiés et les nouvelles directions prises, comme certaines pesanteurs.

Cours, institutions de conservation et de recherche, associations et événements scientifiques

Il ne faut pas chercher d'« école de numismatique des Temps modernes » en France, sous une forme institutionnelle ; elle demeure de l'ordre du réseau mais est incontestablement en gestation. Titulaire du « séminaire de numismatique médiévale et moderne » de l'École pratique des hautes études (EPHE), spécialiste reconnu du Moyen Âge, Marc Bompain n'en a pas moins toujours ouvert sa porte aux modernistes. Depuis 2010, un cours de sciences auxiliaires de l'histoire moderne créé par Jérôme Jambu, devenu depuis 2020 cours de « numismatique et d'histoire monétaire de l'Europe moderne », est délivré aux étudiants de la dernière année de Licence à l'Université de Lille. Par ailleurs, plusieurs universitaires abordent régulièrement le fait monétaire moderne et/ou contemporain au sein de leurs enseignements (Anne Conchon à Paris 1-Panthéon-Sorbonne, Patrice Baubeau à Paris-Nanterre, Jérôme Blanc à Sciences-Pô-Lyon, etc.). Cela a permis la réalisation, ces dernières années, de plusieurs mémoires de recherche de Master de qualité [dont CARLIER (18), CLAIRAND (19), DELCAMP (20), FRANÇOISE (21), JONIAUX (22), LECONTE (23), PONS (24, 25), PRUVOST (26), etc.], mais aucune thèse n'a encore été soutenue. Enfin, des relations nouées entre enseignants-chercheurs ont permis la réalisation de projets collectifs, comme celui remarqué de JAMBU et DE OLIVEIRA (11) sur la monnaie en Flandre et dans le Nord du XVII^e au XIX^e siècle, sérieuse mise à jour de la connaissance de la circulation monétaire – et de l'argent en général – dans un espace frontalier [voir notamment JAMBU (82), DE OLIVEIRA (106) et MASTIN (101)].

Les rares chercheurs et étudiants en numismatique moderne et contemporaine peuvent compter sur des institutions qui leur permettent de développer leur spécialité. Le Cabinet des médailles (CdM) de la BnF a, ces dernières

années, redonné sa place aux monnayages français – et étrangers – des XVI^e-XIX^e siècles grâce, notamment, à l'élargissement des champs géographiques et chronologiques pour laquelle milite sa directrice Frédérique Duyrat. Ce fut l'occasion, pour le responsable des monnaies françaises Jean-Yves Kind, d'acquérir des objets d'exception désormais diffusés dans la « Bulletin des acquisitions » de la *Revue Numismatique* édité par Julien Olivier. Le CDM a par ailleurs procédé, à l'occasion des travaux du Site Richelieu dont on attend l'achèvement imminent, à des récolements et inventaires ayant pour objectif la numérisation de milliers de pièces de monnaie, dont des centaines de monnaies « royales » et « féodales » françaises, aujourd'hui en ligne sur le site Internet Gallica.fr. On en profite pour livrer ici un astuce : pour les retrouver plus facilement, utilisez plutôt le moteur de recherche du « Catalogue général de la BnF » que celui de « Gallica »... C'est aussi dans un laboratoire du CDM qu'a été restauré, entre 2016 et 2018, le premier « trésor » maritime moderne jamais découvert dans des eaux territoriales françaises [JAMBU (133)].

L'IRAMAT-CEB, laboratoire du CNRS spécialisé dans l'étude des archéomatériaux, a lui aussi accueilli de nombreux projets – et en accueillera encore sans doute encore beaucoup ! – sur les époques tardives. L'or et l'argent des XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles y sont toujours analysés, pour des résultats parfois surprenants : titre des pièces de monnaie d'un petit dépôt du XVI^e siècle [BOMPAIRE, BLET-LEMARQUAND et FOURNIER (121)], origine de l'or espagnol circulant en France au XVII^e siècle [JAMBU, SAUVAGE et BLET-LEMARQUAND (132)], qualité des pièces d'argent destinées au commerce français au XVIII^e siècle [JAMBU (132)], etc.

La Société française de numismatique (SFN) est un acteur majeur de la numismatique qui nous intéresse. L'organisation annuelle des Journées numismatiques et régulière de journées thématiques, ainsi que la résurrection du « prix Babut » décerné tous les deux ans au meilleur ouvrage de numismatique française, permettent aux modernistes et contemporanéistes de trouver leur place. La SFN est une vieille dame qui a fêté ses 150 ans en 2015. Cela ne l'a pas empêchée de prendre un tournant numérique majeur à l'occasion de la pandémie mondiale : réunions mensuelles organisées en distanciel puis en hybride, création d'une *newsletter*, mise en ligne du *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique (BSFN)*, etc. Les Journées numismatiques qui se sont par exemple tenues à Colmar en 2016, à Perpignan en 2017, à Orléans en 2018, ou bien encore à Nîmes en 2019, ont souvent permis la présentation de nombreuses communications consacrées aux XVI^e-XX^e siècles, en fonction de l'histoire et de la tradition numismatique des lieux (6 sur 10 à Colmar, 5 sur 11 à Perpignan, mais 2 seulement à Orléans et 3 à Nîmes). Certes majoritairement produites par des collectionneurs de la société [CHARLET et CHARLET (55), WACK (117,118), etc.], elles l'ont également été par des amateurs locaux auxquels il était rendu visite [par exemple HAMM (81)]. Ce fut aussi l'occasion de réaliser des publications de qualité avec des associations partenaires, comme la belle mise à jour sur la Monnaie de Perpignan de BELLUTEAU et MELMOUX (3). Les colloques de la Société d'études numismatiques et archéologiques (SENA) ont eux-aussi fait leur place aux Temps modernes, particulièrement celui tenu à Monaco en 2018.

Des journées thématiques, organisées au sein de la SFN en partenariat avec d'autres institutions (BnF, Banque de France et Monnaie de Paris), ont augmenté la place et la visibilité des époques moderne et contemporaine. 2015, année du tricentenaire de la mort de Louis XIV, fut l'occasion pour Jérôme Jambu d'organiser une journée d'étude consacrée à ses monnayages (« Un règne gravée dans le métal », musée Carnavalet, octobre 2015). Il doubla l'événement par l'édition d'un cahier thématique dans la *RN* de la même année, composé de 7 articles dont 4 relatifs à la monnaie [CLAIRAND, JAMBU et KIND (125), CHARLET (49), CHARLET et CLAIRAND (140), JAMBU (83)] et 3 aux médailles et à leurs graveurs. En 2017, une journée était dédiée au genre dans la numismatique [CARDON et JAMBU (5)] et, en 2020, une autre aux papiers-monnaies [BAUBEAU et JAMBU (2)] (voir plus loin). Si toutes deux furent nourries de succès, la seconde, au contraire de la première, n'attira pas en amont des dix-huitiémistes.

Plusieurs expositions et catalogues ont par ailleurs particulièrement marqué les esprits au cours de ces dernières années, malgré l'interruption de ce type d'événements provoquée par la pandémie. En 2015, une présentation éphémère de monnaies exceptionnelles eut lieu à Monaco afin de célébrer le tricentenaire évoqué [CHARLET et ENZA (28)]. À l'occasion du dépôt dans les fonds du musée de Saint-Lô des pistoles espagnoles découvertes sur la plage de Donville-les-Bains, ses vitrines numismatiques furent rénovées et sa collection publiée [BLAIZEAU et JAMBU (27)]. Deux volumes de la série *L'or de Metz* étaient quant à eux consacrés en grande partie à notre période [(JANÉ, KAZEK et DIDOT (30) et JANÉ, KAZEK, CHARLET et BLANCHARD (31)]. Désormais en effet, même courantes ou semblant présenter peu d'intérêt, les pièces de monnaie modernes des collections publiques trouvent une place dans leurs catalogues [DESJARDINS *et al.* (29)].

Le césur traditionnel des publications

La *RN*, le *BSFN* et les *Cahiers Numismatiques* – dont la qualité a hélas décliné ces derniers temps en raison d’une politique éditoriale relâchée et par trop agressive – sont les principaux supports des publications. La *RN* est cependant la seule revue de numismatique qui soit classée de rang-A (internationale). 2015 fut une année particulièrement riche pour elle, puisqu’en sus du « Cahier Louis XIV », elle publiait trois autres articles particulièrement originaux par leurs thématiques et leurs approches [PICHARD-RIVALAN (109), DELCAMP (77) et MANAS (100)]. Les années ne se ressemblent cependant puisque dans le volume 2017 figurait seulement CLAIRAND et KIND (73), qui présentait une mise au point attendue sur la genèse des testons de Louis XII.

C’est dans le *BSFN* que modernistes et contemporanéistes ont le plus publié. La thématique la plus riche est celle des monnaies inédites, retrouvées et/ou expliquées [GARNIER (80), JAMBU (88), JONIAUX (97), etc.]. Particulièrement les pièces de monnaie frappées dans des ateliers ou à des millésimes jusqu’alors inconnus [CHARLET et CLAIRAND (56), CHARLET et PASTRONE (63), MIKOLAJCZAK et VIGOUROUX (105), WACK (119), etc.] et celles qui présentent des types monétaires particuliers [ARBEZ *et al.* (43), CHARLET, KIND et SOMBART (62), CLAIRAND, CRÉPIN et KIND (70), MICHEL (104), FOURNIER (79), etc.]. Des débats ont aussi eu lieu sur des questions iconographiques majeures, CHARLET et HENRY (59) ayant indéniablement été renouvelés par JONIAUX (98).

La confusion entre monnaie inédite et monnaie rare a cependant conduit à une surenchère de publications du moindre exemplaire retrouvé [par exemple CHARLET et CLAIRAND (57)], jusqu’à faire des « redécouvertes » de certains d’entre eux le sujet de travaux dont les faiblesses argumentaires sont parfois criantes [par exemple CHARLET et KIND (60)]. Le découpage de thèmes réduits en une multitude d’articles qui provoque l’éparpillement des données et mène à des répétitions n’en est pas moins lassant [par exemple CHARLET (51, 54)].

La production monétaire et la vie des ateliers ont fourni nombre d’articles intéressants. Les différents d’atelier, de directeurs, de graveurs et d’essayeurs ont continué d’être compilés et révélés, notamment par ARBEZ *et al.* (36-42, 44) – ; on déplore d’ailleurs la disparition de l’initiateur de cette grande série († 2017). L’histoire des Monnaies a aussi avancé grâce à la découverte de documents nouveaux : CHARLET (50) publiait une ordonnance inédite de la Grande Mademoiselle ; CLAIRAND, GANNE et SCHIESSER (71) présentaient la réouverture de la Monnaie d’Aix dans les années 1630 ; CLAIRAND et KIND (72) portaient à notre connaissance le registre de fabrication de la Monnaie de Compiègne sous la Ligue ; JAMBU (81) revenait sur la fin de la Monnaie de Saint-Lô grâce à l’exhumation d’une visite de l’établissement ; MICHEL (103) révélait comment un atelier monétaire a failli être créé à Saint Malo ; etc. Les personnels des Monnaies ont en outre profité d’un éclairage nouveau, tant sur leur statut que sur leurs pratiques [CLAIRAND (65), DELCAMP (77), DELCAMP et JAMBU (78)]. On nous permettra d’accorder ici une mention spéciale à Arnaud Clairand qui, réalisant une somme sur la numismatique royale de Louis XIII à Louis XVI dont on attend impatiemment la sortie, a fourni en *teasing* de cet ouvrage maintes explications sur ces monnayages [CLAIRAND (66-69)].

Le faux monnayage est resté à la mode [WACK (144)], comme les infractions commises au sein des ateliers monétaires. De fausses réformations, typiques des années 1690-1720, ont été publiées par CHARLET, CLAIRAND et FROIDEVEAUX (138) et JAMBU (141). Ce sont à de véritables entreprises privées de faux monnayeurs que se sont attaqués, sur la base d’archives, CHARLET, CLAIRAND et DELCAMP (137), CLAIRAND et DELCAMP (139), et JAMBU (142) suite à la découverte de matériel, tandis que BAUBEAU (136) posait les jalons du lien entre ce crime et d’autres. KIND et SARAH (143), de leur côté, ont mené une passionnante enquête sur Louis Farigault, peut-être l’un des plus grands faussaires français « pour collectionneurs » de la première moitié du XX^e siècle.

Les publications de trouvailles monétaires et de monnaies isolées sont traditionnellement peu nombreuses pour notre période. Non que les découvertes soient rares, mais celles-ci subissent trois effets : celui de paraître trop récentes, et donc peu dignes d’intérêt, au regard de certaines institutions ; celui d’être très/trop facilement négociables sur le marché, et donc d’être dispersées avant étude ; celui, enfin, des lois édictées en matière de protection du patrimoine archéologique (loi CAP, interdiction des détecteurs de métaux, etc.) qui, pour paraître sévères et n’être pas assez expliquées, provoquent des dissimulations au lieu des déclarations attendues. Malgré ces limites, plusieurs dépôts anciens ont pu être publiés, comme le célèbre trésor de Montrichard par CLAIRAND, JAMBU et KIND (127) ou un étonnant ensemble de pièces polonaises et lituanienes par CARDON (123). Enfin, les dépôts des XIX^e et XX^e siècles semblent intéresser davantage qu’ils ne le furent [JAMBU (128)], notamment ceux liés aux deux derniers conflits mondiaux [LECONTE (23) et BEUCHET et CARDON (120)].

Il est en effet remarquable que la numismatique des XIX^e et XX^e siècles ait pris davantage d'ampleur. Au-delà des dépôts mentionnés et des monnaies de fouille sur lesquelles nous reviendrons, de petits articles ponctuels et riches ont fait de la monnaie contemporaine un véritable sujet de réflexion, chose nouvelle en France [comme BAUBEAU (45), JAMBU (85) et THÉRET (114)]. C'est à l'équipe constituée autour de Philippe Théret, cheville ouvrière de l'association les « Amis du Franc », que THÉRET *et al.* (17) est récemment paru pour proposer aux amateurs, collectionneurs, passionnés et spécialistes, un ouvrage consacré au(x) franc(s) qui présente enfin de larges pans de sa riche histoire numismatique à l'aide d'archives officielles.

Nouvelles thématiques et nouveaux angles d'approche

La circulation des monnaies étrangères dans le royaume de France a particulièrement été à l'honneur. C'est en tant que conservateur responsable des monnaies étrangères à la BnF entre 2015-2020 que nous en avons profité pour traiter cet épais dossier, en partenariat avec le DRASSM et l'IRAMAT-CEB. Le résultat de l'étude de la présence des espèces espagnoles révélée par les dépôts a permis la publication de JAMBU (10), contenant celle du fameux « trésor » de la *Jeanne-Elisabeth* [JAMBU 132], ainsi qu'une synthèse historique sur la pistole qui fut un temps la première monnaie de France [JAMBU (92)]. La question du changement des espèces en zone de conquête a également été abordée, particulièrement dans l'espace septentrional puisque c'est là que la France a annexé le plus de territoires sur l'Espagne [JAMBU (82, 86, 87)]. Ce thème de recherche, que l'on pressent riche, n'a pas encore fait ses émules alors qu'il est central pour la période précédente (voir la contribution de Thibault Cardon) mais saura certainement, au regard de quelques signes encourageants, se développer dans les années à venir [voir par exemple PARVÉRIE (107)].

Une thématique, chère cette fois-ci aux antiquisants, a été saisie à l'occasion des fouilles de sites militaires : celle de la monnaie des soldats, ouvrant un débat sur la nature de la « monnaie de solde ». Tandis que JAMBU (90) abordait celle des troupes de Louis XIV, CARDON (122) s'attardait sur celle des armées napoléoniennes. L'état de la question est encore embryonnaire mais le sujet est déjà nourri de projets pour les années à venir.

Sensibles à l'évolution des domaines de la recherche en sciences sociales, des chercheurs ont abordé de nouvelles questions. La journée d'étude « Sensualité et sexualité en numismatique » fut l'occasion de tenter des approches originales de la monnaie, liées aux *Gender Studies*, avec une dimension comparatiste et de mise en perspective [CARDON et JAMBU (5)]. Non réservé aux seuls modernistes et contemporanéistes, ce moment a permis d'ouvrir de nouveaux champs de réflexion sur la perception des monnaies [JAMBU (89)]. La numismatique s'est d'ailleurs ouverte, par différents biais, à ces nouvelles préoccupations puisque DELCAMP (77), par exemple, s'est intéressée aux femmes ouvrières des ateliers monétaires, jusqu'alors pratiquement inconnues.

Dans cette mouvance de l'histoire culturelle, les noms et surnoms des monnaies ont continué d'intriguer. Des recherches croisant lecture numismatique, archives officielles et témoignages populaires ont permis de révéler le sens d'appellations aussi communes qu'obscures : JAMBU et KIND (95) montraient que le nom de « mirliton » donné à un louis était sexué – voir sexuel –, tandis que PETIT (108) revenait avec succès sur le « carambole » de Flandre. La question de la classification des monnaies a, en conséquence, été réactualisée, et c'est par l'ouverture d'un débat pour mener une réflexion globale – richement initié par CARDON et MORIN (47) – que des numismates des Temps modernes voudraient parvenir, dans les prochaines années, à proposer des solutions pérennes pour se détacher de classements vieux de parfois plus d'un siècle.

Enfin, grâce à ce que l'on pourrait qualifier d'« école de la Banque de France », la numismatique du billet n'a pas été en reste. L'établissement mène en effet une politique active de soutien à des doctorants, d'aide à l'édition et de participation à l'organisation d'événements. C'est elle qui a permis, par exemple, l'organisation de la journée d'étude « Histoire et numismatique billet » [BAUBEAU et JAMBU (2)]. De la pénétration des billets dans la circulation monétaire étudiée par BAUBEAU (145, 146) aux projets abandonnés pour des raisons conjoncturelles de CAMUS (148), en passant par la question de la sécurité de cette monnaie fiduciaire chère à BIDEAUX (147), l'éventail des sujets ne manque ni de créativité, ni de ressources. Le papier-monnaie de l'époque révolutionnaire a lui aussi trouvé son renouveau, avec le très bel ouvrage de SPANG (15) et les travaux prometteurs de PONS (24 et 150), comme le Système de Law traité de façon originale par MAGNO-OGILVY (13).

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DEUTSCHLAND

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Einleitung

Im vorigen Survey of Numismatic Research konnte ein aufgrund der Finanzkrise stark angestiegenes Interesse an der Geldgeschichte konstatiert werden. Nunmehr hat die Corona-Pandemie das Erscheinen dieses Literaturberichts um ein Jahr verzögert, wodurch das vorzustellende Oeuvre der deutschen Numismatik sich um eine publizistische Jahresproduktion auf den Zeitraum von 2014 bis 2020 erweitert hat. Während die Pandemie sich einerseits massiv auf das numismatische Vereinsleben und die Durchführung von Fachtagungen auswirkte, führte sie andererseits offenkundig zu einer verstärkten Beschäftigung mit der Regionalgeschichte. Der Numismatik kann schließlich auch als Hobby in kleinem Kreis oder alleine nachgegangen werden. Insgesamt hatte das eine beeindruckend umfangreiche numismatische Publikationstätigkeit zur Folge. Sie erlaubt erneut nur die Veröffentlichung einer stark gekürzten Literaturübersicht. Die Aufnahme oder das Fehlen von Publikationen stellt daher keine Aussage zu deren wissenschaftlichem Wert dar. Thematisch zusammenpassende oder sich ergänzende Beiträge derselben Autoren wurden möglichst unter jeweils einer Nummer zusammengefasst.

Ein möglichst vollständiges Verzeichnis wird in digitaler Form durch die Numismatische Fachbibliothek der Deutschen Bundesbank im Internet bereitgestellt. Deren Bibliothekskatalog ist der Großteil der angeführten Literaturangaben entnommen, die dort mit weiteren Metadaten angereichert durchsuchbar sind: <http://www.libit.de/bbkwo/WebOpac.cls> und www.bundesbank.de/numismatik (18.03.2022)

Mithin konnte für diesen Literaturbericht (im Gegensatz zum vorigen Survey) der Bestand einer deutschen Bibliothek zugrunde gelegt werden, die auf numismatische Publikationen spezialisiert ist. Die inhaltliche Ausrichtung der Numismatischen Fachbibliothek der Deutschen Bundesbank erlaubte zudem eine im Umfang allerdings selektive Berücksichtigung auch von Beiträgen zu zeitgeschichtlichen Geldphänomenen ebenso wie zu Marken, Papier- und Notgeld.

Aufgrund schwerer Krankheit konnte Michael Matzke an dieser Literaturübersicht nicht mehr mitarbeiten. Sein allzu früher Tod hat nicht nur die deutsche Numismatik eines bedeutenden Wissenschaftlers und hochgeschätzten Kollegen beraubt, dessen Veröffentlichungen das Fachgebiet sehr bereichert haben (203, 333).

ACKERMANN, R. C., PETER, M. und WEISS, C., In memoriam Michael Matzke (28. Oktober 1966 bis 20. Mai 2020), *SM* 70/279 (2020), S. 121–122; EMMERIG, H., Michael Matzke [gest.], *GN* 55/310 (2020) S. 125. Es gab jedoch auch Anlässe zum Feiern, etwa Jubiläen und aufwendige numismatische Ausstellungen der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (102), in der Bundeskunsthalle in Bonn (28, 29), im Staatlichen Museum für Archäologie Chemnitz (21), im Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden (13, 83, 84, 85, 86, 131, 361), in der Wartburg bei Eisenach (291), im Geldmuseum der Deutschen Bundesbank (17, 45, 46, 47, 147, 148, 150) und im Historischen Museum in Frankfurt am Main (16, 18), im Vonderau-Museum Fulda (67), im Schlesischen Museum zu Görlitz (38), im Münzkabinett der Universitätsbibliothek (108, 109) und im Museum für Druckkunst Leipzig (116), im Stapferhaus Lenzburg (66), im Europäischen Hansemuseum in Lübeck (355), in Schloss Nymphenburg in München (3), im LWL-Landesmuseum Münster (98, 99) sowie im Landesmuseum Württemberg in Stuttgart (119). Zu verschiedenen weiteren Ausstellungen sind umfangreichere numismatische Beiträge erschienen (103, 120, 121, 183, 182, 256, 322, 323, 558, 581, 593, 597).

Um die Numismatik für ein breiteres Publikum sichtbar zu machen und sie in einen allgemeineren Rahmen zu stellen, wird mithin bundesweit viel Mühe verwandt. Dies spiegelt sich auch in neuen einführenden Veröffentlichungen, die KLUGE (97) und zahlreiche deutsche Numismatiker unter der Redaktion von HAYMANN, KÖTZ und MÜSELER (89) herausgebracht haben. Interessante Besuchsorte für Numismatiker in Frankfurt am Main hat BERGER zusammengestellt (14, 15). STEINBACH stellt Fallbeispiele aus dem Bereich der Münzprägung für Methoden vormoderner

Wirtschaftsgeschichte vor (139) und ordnet die Funktion der Münzen als Massenmedium ein (191). Brückenschläge zur Literaturwissenschaft bieten BERGER (19), BERS (20), BRODBECK (26), KNORTZ und LAUDENBERG (321) und MAUÉ (454).

Der Sichtbarkeit der Numismatik dient in besonderem Maße aber auch die Digitalisierung und Vernetzung der Sammlungen, etwa im NUMiD-Verbund (39). Diese Arbeiten erleichtern beispielsweise die Provenienzforschung, der ebenso wie der Sammlungsgeschichte vermehrte Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet wurde (118, 129, 136, 135, 146, 339, 468).

Für das Mittelalter stammen zahlreiche Beiträge zu einem breiten Themenfeld von STEINBACH (204–208, 265). RUSS hat die Würzburger Münzprägung monographisch vorgelegt (188). Die wichtigen Arbeiten von HERDICK (176) und WITOWSKI (193) zeigen die Nutzung von Geld in der mittelalterlichen Ökonomie. REITZ (232) und STEINBACH (236) befassen sich ebenso wie HYLLA (310) mit den Münzmeistern der Brakteaten, wobei HYLLA erstmals die Verwendung derselben Werkzeuge sowohl für die Brakteatenprägung als auch für liturgische Objekte nachweisen kann. Die Dissertation von ROTH (258) dokumentiert mit dessen weiteren Beiträgen (186) die spätmittelalterliche Münz- und Geldgeschichte des Herzogtums Braunschweig-Lüneburg in vorbildlich umfassender Weise.

In der Neuzeit beginnt Papiergeld, neben Münzen eine immer bedeutendere Rolle als Zahlungsmittel zu spielen. Grundlegende Monographien dazu haben BÜHN für Sachsen (282) und SIGLE für Württemberg (506) vorgelegt. VOLCKART ist die verdienstvolle Edition der Akten zu den Münztagen von Speyer in den Jahren 1549 und 1557 zu verdanken (357). JUNGHANS untersucht das komplexe Thema der Kleinmünzen und der Nominalkonvergenzen im 19. Jahrhundert (314). Neue Monographien zu Einzelterritorien haben IHL und SCHWEDE für Lippe vorgelegt (419, 420), während MEHL Naumburg-Zeitz und Sachsen-Zeitz sowie Merseburg bearbeitet hat (458, 457). OLDING sind neue Katalogwerke zum Herzogtum Pommern und zu Preußen in der Zeit von 1786 bis 1873 zu verdanken. SCHWEDE legt zudem die neuzeitlichen Marsberger Münzen vor (504). PICK befasst sich monographisch mit den Mainzer Münzmeistern (475).

Zahlreiche Einzelbeiträge stammen von KLÜSSENDORF, der sich insbesondere mit der Rolle des Geldes für Bettelei, Steuern und Auszeichnungen befasst (428–439), und von SCHNEIDER, der sich von Alchemisten über Geldhandel und Kasseninventare bis hin zu Waagen und Wardeinen einem breiten Themenkreis widmet (486–501).

Unter den Publikationen der deutschen Münzfunde sticht vor allem das Projekt „Münzfunde und Münzfundpflege in Rheinland-Pfalz (MFRP)“ mit zahlreichen Einzelbeiträgen hervor (545–547, 549–555, 576, 610, 613, 618). Darüber hinaus haben KÖTZ für Westfalen (574–582) und OHM für Württemberg (593–599) den numismatischen Bereich der Bodendenkmalpflege durch eine umfangreiche Publikationstätigkeit geprägt.

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SCHWEIZ

Benedikt Zäch

Der Literaturbericht umfasst das Gebiet der heutigen Schweiz sowie das Fürstentum Liechtenstein. Die inhaltliche Vorgabe erzwang eine Auswahl, die Kommentare sind kurz gehalten.

Bibliographie, Museen

Das jährliche Schrifttum wird mit grösstmöglicher Vollständigkeit jährlich in der «Bibliographie zur Schweizer und Liechtensteiner Numismatik» (86, im Berichtszeitraum: 2013–2017) und, mit Schwerpunkt auf der archäologischen Numismatik, im «Bulletin IFS / ITMS / IRMS» (16, im Berichtszeitraum: 2014–2019) veröffentlicht. 2015 fasste der letzte «Survey of Numismatic Research» die wichtigen Veröffentlichungen von 2008–2013 zusammen (91).

Unter den etwa 10 professionell betreuten Münzsammlungen in der Schweiz waren besonders die Museen von Winterthur (62, 76, 87, 88, 95, 96), Lausanne (38, 68) und Basel (57) auch mit eigenen numismatischen Sonderausstellungen präsent, während die anderen Münzkabinette mit ihren Sammlungen in der Regel in Sonderausstellungen des Hauses vertreten waren. Das bisher selbstständige Musée monétaire cantonal in Lausanne fusionierte 2018 mit dem Musée cantonal d'archéologie et d'histoire (39); damit ist das Münzkabinett Winterthur nun das einzige Münzkabinett in der Schweiz, das als eigener Museumsbetrieb auftritt. MATZKE (53) behandelte die Geschichte des Basler Münzkabinetts. Die Sturzenegger-Stiftung als wichtigster Mäzen des Allerheiligen-Museums in Schaffhausen war sehr aktiv beim Erwerb von Münzen, worüber regelmässig Bericht (85) erstattet wurde.

Wissenschaftsgeschichte: Menschen und Jubiläen

Mit Jean-Paul DIVO verstarb 2014 eine prägende, auch internationale bekannte Persönlichkeit (63, 73; Schriftenverzeichnis: 90). Ein weiteres Schriftenverzeichnis wurde im Rahmen einer Festschrift veröffentlicht (78). Die «Freie Vereinigung Zürcher Numismatiker» in Zürich feierte ihr hundertjähriges Bestehen (72), die «Schweizerische Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Fundmünzen» (SAF) wurde 30 Jahre alt (93; ein Beitrag zum 20-Jahr-Jubiläum erschien fast gleichzeitig im Rahmen sehr verspäteter Tagungsakten: 33). Der «Circolo Numismatico Ticinese», die wichtigste numismatische Vereinigung in der Südschweiz, fand ein festes Domizil (49).

Zu zwei wichtigen Pionieren der wissenschaftlichen Numismatik in der Schweiz aus dem 19. Jahrhundert, Charles-François Trachsel und Friedrich Imhoof-Blumer erschienen Studien von MÜHLEMANN (61) und SCHINZEL (77) auf der Basis von unpublizierten Quellen. Einen anderen wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Zugang zur typischerweise stark personalisierten Numismatik versuchte ZÄCH (98) zu öffnen, und zwar über die Berufswege und Netzwerke der letzten drei Generationen von Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftlern des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts.

Münz- und Geldgeschichte

Drei gewichtige monographische Arbeiten behandelten wichtige Münzorte und Quellen der Geldgeschichte. GEIGER (37) legte eine neue, auf allen greifbaren Quellen beruhende Münz- und Geldgeschichte von Bern im Mittelalter vor, die weit über Bern hinaus den aktuellen Forschungsstand für die mittelalterliche Münzgeschichte setzt. Ähnliches gilt für die dreibändige Monographie von FROIDEVAUX (35; die letzte der vielen Vorarbeiten: 34), die nicht nur die Münz- und Geldgeschichte von Neuchâtel (16.–19. Jh.) unter Grundlegung sämtlicher Quellen behandelt, sondern eine «histoire économique» des Geldwesens in der frühneuzeitlichen Westschweiz bietet. KUNZMANN und WEISENSTEIN (47) bearbeiteten (leider ohne Berücksichtigung weiterer Quellen und editorisch eigenwillig) eine sehr wichtige Schriftquelle zur Geldgeschichte des 16./17. Jahrhunderts, das ab 1549 mit Ausläufern bis 1680 geführte Zürcher Probierebuch von Jakob Stampfer und seinen Söhnen. Das von RUTISHAUSER (74) herausgegebene, gut ausgestattete Werk «Die Münzen vom Bodensee» kann den Anspruch, ein «vollständiger Katalog der Prägungen bis 1800» zu sein, nicht einlösen, obschon es aus der wohl besten Privatsammlung dieses Gebiets schöpft.

An ein archäologisches Handbuch zur Schweiz steuerte ZÄCH (89) den Beitrag «Münzprägung und Geldumlauf 800–1350» bei. FURRER (36) machte sich anhand von Schweizer Quellen grundlegende Gedanken zum Objekt «Münze

zwischen Sache und Sprache». Der 2014 erschienene Abschlussband des Historischen Lexikons der Schweiz (HLS) enthielt die beiden letzten von rund 80 numismatischen Artikeln in den dreizehn Bänden des HLS (30, 44), das nun in drei Landessprachen online weitergeführt wird (www.hls.ch).

Die einzelnen Epochen der mittelalterlich-neuzeitlichen Münzgeschichte wurden ganz unterschiedlich bearbeitet. Das Frühmittelalter verzeichnete keine neuen Forschungen, während verschiedene Arbeiten sich mit dem 11.–13. Jahrhundert befassten: WEISS untersuchte eine Darstellung auf den Zürcher Münzen von Konrad II. (83), MATZKE (58, 59) befasste sich mit der zähringischen Münzprägung (auch in Zürich) und ZÄCH (92) verortete die kyburgischen Münzprägung in der Münzlandschaft des 12./13. Jahrhunderts. MATZKE (54, 56) präsentierte für das 12./13. Jahrhundert zudem zwei Zwischenhalte aus einem grösseren Projekt zur Aufarbeitung der mittelalterlichen Basler Prägung und RAEMY TOURNELLE (67) verfolgte den Weg der mittelalterlichen Lausanner Münzprägung von den anonymen Prägungen zur «Signatur» des Münzherrn. DERSCHKA (19) warf einen neuen Blick auf die Konstanzer Münzprägung des 12./13. Jahrhundert und relativierte sachte deren wirtschaftliche Bedeutung. Einen wichtigen quellenkritischen Beitrag zur Aussagekraft von Abgabeverzeichnissen des 13./14. Jahrhunderts zum Geldumlauf lieferte NUSSBAUM (64) am Beispiel des «Liber Decimationis» des Bistums Konstanz und des sog. Habsburger Urbars.

Das Spätmittelalter und die frühe Neuzeit waren unter verschiedenen Aspekten ein Thema. AMBÜHL (11, 12) setzte eine Serie von kleinen Untersuchungen zur mittelalterlichen Münzgeschichte der Westschweiz fort. SCHACHER (75) situierte die kurzlebige Münzprägung der Grafen von Greyerz zwischen Freiburg, Savoyen und Bern und KUNZMANN (45) hob Neues zur Laufenburger Münzgeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts ans Licht. ZÄCH (97) beschäftigte sich mit der selten behandelten Ikonographie der Münzen als einer «Rhetorik der Macht» und MÜHLEMANN (60) vermittelte Einblicke in die frühneuzeitliche Bündner Münz- und Geldgeschichte. ZÄCH (100) gab einen Überblick über Währung und Geldumlauf in Liechtenstein im 18. Jahrhundert und LURASCHI (50) charakterisierte den Umlauf der Kantonsmünzen auf dem Gebiet des Tessins.

Für die neueste Zeit stellte CONSIGLIO (17) die im Lausanner Münzkabinett verwahrten Münzstempel der Waadtländer Prägungen des 19. Jahrhunderts vor. RICHTER (69, 70) legte einen Katalog der «Proben und Materialvarianten» von Schweizer Münzen vor; der zweite Begriff ist irreführend, umfasst er doch auch irreguläre Abschläge mit Originalstempeln, die nicht als Proben gelten können. Das Buch von RICHTER über Schützentaler und -medaillen (71) erfuhr eine zweite, erweiterte Auflage. KOCH (43) verfolgte den Weg der Helvetia-Darstellung auf den Münzstempeln der Schweizer Frankenstücke, dessen letzte Etappe er selbst als Mitarbeiter der Eidgenössischen Münzstätte aktiv begleitet hat. TENHOFEN (80) versuchte das Phänomen zu erklären, warum heute besonders viele Schweizer Tausendernoten im Umlauf sind und offensichtlich in gewaltigen Mengen gehortet werden.

Münzstätten und Münztechnik

Es ist auffällig, wie intensiv im Berichtszeitraum die Beschäftigung mit der Münzproduktion war. ACKERMANN und MATT (6) stellten Münzstätten im archäologischen Befund vor und die wenigen Befunde aus der Schweiz wurden von ANTONINI und MORET (13) mit einer Grabung in der Lausanner Münzstätte des 19. Jahrhunderts ergänzt. MATT (51, 52) untersuchte in zwei Studien, die keine Wünsche offenlassen, die Basler Münzstätten. ACKERMANN (1, 2) veröffentlichte zwei weitere Studien zu Münzstempeln im Zusammenhang mit einem Forschungsprojekt zur Münzstätte Haldenstein und deren Prägetechnik. CUCCINI TIZZONI (18) präsentierte Inventare der Münzstätte des 16. Jahrhunderts der Trivulzio in der Mesolcina und KUNZMANN (46) identifizierte die bisher älteste Randschrift auf einer Berner Medaille. LORY (48) schliesslich stellte unpublizierte Berner Münzgewichte vor.

Jetons, Marken, Rechenpfennige, Plomben und Devotionalien

Die Nicht-Münzen der Numismatik sind definitiv auch in der Forschung angekommen. Zum einen machen sie einen immer grösseren Anteil im archäologischen Fundmaterial aus (siehe nächster Abschnitt), zum anderen ist ihre Bedeutung als Objekte des täglichen Gebrauchs mittlerweile anerkannt. ACKERMANN und ZÄCH (7) verfassten den ersten Forschungsbericht zu Marken und Plomben in der Schweiz und machten auch Archäologinnen und Archäologen auf diese Fundgruppe aufmerksam (8). Die Fundpublikationen haben sich in den letzten Jahren enorm vermehrt (5, 9, 21, 23, 27, 41, 82). DOSWALD (26, 29) legte zwei der wichtigsten archäologischen Ensembles von Devotionalien vor; dasjenige aus Rheinau (29) ist das bisher grösste in der Schweiz. SCHMUTZ (79) stellte Jetons, Marken und Rechenpfennige in ihrem Gebrauchskontext vor.

Archäologische Numismatik

Nach wie vor die grösste «Forschungsdynamik» (so die Feststellung im letzten Schweizer Survey) weist die archäologische Numismatik auf. Neben wichtigen Grabungsplätzen mit zum Teil stratifiziertem oder zeitlich gut eingrenzbarem Material (vgl. z.B. Court BE: 26, 32 oder Oberbüren: 84) werden grossflächige Prospektionen, auch im Hochgebirge (Theodulpass: 22) immer wichtiger (4, 9, 21, 24, 28, 29), auch solche, mit denen sich mediale Hoffnungen auf historische «Sensationsfunde» verbinden (Schlachtgelände von Morgarten: 42). Die «Pionierzeit» in einer Grauzone des «Schatzgräbers» (10) wird dabei durch nüchterne Professionalisierung (und konsequente Strafverfolgung illegaler Suche) ersetzt, denn die juristische Regelung ist in der Schweiz recht einfach und klar (3). Bei Prospektionen wird längst auch eine eigene Kategorie kleiner Hortfunde entdeckt, die nicht einfach zu interpretieren ist (20, 24, 25, 55).

Die Auswertung «traditioneller» Hortfunde bleibt aber die Basis typologischer und chronologischer Arbeit, ob es sich nun um Verwahrfunde (Pruntrut: 31) oder mögliche Handwerker-Ensembles (Fribourg, St-Nicolas: 14) handelt. ZÄCH ET AL. (94) untersuchten einen speziellen Fall einer Grabbörse mit naturwissenschaftlichen Methoden, was Chancen – und auch Grenzen – von Hightech-Untersuchungen aufzeigte. Zu den, archäologisch gesehen, «geschlossenen» Ensembles gehören auch Turmknopffunde: HÜRLIMANN (40) stellte sie für den Kanton Zürich zusammen.

Ein besonderes Gewicht erhielten in der Berichtsperiode Kirchenfunde (AUBERSON und RAEMY TOURNELLE: 15, UNTERMANN: 81). Vor allem war eine internationale Tagung zu diesem Thema dafür verantwortlich, die 2017 in der Schweiz stattfand (101) und zu Forschungen im Vorfeld führte (RAEMY TOURNELLE: 65, 66); eine Bibliographie (102) verwies auf die umfangreiche bestehende Literatur zu Kirchenfunden. ZÄCH (99) griff bei der Vorbereitungstagung zu einem archäologischen Handbuch der Schweizer Archäologie der Zeit von 1350–1850 den Quellenwert der numismatischen Kirchenfunde für «Konjunkturen und Kleingeldwanderung» auf.

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ÖSTERREICH

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Kommentar

Der vorliegende Bericht (2014–2020) schließt an die Bibliografien zur Österreichischen Münz- und Geldgeschichte in Mittelalter und Neuzeit aus dem Zeitraum 2008 bis 2013 an, die von EMMERIG verfasst worden sind (3, 4).

Für den Berichtszeitraum sind als regelmäßig erscheinende Zeitschriften vor allem jene beiden der Österreichischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft zu nennen – die *Numismatische Zeitschrift* (Bd. 120–126) sowie die *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft* (Jg. 54–60, in der Regel mit zwei Heften pro Jahr, ab Jg. 59 nur noch in digitaler Form). Hinzu kommen das *Mitteilungsblatt des Instituts für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* (Nr. 48–61 sowie Sonderhefte 49a, 50 Beiheft, 50a, 59a) und die *Haller Münzblätter* (Bd. 8; Bd. 9, Nr. 1–4). Die Tagungsbände der Österreichischen Numismatikertage 2012 (1), 2014 (8), 2016 (5) und 2018 (12) enthalten u. a. Beiträge zur Österreichischen Münz- und Geldgeschichte.

Schriftenverzeichnisse liegen von Bernhard Prokisch (45) und Wolfgang Hahn (46) vor, die sich in ihrer Forschung u. a. der Numismatik der Neuzeit widmen. Darüber hinaus wurden die Publikationen von Michael Alram (49), zu dessen Forschungsinteressen die Münz- und Geldgeschichte des österreichischen Mittelalters zählt, und jene von Wolfgang Szaivert (47) bibliografisch dokumentiert. Diese Numismatiker widmen sich nicht nur der österreichischen Münz- und Geldgeschichte, sondern sind maßgeblich an der universitären, numismatischen Lehre in Österreich beteiligt.

„Numismatik lehren in Europa“ lautete das Thema einer anlässlich des 50jährigen Bestehens des Instituts für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte der Universität Wien 2015 veranstalteten Tagung, deren Tagungsband erstmals eine umfassende Bestandsaufnahme zur Situation der numismatischen Lehre in Europa liefert (15). Der emeritierte Institutsvorstand Wolfgang Hahn und sein Kollege, Universitätsprofessor Wolfgang Szaivert, wurden jeweils mit einer Festschrift geehrt, die deren breites Forschungsinteresse spiegelt (48, 44). Die Sammlung des Instituts für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte wurde von EMMERIG und HARTNER vorgestellt (24, 25), ebenso auch die Datenbank der österreichischen Münzfunde des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit am Institut für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte (FK/ING) (51, 55).

Im Untersuchungszeitraum erschienen weitere Publikationen zur Geschichte numismatischer Sammlungen in Österreich. Richtungsweisend ist eine auf schriftlichen Quellen basierende Monografie von HASSMANN und WINTER zur Geschichte des Wiener Münzkabinetts im 18. Jahrhundert, das heute zur Sammlung des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien gehört (27). Der Schriftverkehr der frühneuzeitlichen Münzkabinettsdirektors Valentin Jamerey-Duval (1695–1775) wurde in zwei Bänden publiziert (20). Darüber hinaus beschäftigten sich WILLIAMS und WOYTEK in einem groß angelegten Forschungsprojekt mit den Korrespondenzen des Wiener Numismatikers und Kurators der antiken Münzen im kaiserlichen Münzkabinett Joseph Hilarius Eckhel (1737–1798) (14). Weiters sind Beiträge zu den Münzsammlungen des Oberösterreichischen Landesmuseums (17, 34, 36), des Salzburg Museums (29, 30), des Wien Museums (18), des Universal museums Joanneum (33) sowie der Stifte Göttweig (31) und Heiligenkreuz (32) erschienen. PROKISCH publizierte darüber hinaus die verschollen geglaubte Sammlung von Bergbaugeprägten des Karl Ritter von Ernst (1833–1911) im Technischen Museum Wien, die zu den bedeutendsten dieser Art in Europa zählt (35). Mit der Gründung einer numismatischen Sammlung und zugehöriger Bibliothek für ein geplantes sogenanntes „Führermuseum“ beschäftigten sich DÜREN und SBARDELLA (23, 38). Die 2018 neu eröffnete Ausstellung des Geldmuseum der Österreichischen Nationalbank und der dazu gehörige Ausstellungskatalog dokumentieren die Entwicklung des Geldwesens von den Anfängen bis heute (22).

Für die mittelalterliche Münz- und Geldgeschichte im österreichischen Raum ist vor allem der wissenschaftliche

Begleitband *Geprägte Bilderwelten der Romanik. Münzkunst und Währungsräume zwischen Brixen und Prag* zu nennen, der 2017 zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung in Bozen erschien (76, auch auf Italienisch 77); darin präsentieren besonders die Beiträge von HYLLE und WINTER (74, 78, 79) den aktuellen Wissensstand zur österreichischen Mittelalternumismatik des 12. Jahrhunderts und zeigen neue Forschungsansätze auf. Weitere Beiträge die sich mit Themen rund um Monetarisierung, Motivwanderungen sowie Netzwerken von Münzstätten und Stempelschneidern befassen, liegen von EMMERIG, HARTNER und HYLLE vor (62, 69, 72, 73, 111). Umfassende Forschungen sind auch für die Zeit des „klassischen Wiener Pfennigs“ (13./14. Jh.) sowohl von WAGNER zu verzeichnen (94, 96–100), als auch von BOROS, die im Rahmen einer Masterarbeit neue Untersuchungen zu den Wiener Münzmeistern lieferte (59); für den steirischen Raum legte SAUER eine Monographie vor, in der sie den Grazer Pfennig grundlegend neu aufarbeitete (91). BAN und WAGNER befassten sich mit dem Kärntner Münzwesen, insbesondere mit den ERIACENSIS-Geprägten (58, 95, 101). WINTERS Beiträge zu den Salzburger Münzreihen des 12. Jhs. stellen den aktuellen Forschungsstand zu diesem Thema dar (102, 103). Für den Tiroler Raum ist von RIZZOLLI und PIGOZZO mit *Der Veroneser Währungsraum. Verona und Tirol vom Beginn des 10. Jahrhunderts bis 1516* ebenfalls ein neues Grundlagen- sowie Corpuswerk geschaffen worden (88); auch die Beiträge zu den mittelalterlichen Münzstätten Lienz, Brixen und Innsbruck sind zu erwähnen (87, 89).

Wichtige Publikationen finden sich indes auch im Bereich der Münzfunde, die als Grundlage für aktuelle Untersuchungen dienen. COUPLAND und EMMERIG lieferten einen aktuellen Überblick zu den Funden karolingischer Münzen im österreichischen Raum (104). Für die Erforschung des frühen österreichischen Münzwesens nimmt der Fund von Frauenhofen (NÖ) [verborgen um 1140] einen entscheidenden Stellenwert ein (106, 107, 109). Besonders sei auf die Masterarbeit von MERZ zu den mittelalterlichen als auch neuzeitlichen Münzfunden in österreichischen Kirchen aufmerksam gemacht, die diesen bisher vernachlässigten Materialbestand erschloss (56).

Hinsichtlich der neuzeitlichen Münz- und Geldgeschichte konnten für den behandelten Zeitraum darüber hinaus folgende Forschungsschwerpunkte erkannt werden. WINTER befasste nach seiner Arbeit über die Medaillen Kaiser Maximilian I. (r. 1508–1519) auch mit dessen Münzprägung (42). Auf breites Forschungsinteresse stieß die Münzprägung Kaiser Leopolds I. (r. 1658–1705) (122, 129, 132, 133, 158). Die Geldgeschichte Maria Theresias (r. 1740–1780) (130, 135, 137, 150, 165, 198) und die späteren Nachprägungen des Maria Theresien-Talers (174, 175, 177) wurden ebenfalls in zahlreichen Publikationen behandelt. HAHN publizierte mehrfach Aufsätze zu frühneuzeitlichen Münzgeschichte Österreichs im Fachmagazin *Money Trend* (134–138). HELMWEIN beschäftigte sich intensiv mit den österreichischen Kleinmünzen (140–145). VON LENTHE (ehemals KARASCH) setzte mit ihrer abgeschlossenen Masterarbeit zur Münzprägung der Familie Trautson sowie mit ihrem aktuell laufenden Dissertationsprojekt einen Schwerpunkt in der Erforschung der Münzproduktion Österreichischer Neufürsten (148, 149). Das Österreichische Notgeld wurde von KODNAR und KÜNSTNER publiziert (238–239), jenes Niederösterreichs von BYSTRICKÝ regional bearbeitet (211–231).

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BRITAIN AND IRELAND: MEDIEVAL

Martin Allen and Rory Naismith

The Early Middle Ages (c. 400–1066)

Rory Naismith

A number of survey works have touched on this period as well as part of wider discussions of numismatics and monetary history. DESAN (77) begins her study of the institutional background of money in the early Middle Ages, and ANDREWS's (47) investigation of the archaeological dimensions of coin hoards starts in the late tenth century. There are also several surveys that focus on the early medieval period as a unit in itself. NAISMITH (148) builds an analysis of all major segments of the period around a catalogue of the Fitzwilliam Museum's coins; similarly, LYON (115) takes his own collection as the basis for an important survey, with the focus being on the collection's areas of particular strength. Other works of broader chronological significance have looked at the on-going relationship between Britain and mainland Europe (e.g. 132, 133, 137 and 158), or at the significance of philology and the texts carried on coins (89, 150, 156 and 204).

The most productive chronological portion of this period in scholarship on England has been the seventh and eighth centuries. ABRAMSON continues to be a driving force, as editor of a major collection of papers (1) and as author of three other key volumes surveying the typology and historical significance of the relevant coinages, cataloguing his own very large collection and studying the monetary economy of early medieval Northumbria (2, 4 and 5). The circulation and economic dimensions of the coins of this period have attracted strong interest from several scholars: METCALF (128 and 129) assessed the macro-level significance of coins as a window onto the contemporary monetary economy, while THEUWS (188) has challenged prevailing logic on the attribution and economic significance of 'Frisian' coins, and NAISMITH (134) has examined the link between money and the church at this time. New finds of specific types or groups have prompted a number of other publications. Several concern the 'York Group' of early gold coins from Northumbria (6 and 161), and WILLIAMS (192) considers why the huge Staffordshire hoard of gold and silver objects did *not* contain coins. A further assessment of finds from a more archaeological perspective is NAYLOR and SCULL's assessment of coins in burials (180). Studies on iconographic aspects of the period include work by GANNON (87) and WOODS (203). Finally, the metallic properties of coins of this period have been examined by BUDE (64), who has also studied aspects of early Northumbrian coinage (62 and 63).

The later eighth and ninth centuries have been the object of a smaller amount of research, most of it aimed at bringing together existing work or addressing new finds (which are fewer than for the preceding period). MACKAY has written two important surveys of coinages from the mid- and late ninth century (120 and 122), as well as a short discussion of a hoard (121). Probably the most important development for this period was the discovery in 2015 of two new hoards deposited around 880. Substantive publications of both are still in preparation, but WILLIAMS and NAYLOR have produced a short book about one of them (196). NAISMITH has written about significant finds of individual coins of the late eighth and early ninth centuries (135 and 151), and also a discussion of iconography (145).

The tenth century has had a similar profile in recent years, with a relatively small amount of new research, albeit filling some important gaps. In particular, NAISMITH and TINTI (159) have published a full catalogue of one of the key hoards, known since 1883 but not previously published in an illustrated and accessible form. PAGAN has brought to light a previously forgotten tenth-century hoard from Glasgow (163). Individual coins of significance have also been published (146 and 170), along with one that reveals a new mint-place for the period (155). A longer discussion of the administrative and political context of tenth-century English coinage has been published by NAISMITH (138).

After the seventh and early eighth centuries, the late Anglo-Saxon coinage that begins with the reform of the early 970s and runs to the Norman Conquest in 1066 has been the most productive area for research. A major collection of

relevant material in Norwegian museums has been published by SCREEN (179), while larger questions of political (143 and 147) and economic significance (83) have also been addressed. PAGAN has supplemented his previously published catalogue of all *Pax* pennies of Edward the Confessor (162). Mints and moneyers, now known in abundance, remain a subject of interest: ALLEN has provided a survey of the development of mint-places (16), AMBROSE reports a new moneyer for Aylesbury (39), NAISMITH has reviewed and challenged the identification of a problematic mint-place (154), AMBROSE and NAISMITH have published a coin featuring a street-name (40) and PIERCY has written an extensive and ambitious analysis of moneyers in England (171 and 172, but should be read alongside the review by PAGAN, 169). As in earlier periods, fresh hoards have also given rise to new publications, including those from Abergavenny and Lenborough: publications on these finds have been written by BESLY and DAVIS (58) and WILLIAMS (193). These need to be seen alongside old hoards newly identified from antiquarian and commercial records, assessed by PAGAN (164 and 167).

The coinages made by the vikings in various parts of Britain and the Irish-Sea region represent an important parallel area of research. The years 2014–20 witnessed the publication of several important surveys of the subject: BORNHOLDT COLLINS on the Isle of Man (59), WILLIAMS on viking currency in England (191), GOOCH on a specific segment of the coinage of viking York (88), NAISMITH and WOODS on Ireland (160), and LEIGHTON and WOODS on a group of imitative coins made in the eleventh-century Irish Sea area (114). The economic aspects of these coinages and their circulation have also attracted strong interest (194, 197 and 201); this research is closely allied to work on the ‘bullion economy’ of the vikings, which is beyond the scope of the present survey. For Ireland, the political context of the earliest coinage has been elucidated by WOODS (200). Viking hoards and productive sites have also stimulated work on the coinage of this period, as in the case of the Glenfaba hoard from Man (60), the Aldwark site in Yorkshire (195) and two hoards of English material from Dublin (198).

The Later Middle Ages to the Great Debasement (1066–1544)

Martin Allen

ALLEN (8) has surveyed the monetary history of England in the reigns of William I (1066–87) and William II (1087–1100), estimated the size of the *Pax*s type in the late 1080s (14), and published the first known coin of a Welsh mint (Cardiff) imitating William II’s type 1 (26). In the coinage of Henry I (1100–35), Cricklade has been added to the list of mints in type 14, the last coinage before Henry I’s Assize of Moneyers (ALLEN and BLISS (29)). Surveys of the coinage of Stephen (1135–54) in its historical context have been provided by FAIRBAIRN (82) and by CREIGHTON and WRIGHT (75). ALLEN (17) has published a classification and die study of the iconographically diverse York coinage of Stephen, and PORTER (173) has published a previously unrecognised type of Stephen’s chief opponent in the civil war of his reign, the Empress Matilda. ALLEN (16) has updated his lists of the mints of mints and moneyers between 1066 and 1158, which have been used by BROWN (61) in a mathematical model of the lengths of English coinage types.

Henry II’s Cross and Crosslets coinage of 1158–80 has been the subject of three publications. CRAFTER (73) has discussed the Cross and Crosslets coins in the Royal Mint Museum, and two nineteenth-century hoards from the period of this coinage have received attention: Outchester (CRAFTER (74)) and Fornham (THOMPSON and ALLEN (189)). In the Short Cross coinage of 1180–1247, a piece of gold with impressions from dies of class 5b1 (dated to 1205) has been the subject of scientific investigation (ALLEN and HOOK (35)).

The second volume of the survey of the Bury St Edmunds mint by EAGLEN (81) covers its final issues in the period of the Edwardian coinage of 1279–1351, and MARTIN (124) has reexamined the much debated chronology of the class 15d pence of the Durham mint in the 1320s or 1330s. ALLEN and ODDIE (37) have used data from hoards of the Edwardian coinage period to produce revised estimates of the size of the English coinage between 1282 and 1351. FREDERICKSON (84–86) has published three notes on English gold coins of Edward III (1327–77) after 1351 and Henry VI (1422–61). In the reign of Henry VII (1485–1509), the ‘Sovereign’ type groat and the ‘Perkin Warbeck’ jetton or ‘groat’ have received attention (DYKES (80); ARCHIBALD and DYKES (56)).

Coin hoards have been a very active field of research, as usual. The comprehensive study of English and Welsh hoards by ANDREWS (47) covers the period from *c.* 973 to 1544, and ALLEN (12) has analysed the geographical distribution and values of hoards in this period. ANDREWS (54) has also discussed hoards of 1250–1550 from settlement

sites, extending his geographical coverage to the whole of Britain and Ireland, and published studies of many inadequately recorded late medieval English hoards (42, 44, 46, 48, 50 and 53). SAVAGE has surveyed medieval hoards from Cumbria (176) and published an Edwardian period hoard from York (177). There have also been notes on fourteenth-century hoards by MAYHEW (126) and SYMONS (185).

ALLEN (11) has used data from coin hoards and single finds to assess the size and composition of the English money supply between *c.* 973 and 1544, and KELLEHER (108) has analysed single finds as evidence of the monetisation of England and Wales in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. English single finds of foreign gold coins of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries have been reviewed by ARCHIBALD (55), and ANDREWS (43) has surveyed single finds of late medieval English gold coins from England and Wales. KELLEHER (111) has investigated single finds of folded coins as evidence of religious practice, and ALLEN (23) has discussed the use of coins as religious offerings and the interpretation of coin finds at pilgrimage sites in England. RENNICKS (174) has examined the use of English medieval tokens at Holme Cultrum Abbey. KELLEHER (110) has surveyed the uses of coin finds in later medieval archaeology.

ALLEN (15) has investigated the connections between medieval merchants and the English mints, as customers and officials, and the role of the wool trade in the supply of bullion to the English mint at Calais in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (18). Percivalle dal Portico of Lucca, a fourteenth-century merchant and mint-master, has received attention from DAY (76). In the fifteenth century, the English government's administration of the coinage has been examined by ALLEN (9), and KLEINEKE (113) has investigated the documentary evidence for the prosecution of counterfeiters in England.

ALLEN (19) has analysed the development and eventual disintegration of a common currency based upon the English coinage in Britain and Ireland between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. The Scottish coinage began when David I of Scotland (1124–53) invaded northern England in 1136 and took over the Carlisle mint and its supply of silver from local mines. Three notes have published coins of David I (HOLMES (93–94); SAVAGE and ALLEN (178)), and ALLEN (22) has discussed a previously unrecognised coinage of David's son Henry, earl of Northumberland (d. 1152), from the Newcastle mint. ALLEN and HOLMES (34) have investigated a coinage (Intermediate Issue A) from the early years of the reign of William the Lion (1165–1214). The Short Cross and Stars coinage in the names of Alexander II (1214–49) and Alexander III (1249–86) has been the subject of a die study and revised classification by ALLEN, HIGGINSON and PENRICE (32). HOLMES (91) has published a die study of the minor mints in the Long Voided Cross coinage of Alexander III, which began in 1250. Three notes have provided significant additions to the coinages of Alexander III, John Baliol (1292–96), and Robert Bruce (1306–29) (HOLMES and PENRICE (103); ALLEN and HOLMES (33); HOLMES (100)). HOLMES (101) also has published a die link between the Edinburgh and Dundee mints in the reign of Robert II (1371–90), as well as reports on many recent Scottish hoards of various periods from the Short Cross and Stars coinage of 1195–1250 to the fifteenth century (90, 92, 95–99, 102). Three notes have investigated the circulation and imitation of late medieval Scottish billon coins in the Low Countries (HOLMES and VAN CAELENBERGHE (104); SPUFFORD (182); VAN CAELENBERGHE (190)).

In Ireland the Anglo-Norman invasions of the late 1160s and early 1170s ended the Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage and led to the issue of Anglo-Irish coinages. A hoard of English and Scottish coins from Inis Cealtra has filled a gap in our knowledge of the Irish currency in the 1170s (ALLEN and WOODS (38)). ALLEN (24) has published a die study of the local coinage issued by John de Courcy in Ulster between the 1180s and 1205, and DYKES (78) has discussed the iconography of King John's REX coinage of *c.* 1208–10. The documentary evidence for the Irish mints and exchanges in Henry III's Long Cross recoinage of 1251–54 and the reign of Edward I (1272–1307) has been thoroughly investigated by CASSIDY (67–68). BYRNE (66) has published an updated list of coins in Edward I's first Irish coinage of 1275–79. A hoard from Malew has shown that Irish coins were used alongside English and Scottish coins on the Isle of Man in the 1280s (ALLEN (20)). In the fifteenth century, DYKES (79) has examined the historical background of Henry VI's Irish coinage of 1425, and SYMONS (186) has discussed documentary evidence from the first reign of Edward IV (1461–70), in 1469. MAC CONAMHNA (118–119) has published two notes on the Irish pennies of Edward IV, Edward V and Richard III between 1465 and 1483.

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BRITAIN AND IRELAND: TOKENS AND PARANUMISMATICA

Gary Oddie

Publication on subjects relating to private issues of tokens, tickets, passes, etc. has been extensive in the period reviewed, with in most areas discoveries of new material along with detailed background research and cataloguing. The following discussion is in approximately chronological order, with topics and publications that span broader periods grouped at the end.

For the first half of the seventeenth century, brief biographies and genealogies of the holders of the farthing patents of 1613–1644 are provided by EVERSON (47), and ODDIE (102) presented some early tickets probably used for entry into the Royal Touching Ceremony. ROGERS (149) describes the later history of the touching ceremony and the gold touch pieces. Coin weights have also been extensively published, with BIGGS (13) on weights for the silver coins during the English Civil War, and WITHERS and WITHERS (167) on the Irish series.

The main token issues of the seventeenth century continue to be published, with many new discoveries and reattributions appearing in the pages of the *Token Corresponding Society Bulletin (TCS Bulletin)*. The signed products of one of the main manufacturers, David Ramage, were discussed by THOMPSON (156), and Ramage's Will was published by PAGAN (116). A major activity, the Norfolk Token Project, was introduced by MARSDEN (84), who followed this with a catalogue of the tokens in Norwich Castle Museum (85), and detailed research into the contemporary records and wills of the issuers from Great Yarmouth (86) and of several individual issuers (87–97). In excess of 1,000 tokens issued in Surrey and Southwark are described and almost all illustrated by EVERSON (36), followed by several subsequent notes on additions and corrections (37–46). Two issuers of pattern Commonwealth farthings have been identified from their initials: ODDIE (103) identified ER as Edmund Rowland, and WHITTELL (162) identified TK as Tobias Knowles. The supply and demand for seventeenth-century tokens is considered by THOMPSON (155); MARSDEN (98) introduces the sorts of people placing orders for tokens; BURNETT (18) discusses the motivations for issuing tokens, and ODDIE (104) investigates the mechanics and practicalities of manufacture. Specific imagery shown on tokens has been reviewed, with THOMPSON (154) on the frying pan as a token design and EVERSON (49, 50) on the images of saints as found on seventeenth-century tokens. A possible manufacturer of seventeenth-century leather tokens has been identified by THOMPSON (153).

Major new publications on the emergency Gunmoney coinage of James II have appeared, with TIMMINS (157, 158) producing two editions of a book listing the main varieties, while WITHERS and WITHERS (168) produced a comprehensive die study of the series, and BIRD (14) described the use of broken cannons for their manufacture.

Eighteenth-century token and ticket publications include an update of their catalogue of Imitation Spade Guineas by NEILSON and WARBURTON (101). FLETCHER (62) and PATERSON (117) each added a new type to this series, and WARBURTON (159, 160) clarified and added to the Dalton and Hamer listings of the imitation spade guineas. XRF analysis of Sentimental magazine medals was carried out by ODDIE (110) to identify genuine and false plating, along with spurious issues. The series of twenty-four whist counters issued by Mathews c.1825 has been reviewed by NEILSON (100). A new comprehensive listing of To Hanover and Prince of Wales counters was produced by WARBURTON and NEILSON (161). Extensive contemporary records for the issuers of the lead tokens of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Scotland are provided by POWELL (131–134).

The silver issues of the early nineteenth century have received attention, with HODGE (77, 78) reviewing the countermarked dollar series, and ODDIE (105) presenting an original punch used for the octagonal countermarks of 1804. The nineteenth-century silver tokens issued in Frome are reviewed by THOMPSON (152), with BENTLEY (12) and ODDIE (109) looking at the tokens issued by Thomas Venables of Shrewsbury. Several new die varieties and countermarked silver tokens were recorded by ODDIE (107, 108).

The classic catalogues of both Davis and Waters and Montague Guest have been revisited by WITHERS and

WITHERS (165) to produce a fully illustrated and priced catalogue of tickets and passes, including brief background research on many pieces. YOUNG (171, 175–176) presented more detailed research on the London tickets, passes and medallions, with LYALL (83) and BARRETT (6, 7) taking on Lancashire. The unofficial farthing series has been explored further, with POWELL (125–130), adding much background research to many of the issuers, BROOK (16) taking on Thomas Blackshaw of Burslem, and EVERSON (35) providing a detailed history of the farthing issuer George Carter. A new issuer for this series was added by COPE (22), and KNIGHT (80) identified several unrecorded die varieties of Norwich's unofficial farthings.

Tokens used in pubs and taverns continue to be studied, with ODDIE and CUNNINGHAM (112) producing an updated 'Mystery List' originally published by the Pub Check Study Group, now including the many pieces solved in the past twenty years. The likely manufacturer of the ubiquitous 'circle in wreath' reverse design was identified by CUNNINGHAM (24). Several new issuers were added to the Irish tavern token catalogue by CUNNINGHAM and HEANEY (26) and HEANEY (75). A new usage for a pub check, charabanc rides, was identified by CUNNINGHAM (25). WITHERS and WITHERS (166) presented an unusual hoard of Birmingham pub checks. For non-alcoholic beverages, OWENS (114) produced an illustrated and fully researched catalogue of coffee and cocoa taverns. OWENS (115) then added a new issuer, and KNIGHT (82) provided further background notes on the Hampshire issues.

Two previously unnoticed medallists and coin and token manufacturers have been identified by ADAMS (1, 2), and ANDISON (5) identified two Scottish token manufacturers. The third edition of the standard catalogue of co-op checks by RAINS (135) now lists over 8,500 pieces from 1,350 societies. A series of supplements by RAINS (136–146) suggests that much remains to be done, with KNIGHT (79) adding another Cornish society and YOUNG (169) relocating Shaftesbury Park Co-op from Dorset to London. A first listing of Bristol traders' checks and tickets mainly from the late nineteenth century was provided by DURNELL (27, 28), and YOUNG (170) updated the Somerset County listing of tickets, checks and passes, along with a new survey for the county of Dorset (172). More industrial uses are covered by a serialised catalogue of railway time, tool and pay checks by HAYES (65–71), and PETCHEY (118–123) produced listings for specific railway companies. More recent ephemeral issues have been considered by ADAMS and ODDIE (3, 4), who began a series of articles recording advertising stickers attached to circulating coins, and additional groups of pieces were reported by COPE (21), KNIGHT (82) and YOUNG (174).

Work on the topics of historical medals and medallions continues to be refined, with WHITTLESTONE and EWING (163) producing a second, updated edition of their *Royal Commemorative Medals*, vol. 3, for Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, and CUMBERS and WHITTLESTONE (23) the second edition of vol. 4, for the issues of Edward VII. In more localised studies, THEOBALD (151) describes the school attendance medals issued by the Surrey Education Committee and EVEREST-PHILLIPS published articles on medals celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Eurotunnel (32), tug-of-war competitions (33), and 'Blandings' Medals in praise of pigs (34).

Publications regarding the history of the subject and personalities involved have also appeared, with the outstanding and comprehensive history of numismatics and numismatists in Britain from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment written by BURNETT (17). Three early collectors and authors were presented by DYKES: J. Harrison (29), J. Barkham (30) and J. Evelyn (31). Briefer biographies of more recent well-known names have been provided by FAREY, including: R. Yeo (51), B. Pistrucci (52, 53), J.D. Cuff (54), H.L. Farquhar (55), H.M. Lingford (56), R. Huth (57, 58), King Farouk (59), J. Croker (60), and J.S. Tanner (61). HEANEY discussed: F.J. Bigger (72), F.E. Dixon (73) and E.J. French (74). RAY (147) added Dr. J. Lee and the founding of the Royal Numismatic Society. Further personalities were covered by BENNETT, including: G.K. Gray (8), T.H. Paget (9), P. Metcalfe (10) and R. Johnson (11). A biography of P. Metcalf was also published by COLGAN (19, 20). Following a visit to Dave Greenhalgh, HANSCOM (64) described the processes used by 'Grunal the Moneyer' to manufacture medieval hammered coins.

A first classification for engraved coins and love tokens is presented by ODDIE (108), and MILLMORE (99) shows the potential for research into a singular piece whilst attributing an engraved love token to the Spithead mutiny of 1797. To emphasise that not all mutilated coins are unique, ODDIE (121) presents a series of five engraved and enamelled shillings named to the Bank of England Guards during the first World War. Early twentieth-century political countermarks relating to the suffragette movement are described by HOCKENHULL (76), with TAYLOR and BULL (150) attributing a countermark to the Dorset fossil collector Mary Anning. The countermarked Irish slap tokens of c. 1795–1805 are briefly described by BIRD (15). The countermarking of Victorian copper and bronze coins is addressed by

more generally by ROBINSON (148), and PICKUP (124) looks at the Pear's Soap countermark issues.

Publishing details of contemporary counterfeiting can be problematic, but the demonetization of the round pound coins allowed ONIONS (113) to present a detailed die study of one group of counterfeit pound coins, and GRANTHAM (63) looked at the many different varieties of the counterfeits.

The preservation and conservation of numismatic items has received little coverage, but WILLIAMSON (164) presented important observations on the long-term storage issues with tokens made from plastics and the potential for some plastics tokens to self-destruct, years or even decades after manufacture.

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DENMARK AND ICELAND

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In former times Denmark also comprised the three southern Swedish provinces of Scania, Halland and Blekinge (until 1645/58) (e.g. 6, 10, 13, 18, 22–26, 32–34, 50, 59, 85, 96, 105) and southern Schleswig (in periods linked to Holstein) (until 1864, now Germany) (e.g. 1, 8, 30, 66, 73, 97, 106). Beside Denmark properly speaking, the Faroe Islands (20, 91), Greenland (27) and Iceland (37) are also covered by this survey. Other coins struck by Danish kings abroad (parts of Germany, Estonia, Gotland, American and Asian colonies, as king of England, Norway and Sweden) are not included. The focus will be on three aspects of coins: the national coinage (coin production, typology, dating etc.), the role of coins in society (monetary history, foreign and domestic coins, economic and non-economic coin use) and coin finds (publications of finds, finds as evidence for the coinage and the role of coins).

The editorial principle of this Survey is to highlight new perspectives beside the predominant research trends as well as the width and variation of the work. In accordance, the bibliography below presents only a selection of the literature on Danish coins from the medieval and modern periods. Consequently, the omission of any particular article should not be taken as a judgement on its quality.

General

In commemoration of its 200 years in 2018, the National Bank of Denmark published a comprehensive survey written by HORSNÆS, MOESGAARD and MÄRCHER (47) of the monetary history of Denmark from the first Roman coins appeared in the Iron Age until the early Renaissance. The focus is on the role of coins – foreign as well as domestic – in society at large. The impressive increase in the number of coin finds in Denmark due to intensive metal detecting during the last decades have generated many new insights that allowed the authors to rewrite large portions of the story. One can also welcome that three doctoral dissertations by AUDY, GUNDERSEN and INGVARSDON (7, 21, 54), largely based on detector finds, have been successfully defended 2018–2020. Not only numismatists write on the finds, but also archaeologists, providing complementary perspectives (e.g. 31, 60, 63, 100). The inventory dressed by HEIJNE (34) of the finds from the old Kristianstad county in Scania in the Swedish *Landskapsinventeringen* series is a landmark.

The 2018 issue of was to be the last of the yearly collector catalogue initiated by SIEG in 1968 (106). Thus, an institution of Danish numismatics has ended. Over the years, the periods and areas covered have largely expanded. The last issue comprised all Danish coins from 1241 to date as well as the various ducal coinages of Schleswig-Holstein. Meanwhile, Danish Numismatic Society has launched an on-line collector's catalogue, which is gradually being built up.

It is to be welcomed that MÄRCHER (75) has founded a new publishing house *Numismatik og Pengehistorie* aimed at publishing numismatic sources in the broadest sense (finds, corpora, written sources). Indeed, the need is there, as the traditional publishing channels often refuse to print catalogues or find lists, independently or as annex to articles. The privately run web-site *Dansk Mønt* by N. J. JENSEN and M. SKJOLDAGER is constantly growing and is a very important resource. MORTENSEN (e.g. 98) has published a series of handbooks and commented bibliographies, that are only distributed by himself on restrictive conditions. The comments are sometimes made on a subjective basis.

Methodologically, several authors have discussed the results of die studies (e.g. 77) and how to interpret metal detector finds (e.g. 5, 44, 36, 46, 63, 89, 94). Indeed, metal detecting is legal in Denmark and has led to a huge increase of the number of finds. Until 2002, annual find lists were published by the National Museum, but regrettably, no further lists are planned. The detector finds largely derive from single finds, rather than hoards, which allows for new insights (e.g. 44, 89, 94). Elementary analysis of the coins has also been applied and discussed (15, 35, 56, 83). Secondary treatment of coins has been scrutinized thoroughly in several studies (e.g. 7, 14, 42, 68, 79, 83, 95, 99).

Late Germanic Iron Age

The late Germanic Iron Age (7th–8th centuries) is marked by a scarcity of coins in Denmark. The existence of a monetary enclave of Ribe using coins at tale in the 8th century is already well-established. Søvsø (108) takes the argument a step forward in suggesting that the relevant issue, the Wodan/Monster sceatta, was the royal Danish currency not only meant for Ribe, but also for the king's other emporia Åhus (Scania) and Gross Strömkendorf (Mecklenburg). The background for this inspiring proposal is the multiplication of finds at the latter site. Hitherto sceatta finds outside Ribe were rare, but thanks to the metal detector, their number has risen. FEVEILE (16) gives a survey of this new material, demonstrating a circulation outside Ribe before the introduction of the well-managed Wodan/Monster currency in Ribe.

Viking Age

In a Danish numismatic context, the Viking Age covers the period *c.* 800–*c.* 1060. It is characterized by a currency of predominantly foreign origin and used by weight. But the Viking Age also witnessed a nascent domestic coinage. As for the domestic coinage, e.g. BENGSSON (8), BIZOEV (100), GUNNARSSON (22–26), HORSNÆS (43), ILISCH (48) and MOESGAARD (63), have contributed with hitherto unknown types or renewed interpretations of dating and mint attributions of already known types. These studies are often based on die-studies of all recorded specimens, that are catalogued for the benefit of future research. Some results are controversial, as EMSØY's suggestion about reattributing coins from Denmark to Norway on the basis of a few die observations (13). Knowledge on die transport between mints is being refined, such as BOGUCKI and MAGIERA's (10) and GUNNARSSON's (24) demonstration of die export from Denmark to Poland, as well as GUNNARSSON's (25) fundamental new hypothesis on which York dies were used in York and which ones were exported to Lund. FEVEILE's preliminary study of the Damhus hoard (17) is a fine example of how the discovery of a hoard can change our vision of a coinage overnight, in *casu* the coinage of Ribe in the 9th century. The standard reference on Danish 11th century coins is still the over 100 years old work of Hauberg. As a help to use it properly, MOESGAARD has outlined the research history from the 18th century till today (96).

The import and use of Roman, Byzantine, Carolingian and early Anglo-Saxon coins in Viking Age Denmark have been treated by HORSNÆS (38, 40) and MOESGAARD (84). The role of coins in society in the Viking Age has been in focus in several major studies. The authors employ several methods: analysis of the nature of the find spots, the find distribution, the archaeological context, the secondary treatment of the coins and the connection with other artefacts as well as the composition of the finds. Detailed catalogues are provided. MOESGAARD (83) has treated the coinage and currency during the reign of Harold Bluetooth (*c.* 958–*c.* 987) in a monograph, which contains important contributions by INGWARDSON and GUERRA on secondary treatment of the coins and metal analyses. It is to be warmly welcomed that the thesis of INGWARDSON (54, *cf.* 53, 55) finally makes the exceptionally rich and archaeologically well-documented hoard material from the island of Bornholm available. She successfully includes archaeological evidence and non-monetary material. The thesis of AUDY (7) studies coin pendants from Scandinavia, of which a substantial part is from Denmark.

Several finds have been published, some in a preliminary way, others in detail (4, 17, 22, 31, 49, 54, 60, 63, 79, 83, 100). A rare Anglo-Saxon coin found on the Faroes is presented (91). Old finds, such as Iceland's largest hoard at Gaulverjabær (37) and the strange rolled English coin from Syvsig (68) have also benefitted from republications according to the present state of research.

The mechanisms behind the transition from the Viking bullion economy to the medieval managed currency in the third quarter of the 11th century has been debated between INGWARDSON (52) and MOESGAARD (87). In particular, the role of the king in this process and the importance of coins in the society and the economy were in focus. Several recent hoards from the second half of the 11th century provide new evidence for this discussion (63, 79, 90, 100).

The Middle Ages

The interest in the Middle Ages has increased considerably compared to the meagre harvest during the last survey period. First and foremost, POULSEN (103) has reviewed the coins 1074–1134 in detail. Retaining Hauberg's more than 100 years old typology, his main contribution is to scrutinize dates and mint attributions in the light of a comprehensive find catalogue. His arrangement of the series according to monetary regions rather than to reigns probably gives a more real picture of the organisation of the coinage. As it often happens, just when the article was published, a new type appeared (88). The use of metal detector in the urban excavation at Hafengang 11 in Schleswig brought about

an exceptionally rich find material that enabled MOESGAARD, HILBERG and SCHIMMER to identify the hitherto unrecognized coinage and managed currency of Schleswig during the late 11th and early 12th centuries (97), confirmed by the publication by LEIMUS and KUIDSOO of intelligible specimens of yet another Schleswig coin found in Estonia and formerly attributed to Utrecht (66). The full-scale excavation of the church of Hedensted brought to light a hitherto unknown issue of 12th century bracteates which enabled INGWARDSON to reevaluate the Jutlandic coinage of the period (51). HORSNÆS (39, 41, 45), MÄRCHER (45, 76), MOESGAARD (81, 88) and BONDESSON and BONDESON (11) have dealt in details with various coin types, often based on a full catalogue of known specimens. The possibility of issues in Odense in the 13th century is discussed based on find distribution (38). Several attempts to date and mint-attribute the anonymous base pennies of the late 13th–early 14th century have been published during the last decades with divergent results. They have recently been assessed critically in a study of the finds from an excavation of a castle (80).

Several studies deal with metrology and metal alloys. KRÆMMER has gathered all available information in the field on Danish coins 11th–14th c. (62). The Stockholm collection of late medieval Danish coins has been analysed by XRF (15, 35). Pieforts (18, 92) and minting tools (82, 85) have been systematically catalogued and new finds published. Finds from Aalborg have tentatively been interpreted as the 11th c. mint, but the silver content of the planchets and the hammered ingots seems to low (56). At the other end of the Middle Ages, RISVAAG has located the nobility letter of the mint master Jørgen Kock (105).

The circulation pattern and ways of using coins have attracted much attention. Several studies draw on excavation and metal detector finds. LINAA presents a regional study of Aarhus and its hinterland (67). ANDERSSON looks at the topography of the find spots of coin in Falsterbo, the seat of the famous Scanian markets (6). MOESGAARD has scrutinized both qualitative (86) and quantitative (94) find information to demonstrate wide-spread coin use at the countryside. Full-scale excavations of churches are rare, and INGWARDSON has exploited that of Hedensted to investigate coin use in churches (51). The fortunate find of an intact 13th century hoard in situ at Bjæverskov allowed a detailed examination of how the coins were sorted into bags according to age and origin. This illustrates how people handled wealth when old and non-local coins were made obsolete in a *renovatio monetæ* system (93). Other finds show the complete exclusion of old and foreign coins in the second half of the 12th c. (81).

Finally, a certain number of finds have been published (e.g. 6, 11, 32, 51, 58, 71, 75, 76, 80, 81, 86, 88–90, 93, 103, 109). Among the more unusual ones, we find early 12th c. forgeries at Bornholm (76), a Spanish late 12th c. gold coin (99), a rare Swedish örtug (12) and a hoard of Danish coins in Estonia (65). Thanks to renewed archival studies, MÄRCHER reinterprets a series of old hoards (e.g. 70).

The post-reformation period

Early modern and modern numismatics has benefited from die-studies or renewed detailed typologies by a group of amateur numismatists, including AAGAARD (e.g. 1–3), PEDERSEN (e.g. 101–102) and HARCK (e.g. 2–30). Compared to their earlier works, they now frequently include written documents and put their results into a general historical-economic context. The monograph by PEDERSEN on the coins of Christian VII (1766–1808) is an achievement (102). The monograph on the engraver Meybusch (c. 1645–1702) by KOLD (61) also deserves to be mentioned. It is first and foremost on medals, but the author also treats coins.

LEIMUS proposes a social and economic biography of the mint master Paul Gulden (64). MÄRCHER uses the rich archival material to evaluate the coin production (73). Moreover, he has conducted a series of studies on minting tools and technical innovations based on written documents, preserved machinery and observations on the coins themselves (69, 72, 74, 78). BJÖRK has found archival evidence for plans for Danish iron coin production 1952 (9).

HEIJNE uses her newly published find inventory of NE Scania (33) to describe the monetary transition from Danish to Swedish rule in the 17th century (34). JONSSON attempts to determine social status based on the composition of the hoards (59). ANDERSEN and HORSNÆS looks at the growing number of finds of coin weights as evidence for use of renaissance gold coins, albeit their rarity among the finds (5). JENSEN analyses a 19th century painting of a money transport to the Stock Exchange (57). GRINDER-HANSEN uses literature and ethnographic sources to describe coins given to street musicians in the early 20th century (19). GULKLETT describes how a rare double thaler has been inherited in a Faroese family during 8 generations (20) and MOESGAARD publishes coins used as jewellery for the wedding dress (95). ERIKSEN describes the uses of coins for propaganda during WW2 (14).

VEDSTED attempts to identify the owner of the impressive 17th century Balle hoard (110). Several finds have been

published (e.g. 50, 71, 75, 104). The hoard publications by the publisher *Numismatik og Pengehistorie* deserve to be mentioned as they offer a full photographic coverage of the coins (75).

In a series of short notes, SKOVLY (e.g. 107) and HANSEN (28) have described various issues of tokens and the like. On the contrary, banknotes have not attracted much attention during the survey period (27).

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SWEDEN

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The intention of this survey is to present a broad overview of Swedish numismatics during the period 2014–2020 and a selection of publications in the bibliography. Some major fields of interest can be discerned that are common between the Nordic countries, and will be in focus (also see *Denmark and Iceland*, Jens Christian Moesgaard):

The role of coins in society. Including monetary history, foreign and domestic coins, economic and non-economic coin use, contextualization through archaeological and historical research.

The national coinage. Involving coin production, typology, dating etc.

Coin finds. Such as publications of finds, finds as evidence for the coinage and the role of coins.

The research and the publications included in this survey concern Sweden and the period from about 600 AD until today. Earlier periods and Medals are described in other parts of the Survey.

Sweden's borders have changed over the centuries and the monetary history is related between several Nordic and Baltic countries. In broad strokes, this means that the provinces of Scania, Halland and Blekinge became Swedish 1645/58 and were before that Danish. Swedish coins also appear in Danish finds and vice versa (e.g., 11, 39, 80 105, 106, 110, 175, 159, 160, 163). Finland and Sweden were joined together as one country until 1809 (e.g., 30, 32, 31, 118, 114, 112, 141, 170, 193). Norway and Sweden formed a union between the two separate kingdoms for a time in the Middle Ages and between 1814–1905 (e.g., 57). Extensive contacts took place between the Swedish island Gotland and Estonia in the Middle Ages (71, 72, 123, 135, 145, 151). Some of the publications will therefore be listed under several countries in the bibliographies of the Survey.

General

Periodicals

The periodical *Nordisk Numismatisk Unionsmedlemsblad* (NNUM) is published regularly four times a year. On a more irregular basis, the *Nordisk Numismatisk Årskift* is published (NNÅ, Nordic Numismatic Journal). They are common between the Nordic countries.

In Sweden, the *Svensk Numismatisk Tidskrift* (SNT) is published regularly with eight issues per year by the Swedish Numismatic Society. The Numismatic Institute at Stockholm University publishes a digital periodical named *Myntstudier* since 2003. The number of issues per year varies.

Comprehensive studies

Among the comprehensive studies that span over wide periods, an overview by DELZANNO (28) should especially be mentioned. He has collected information and images of objects from Sweden's monetary history from 995–2022. His work is divided into two catalogues that cover Sweden's coins from c. 995 until today, banknotes and a selection of Swedish medals. The work has a rich visual material and is adapted for collectors by stating valuation prices. DELZANNO (27) has also released a volume on gold coins from Sweden 1512–2020, following the same concept.

LAGERQVIST (147) has for decades shared his great knowledge and experience regarding the Swedish coin system, prices, and wages from the medieval period until today. A new edition of his best-selling book on the topic has been released.

The project *Sveriges Mynthistoria Landskapsinventeringen* was initiated in the 1980's and has since then delivered catalogues of finds from Swedish provinces. The ambition is to present all finds from each province on a general level. So far inventories of finds have been published for 20 Swedish provinces in 14 volumes. The latest additions cover the provinces Skåne, Kristianstad län (VON HEIJNE (77)), Västmanland (WISÉHN (209)), Gästrikland and Hälsingland (GOLABIEWSKI LANNBY (51)). In Finland the first volume in a related series has also been published (EHRNSTEN and KUNNAS-PUSA (32)).

Divina Moneta – Coins in Religion and Ritual examines coins as part of ritual and religious practices from a wide

period and territory, stretching from Roman to the Post-Reformation period, but with focus on the Middle Ages, and links to several countries in large parts of Europe (BURSTRÖM MYRBERG et al. (21)). This is the second publication in the series *Religion and Money in the Middle Ages*.

The Coin Cabinets

The national numismatic collection, i.e., the Royal Coin Cabinet in Stockholm, holds vast collections. Other major numismatic collections and learning centers are the coin cabinets in Uppsala and in Lund.

The Royal Coin Cabinet has faced major challenges during the period. The museum has been involved in three separate legal processes. Two of the lawsuits were closed before 2020, and the third is likely to be ended in 2022. One lawsuit concerning theft is described in a documentary by Swedish Television. Another major task has the move of the museum been, caused by increased rent (CARLSSON et al. (24), RAMBERG (173)). The museum is now being re-established in the same building as the Swedish History Museum with the name *Economy Museum – Royal Coin Cabinet*. The collections contain c. 650.000 objects. Major inventory processes have been conducted during the last decade. The digital publication of the objects has gradually increased (e.g., AUDY (8)) and a major project is at hand.

The Uppsala University Coin Cabinet issues two publication series. In *Studia Numismatica Upsaliensia* two volumes have been published on the minting in Akragas (WESTERMARK et al. (199, 200)) and one a theme of music and numismatics (WISÉHN et al. (210)). The other series is *Uppsala University Coin Cabinet Working Papers*, present reports and studies on various topics (in selection HAIDENTHALLER (69), MÄKELER (153, 156)). The collection of the coin cabinet in Uppsala contain c. 40.000 objects and large parts has successfully been digitized in the system Alvin and are now accessible through the coin cabinets website (HAIDENTHALLER (70), HEDLUND (74), MÄKELER (155–158)).

The Coin Cabinet at the Historical Museum at Lund University has a collection containing c. 54.000 objects. It contributes to research and education in various ways, for example by managing coin finds from the region Scania. The keeper of the coin cabinet is also involved in several research projects parallel to her curatorial position at the museum (INGVARDSON (103–106)).

The Numismatic institute at Stockholm University

The holder of the chair of the Numismatic Institute (Numismatiska Forskningsgruppen) at Stockholm University was Professor K. JONSSON until 2020 (JONSSON (119–131)). After his retirement J. C. MOESGAARD was appointed professor (MOESGAARD (160–165)). The chair is financed by the *Gunnar Ekström foundation for numismatic research*.

The latest book in the series *Corpus Nummorum Saeculorum IX–XI qui in Suecia reperti sunt, Catalogue of Coins from the Viking Age found in Sweden* (the CNS Series), was printed in 2010. Instead, coin find are digitally published at the website of the Numismatic Institute. So far 13 articles on coin finds, following the CNS format, are available at the website.

A series of metal studies on coins have been carried out in collaboration with the Archaeological Research Laboratory. Reports are published online in the series *Metallanalyser av mynt / Metal analyses of coins* (ERIKSSON (39–40), HELJEBACK (80), JONSSON (115), LINDBLAD (152)).

The Numismatic Institute issues the digital periodical *Myntstudier*.

Doctoral dissertations

Two doctoral dissertations have been presented at the Department of Archaeology and Classical Studies at Stockholm University. F. AUDY's thesis deals with coins from the Viking Age as pendants (AUDY (7)) and L. EIKJE RAMBERG's thesis is based on Norwegian coins from the 12th century (EIKJE RAMBERG (33)).

The dissertation of M. TUNEFALK, the Department of History at Stockholm University, analyses medals and conceptions of social status from 1650 to 1900 (TUNEFALK (197)).

From the University of Copenhagen in Denmark, G. T. INGVARDSON's dissertation on Viking-Age coin finds from Bornholm is closely related to other Scandinavian finds from the same period, and especially from Gotland and Scania (INGVARDSON (106)). From Finland and the University of Helsinki, F. EHRNSTEN's thesis on finds of medieval coins in Finnish churches is also an important contribution to Sweden's monetary history (EHRNSTEN (31)).

The Numismatic associations

The Swedish Numismatic Society has published four monographs. The volume *Myntstudier* was issued in honor of Professor K. JONSSON and contains articles on various topics (TALVIO et al. (194)). The numismatic collection of

Elias Brenner, sometimes called “the father of Swedish numismatics”, was sold in 1721 to a Russian nobleman and after that ended up at the Pushkin Museum in Moscow. The Brenner collection, together with Pavel Grigorievich Demidov’s collection, is published in the series of the Swedish Numismatic Society (KRASNOBAEVA (144)). In two separate volumes the medieval Swedish monetary history is dealt with from different perspectives. In *Acta Monetaria Sueciae* Sweden’s documents on coins, prices, and precious metals 1164–1318 are accounted for (FRANZÉN et al. (42)). The other book presents a remarkable find that was made during an archaeological excavation of a grave at a monastery. The coins show the organization of the Swedish monetary system around year 1200 (GOLABIEWSKI LANNBY (52)).

The Numismatic Club of Uppsala has published a new anthology that contains a wide range of subjects to commemorate the 50-year anniversary (EKSTRÖM et al. (35)).

Tokens is a subject that has been increasingly noticed by the numismatic associations. A comprehensive catalogue of tokens from Gothenburg is published (GUSTAVSSON (68)) and a corresponding book has been presented for tokens from Scania (THELIN et al. (196)).

The Viking Age

Coin finds that date to the Late Germanic Iron Age (7th–8th centuries) are extremely scarce in Sweden and is therefore a rare research topic. However, the following period, the Viking Age, attract extensive interest. The Viking Age dates from a Swedish numismatic perspective from c. 800 to c. 1140. The coin finds were initially dominated by Islamic coins, but from c. 985 mainly German and Anglo-Saxon coins are imported. The domestic coinage is introduced c. 995. The coins usually contain a high silver percentage which is supported by metal analyses of coins dating from the 7th to 12th centuries (JONSSON (115)). The high silver content is an important basis for the Viking-Age bullion economy.

Several books and papers have been published with a broad approach to the Viking-Age hoards and with the ambition to analyse societal aspects related to them. They have a stated ambition to place the material in an archaeological or historical context and strive to investigate the deeper meaning and connection of the coin finds to the people of that time. The Eastern contacts involving slave trade and the import of Islamic coins is examined, and especially in the *Dirham for Slaves* project (JANKOWIAK (108) but also (125, 134, 143, 146)). Among the earliest imported Islamic coins Sasanian silver coins occur. KARLSSON has published a catalogue to help identify Sasanian types, mainly from the period 224–651 (KARLSSON (134)).

Regarding Byzantine influences and how Byzantine coins were used in Scandinavia, especially two publications should be mentioned: *Images of power. Byzantium and Nordic Coinage c. 995–1035* (ANDROSHCHUK (2)) and *Byzantium and the Viking world* (ANDROSHCHUK et al. (4), including AUDY (6)).

Studies of the Western coins in the Viking-Age finds are often based on analyzes of specific finds (e.g., 113, 122, 119), but there are also wider discussions (e.g., JONSSON (120), MÄKELER (154)).

The first domestic coinage in Sweden started in the town Sigtuna c. 995. About the same year a new royal coinage was also introduced in Lund (then Denmark) and in Norway. They all initially imitated Anglo-Saxon coins and after some years Byzantine influences are also visible. Through die-studies contacts has been proved between moneyers in e.g., Sigtuna, Denmark, Pomerania, Ireland, and England (GUNNARSSON (58–64)).

About 70% of the Swedish Viking-Age coins finds are found on Gotland, and they are usually paid particular interest (e.g., 22, 55, 56, 54, 105, 113, 118, 119, 122, 136, 137, 138, 146, 172). Viking-Age finds from other regions have also been published, e.g., from the provinces Närke (AUDY et al. (9)), and Uppland (JONSSON (125)). The laws and regulation regarding metal detecting is restrictive in Sweden and even though the number of recorded finds increases, the quantity has not been as dramatic as in many other countries.

The Middle Ages

From a Swedish numismatic perspective, the Middle Ages is usually dated from c. 1140 to 1523, when Gustav I became king. During the Middle Ages, the proportion of foreign coins in circulation declined and domestic coins became increasingly dominant. A few large studies have been published with focus on medieval numismatics, but most of the publications are short articles.

One of the more extensive publications is *Acta Monetaria Sueciae* in which Sweden’s documents on coins, prices, and precious metals during the period 1164–1318 are published (FRANZÉN et al. (42)). Another important study

is EKRE's posthumously published book about the medieval town Lödöse as a mint. Archaeological excavations have generated material from medieval coin production that is unique for Sweden (EKRE (34), also JONSSON (129)). As mentioned above, an archaeological excavation of a grave in a monastery in Skänninge revealed a find of great importance. The grave contained two separate coin depots that represents the different coin systems existing in Sweden around the year 1200 (GOLABIEWSKI LANNBY (48, 52), JONSSON (130)). Coin finds from the Middle Ages related to churches and religious practices on a more general level, and not specifically for Sweden, are discussed in *Divina Moneta* (BURSTRÖM MYRBERG et al. (21)).

The development of the domestic coinage has been published in a series of twelve short papers in *Svensk Numismatisk Tidskrift* by HOLMBERG. It starts with the first the coinage c. 995 and continues chronologically to the 16th century. Together they constitute a good overview of the Swedish medieval coinage (HOLMBERG (88–100)).

In a series of papers SVENSSON has dealt with the minting of bracteates, monetary policies, and periodical recoinages. He makes comparisons between Swedish, European, and especially German bracteates (SVENSSON (180–191)).

Medieval coin finds found in Sweden have been documented by several authors (e.g., 43, 48, 52, 53, 75, 79, 111, 112, 116, 130, 131, 132, 148, 174), and also finds of medieval Swedish coins in other countries (e.g., 11, 30, 57, 110, 141, 145, 162, 163, 193). In the latter category, EHRNSTEN's doctoral dissertation should be emphasized. It deals with coins found in the churches of Finland and how the use of money developed during the Middle Ages (EHRNSTEN (31)). The typology and presence of Gotlandic Örtugs in Estonia has been reported by HALJAK (71, 72).

The Post-Reformation period

The Post-Reformation period here refers the time after 1523. In several comprehensive studies of the period, coins from more recent times constitute a large part of the material. This is for example the case in DELZANNO's overview of Sweden's coins (DELZANNO (27, 28)).

Various forms of analyzes and regulations for the domestic coinage, such as coinage techniques, coinage rights, typologies, have mainly been carried out in several articles. One of the more recurring authors within this field is HEMMINGSSON (81–86). In addition to the domestic coins, tokens have been treated by several writers (47, 50, 68, 179, 195, 196). Banknotes has constituted a relatively limited area of research, but Sweden's banknote history during the 20th century has been presented in a series of articles in the Swedish Numismatic Journal (WIDELL (205–208)).

A large part of the material in the series *Sveriges Mynthistoria Landskapsinventeringen* are coins from the Post-Reformation period (51, 77, 209). Finds that are recurrently attract interest are dated to the 17th century and come from northern Scania and southern Småland. The hoards have a connection with the war between Denmark and Sweden (VON HEIJNE (76), INGVARSDON (103)). Finds containing coins from the time of Gustav I in the 16th century have been analyzed by E. and K. JONSSON (117, 128). Other coin finds from the period have also been studied and documented (e.g., 126, 175, 159).

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NORWAY

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This has been an active period of publication on the monetary history of the Norway since these Surveys began. Again the emphasis is on Viking Age and medieval periods. Several monographs and phd dissertations of importance have been published including studies of Norwegian coinage by JOSEFSEN (41, 42, 43), coin finds and monetary history 1050-1319 by GULLBEKK and SÆTTEM (35), and two phd-theses respectively on coinage and use of money in the twelfth century by RAMBERG (47) and a comparative study of *Commercialisation and urbanisation c. 986–1448* between Denmark and Norway by GUNDERSEN (37). A multidisciplinary study of the practice behind the minting in the Archbishop's Palace in Trondheim investigates the technical aspects and the range and incentive of the Archbishop's coin production in the beginning of the 16th century are studied in detail by ULSETH ET AL (59).

The second and final volume of SCBI Norwegian Collections Part II. Anglo-Saxon and Later British Coins, 1016-1279, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles 66* by SCREEN (53) concludes this project. A multidisciplinary project on *Religion and Money: Economy of Salvation in the Middle Ages* funded by the Norwegian Research Council has provided a platform for international collaborations and several publications such as a collected volume on *Money and the Church in Medieval Europe, 1000-1200* edited by GASPER and GULLBEKK (14) and a special issue of the *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau on Coins in European Churches: Religious Practice and Devotional Use of Money*, edited by ZÄCH and GULLBEKK (60) with a number of articles on subjects related to religion and money (16, 19, 23, 26, 38, 39, 54, 61).

The question of monetization and different aspects of money and its use have been discussed in several articles (10, 15, 17, 21, 35, 37, 47, 52, 55, 56, 57) together with studies of coinage as means of communication (8, 24), coinage and literacy (20), and the administration of coinage (40).

While few new hoards have appeared in recent years, the excavation Project on Heimdalsjordet (nearby the famous Gokstad ship-burial mound) provides new evidence for a proto-urban settlement some 20 kilometers east of the Viking town Kaupang including c.200 single finds from the period that still awaits publication, but with a survey and discussion (28). As in many countries metal detecting has produced significant numbers of finds with a methodological and ethical discussion on the phenomenon (36). The famous find of a Norse penny on the East Coast of America is revisited (22).

Early modern and modern numismatics has benefited from die-studies and renewed detailed typologies by AAGAARD (1, 2, 3, 4, 5) and a catalogue of Norwegian coins 1449-1814 by THESEN (58). Norwegian Central Bank bi-centenary in 2016 has resulted in a number of monographs and studies of which two have particular interest for modern numismatic research, AUSTNES (7) and EITRHEIM ET AL (10).

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FINLAND

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There are very few active numismatic scholars in Finland, and no regular academic teaching. The Coin Cabinet of the National Museum of Finland, which is nowadays part of the Collections and Research Department, only has one single keeper for the numismatic collections. As it is not possible to study numismatics at university level, the number of academic publications remains modest. There has, however, been a small increase in the number of publications concerning coin finds, as well as articles aimed at a general audience. Most of them have been published either in Finnish or Swedish by a few authors writing about various periods.

The number of numismatic books published in Finland is small. In 2019 EHRNSTEN (11) published her dissertation on medieval coin use in Finland, this being only the 6th doctoral thesis in Finland in the field of numismatics. In 2014 the Numismatic Society of Finland published a Festschrift on the occasion of its centenary, edited by TALVIO (47), with contributions from both scholars and amateurs. TALVIO also published an illustrated book on the treasures of the Finnish Coin Cabinet (51), including a history of the collection from the middle of the 18th century to the 2010s. ORAVISJÄRVI (34) has written a popular book, the first of its kind in Finnish, on the origins of the coinage in the antique world.

The other publications deal mostly with coin finds. A guide to Finnish coin finds aimed especially at metal detectorists was published by ORAVISJÄRVI (35). Inventories of coin finds from the provinces of Uusimaa and Karelia have been published by EHRNSTEN and KUNNAS-PUSA (15, 16), the Karelian finds also including those from the former Finnish Karelia now belonging to Russia. These are the first two parts of an inventory intended to cover the whole country. In 2019, the Swedish web journal *Myntstudier* devoted a whole issue to Finnish coin finds (17, 29, 33, 39, 44, 52).

In 2014 TALVIO (50) published an article on the numismatic aspects of the Viking Age, in a multidisciplinary publication dealing with the period. The coin finds from the Viking Age (ca 800–1050) have since increased significantly due to the activity of metal detectorists, but most of the new material is still unpublished. Some short summaries of the new finds have been published by EHRNSTEN (7, 9, 14). Some of the Sigtuna imitations found in Finland have been published by GUNNARSSON (17) and ORAVISJÄRVI (38) has presented Finnish Late Iron Age coin imitations in a catalogue for coin collectors. JONSSON (26, 30) has published new interpretations on a Viking Age chain with coin pendants as well as an article on the import of German coins to the former Finnish Karelia. The largest of the new Viking-Age hoards has been published by EHRNSTEN (13) in a paper aimed at a wider audience. TUOMENOJA (53) has written about the find locations of Viking Age hoards, while ORAVISJÄRVI (37, 39, 41, 45) has published short presentations of a number of finds.

Medieval coins have been the subject of many studies during the last years, although both the written sources as well as the find material are very limited. Apart from her doctoral thesis EHRNSTEN (2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 12) has covered the medieval period (ca 1100–1560) in several articles, both on a general level and dealing with coin finds from specific sites. JONSSON (24, 25, 27, 28, 29) has published new research on the medieval find material from the church in Jomala, the minting during Karl Knutsson Bonde and Scandinavian finds of coins minted in Turku. TALVIO (48, 52) has written about a 14th century coin hoard from Turku as well as the örtugs bearing the name of Saint Henry, minted in Turku in the 1520's.

The coin material from the earliest known church site of Finland, Ristimäki in Ravattula parish, has been briefly discussed by RUOHONEN (43, 44), but we still wait for a more thorough study of this very important material. LEIMUS (32) has published a rare örtug minted in Turku in the 1520s found in Estonia. The coin finds from the episcopal site of Kuusisto have been published by KIVISTÖ (31). In an article on the minting in Turku and Kuusisto in the 1520's, HEMMINGSSON (22) was able to show that one of the Danish schilling types of Sören Norby was actually minted in

Kuusisto castle. SCREEN (46) has discussed medieval coin use in Finland on the basis of the written source material.

Coins from the modern period (ca 1560–) have not been studied much, except by EHRNSTEN (1, 4, 10) in her articles on finds from churches and in a few other texts, such as the one concerning finds of gold coins in the centennial publication of the Finnish Numismatic Society (49). According to the Finnish legislation, all coin finds older than 100 years must be reported to the authorities, but this does not, of course, always happen, as is shown by the case of a dispersed 16th century hoard discussed by ORAVISJÄRVI (42). He has also written on finds of plate money from the Oulu region in north Ostrobothnia (40). HYÖTYNIEMI (23) has presented some speculations on the possibility of minting in Viipuri (Vyborg) in the 1620s.

Research on modern numismatics has concerned mostly paper money and tokens. The history of Finnish banknotes has been covered by HEINONEN (18, 19, 20, 21) in his four books published by the Bank of Finland and in articles in the journal of the Finnish Numismatic Society. ORAVISJÄRVI (36) has written on the local war-time notes issued in Finland in 1790. The research on tokens has been furthered by VUORI (54–59) in several articles, of which a selection is mentioned in this bibliography.

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BALTIC STATES

Ivar Leimus

Numismatic research in the Baltic States from 2014–2020 was mainly conducted by the same scholars as during the previous period. First and foremost, general works summarising the current stage of the research should be highlighted. A very impressive volume was published by GRIMALAUSKAITĖ and REMECAS (19, 20) in Lithuania, but the book by LEIMUS, KIUDSOO and HALJAK (50) in Estonia is also worth mentioning. A new numismatic periodical covering the three Baltic States was launched by the Association of Baltic Numismatists: two volumes have been issued to date, edited by EHRNSTEN (15) and LEIMUS (37). In addition, a volume of papers given at the international numismatic conference in Vilnius in 2012 was compiled by REMECAS (54). A special volume of numismatic and archaeological contributions was dedicated to Tatjana Berga on her 75th birthday, edited by VASKS and VILCĀNE (65).

In neighbouring Belarus, SINCHUK (SINCZUK) (61) compiled a book of his reviews of numismatics, archaeology and sphragistics.

However, as usual, the majority of writings dealt with new numismatic discoveries. These have become particularly numerous due to metal-detecting, but have also resulted from archaeological excavations and random finds. In Lithuania and Belarus, GRIMALAUSKAITĖ (18) analysed a hoard of Roman denarii, while she and SINCHUK (21) unveiled a mid-18th c. hoard of copper solidi. In Latvia, BERGA (1) uncovered a remarkable hoard of mid-13th c. as well as medieval and early modern-era counters found in Riga (4). Also in Latvia, DUCMANE (14) and VĀVERIS (66) provided an overview of a 16th c. deposit of coins and silver artefacts, and MUIŽNIEKS (52) studied the custom of placing coins in graves. In Estonia, KOOVIT and KIUDSOO (33) analysed a significant Roman-era deposit of coins and artefacts. However, finds from the Viking era are particularly numerous in Estonia, as made public by KIUDSOO (27–29), LEIMUS (41, 45), LEIMUS and KIUDSOO (49), LEIMUS, KIUDSOO and TAMLA (51), KONSA, LEIMUS, KANGERT and MÄESALU (31), ORAS, LEIMUS and JOOSU (53) and KONSA, LEIMUS, SMIRNOVA and KALDRE (32). KIUDSOO (30) also examined rare medieval Livonian coins found at local chapel sites, while TVAURI (63, 64) analysed a number of medieval and early modern coin hoards from Southern Estonia.

Another traditional field of numismatics is the compilation of catalogues and the investigation of coins and coin groups. In Lithuania, IVANAUSKAS (24) compiled a catalogue of Lithuanian counters and RUZAS (56) published the collection of Lithuanian coins of the Money Museum of the Bank of Lithuania. In Estonia, HALJAK (22, 23) compiled a catalogue of classical Gotland örtugs and discussed enigmatic pseudo-Russian kopeks dating from the turn of the 16–17th c. In Latvia, BERGA (2) examined an anonymous Riga pfennig dating from the 15th c. In Estonia, LEIMUS alone (38) and jointly with KIUDSOO (48) unveiled a couple of new denier types from the 11th c. LEIMUS (47) also discussed the chronology of Byzantine miliaresia of Basil II and Constantine VIII and the Danish coins found in Estonia until the era of the Crusades (42) and penned a study on Livonian medieval gold coins (35). Finnish numismatist SARKKINEN (57, 58) studied some Tallinn and Riga coin types from the 16th c. and Swedish numismatist JONSSON (26) discussed the probable Baltic origin of certain imitations of Anglo-Saxon pennies.

The history of minting earned quite a lot of attention during the period under discussion, in particular in Latvia, where DĀBOLIŅŠ (6–9, 11–13) extensively studied mint masters and the mint of Riga in the early modern era. BERGA (2) provided a broader overview of mints in Latvia from the 13th to 18th c. In Estonia, LEIMUS (37, 44, 46) investigated the lives and careers of mint masters from the 16th c. in Tallinn and Courland.

KÜNG (34) and LEIMUS (43) in Estonia and SINCHUK (60, 61) in Belarus (albeit with regard to Lithuania) observed the use of money and its different counting systems. LEIMUS (39, 40) also discussed broader problems in numismatics, e.g. the history of monetary unions and the problem of silver supply in the Middle Ages.

Furthermore, the history of numismatics and coin collections attracted the attention of researchers during this period. BERGA and DĀBOLIŅŠ (5) investigated the role of Riga numismatist and archaeologist Anton Buchholz in

organising a congress on archaeology in 1896. DĀBOLIŅŠ (10) also studied the very origins of numismatics in Latvia. In Lithuania, GRIMALAUSKAITĒ (16, 17) discussed the activities of well-known Polish-Lithuanian numismatist and historian Eustachy Tyszkiewicz as well as certain events in the history of the coin collection in the Vilnius Museum of Antiquities. VĀVERIS (67) investigated the fate of the coin collection of the Cabinet of Art of the University of Latvia. Finally, SINCHUK (59) compiled a Belarusian-Lithuanian numismatic bibliography for the years 1950–2000.

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POLAND, UKRAINE AND BELARUS

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Numismatic publications from Poland, Ukraine and Belarus are listed here together. This is a result of the common monetary history of these states. From the late Middle Ages to 1795, Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were connected in a union, from 1385 a personal one, and from 1569 a real one, when one state was established – the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It also influenced the unification of monetary relations with the reform of King Stephen Báthory from the year 1580 that introduced the same coin, as the culmination point. Splitting of numismatic works devoted to the same issues according to contemporary borders has no historical justification. However, publications on, for example, the coinage of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, published in Lithuania, are listed in this volume by Ivar Leimus.

Since the lack of space, the articles published in Journals, some conference proceedings and collective publications, that are easily available on the Internet won't be listed separately. We are convinced, that editors of given publications guarantee the high scientific quality of published articles. It is worth noting that SINCCHUK published a bibliography of the numismatics of Belarus and Lithuania for the years 1950–2000 (10), while KOTSUR presented the historiography of Ukrainian research on hoards with extensive literature (28).

Journals, conference proceedings and collective monographs

Wiadomości Numizmatyczne (5) by the Polish Academy of Sciences and *Notae Numismaticae - Zapiski Numizmatyczne* (2) by the National Museum in Cracow, both published annually, remain the main Polish academic journals on numismatics. *Biuletyn Numizmatyczny* (1) and *Warszawski Pamiętnik Numizmatyczny* (4) are intended for collectors but often contain articles with high scientific importance.

The history of Polish numismatic journals was summarized by PIŃIŃSKI (11). In Ukraine the most important periodicals are: *Львівські Нумізматичні Записки* [Lviv Numismatic Notes] (7), *Нумізматика і фалеристика* [Numismatics and Phaleristics] (8) and *Український нумізматичний щорічник* [The Ukrainian Numismatic Annual] (9) published since 2017. Among the journals from Belarus, two titles can be mentioned: *Rus', Lithuania, Horde: Journal of Numismatics and Sigillography* (3) and *Банкаўскі Веснік* [Bank Bulletin] published since 1992 (6). Materials from the conferences are regularly published. In Poland, volumes with papers from the conference series „Money and Banks” (16–17) and the 15th Numismatic Session in Nowa Sól (20) were published. Three volumes with articles presented during the Numismatic Forum (13–15) are also available. In Ukraine, materials from three subsequent international conferences from the series „Actual problems of numismatics in the system of special branches of historical science” (12, 18–19) were presented, while in Belarus abstracts of papers were presented during the 3rd Scientific readings in memory of prof. Valiancin Navumavich Rabceovich (21).

General works

The volume on the Piasts in the 10th–13th centuries (22), as well as the book dedicated to professor Stanisław Suchodolski (24) were published. Moreover, in Poland the results of a project devoted to the use of ancient coins found in medieval and modern contexts (23), a catalogue on Polish medieval coinage (26), an overview of the Polish coinage from its beginnings to the present day (27) and a study of the mint production of Wschowa (29) were published. In Ukraine, the monograph by BOIKO-GAGARIN on counterfeiting the coins was released (25).

Collections

Works on the numismatic collections can be divided into two main categories. The first are articles of a small volume published in journals or conference volumes (31–32, 36–39, 43). The second are extensive, richly illustrated catalogs with descriptions of objects that form the entire collections of coins, banknotes, plaques, medals and jetons (33–35, 40, 42). A conference devoted to the numismatic collections lost during the wars was also held in Poland (41).

Coin finds

Coin finds are introduced into the scientific literature regularly and they represent the most numerous group of publications (44–113). In Poland, it was crucial to publish five volumes of the series “Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Polen”, where all the finds from all over Poland from around 650–1150 were gathered (49–53). In this country, studies of individual treasures are also published in the form of separate monographs (78, 80, 88, 102, 104) and articles (54, 61, 79, 81, 112). Whereas in Belarus and Ukraine monographs concern hoards found in particular regions (44–46, 56, 69, 84–85, 92, 108). In Poland, cumulative and single finds from archaeological sites of various character are also published, e.g. towns (59, 64–65, 77, 86, 89, 104–105) or sepulchral (48, 57, 87, 97, 106, 99, 113). In Belarus and Ukraine, on the other hand, much attention is paid to the problem of monetary circulation reconstructed on the basis of registered finds (46, 66, 82). The vast majority of the hoards from the territory of Ukraine was published by MIKHELSON and TROST’YANSKIY (76). Preliminary information on hoards and single finds from Ukraine and Belarus can be found in the „The Viking Era in Eastern Europe in Numismatic Objects of the 8th–11th Centuries” series (55–56, 60, 71–74, 91–94, 95, 108)

Early Middle Ages

Works on early medieval numismatics in Poland focused on the circulation and function of foreign (114–118, 125, 121–123, 131) and domestic (132, 135, 157, 148) coins, among which two ADAMCZYK’s monographs should be distinguished (114, 117). An important subject of the research was the coinage of the Piast dynasty (124, 143, 161–165) - the GORLIŃSKA’s monograph on the participation of Jews in the organization of the coinage of Mieszko III (136) was published. Coins of new types have been discovered (127, 126, 138, 156). Much work was devoted to the study of the chemical composition of coins and the origin of silver (128, 133–134) - in this context, the works of ROZMUS on silver and lead mining draws attention (61, 104, 130, 159). BEKTINEEV summarized the problem of the monetary circulation in Belarus (120). Several works were devoted to the oldest Rus’ Coinage in Kiev (36, 119, 140) and later local coinage (129, 137, 139)

Late Middle Ages

There are few publications on the numismatics of the late Middle Ages. Coin catalogs (137, 158) and problem papers in the form of articles can be distinguished here. Among them, two thematic blocks stand out, namely the Pomeranian (138, 141, 156, 152, 144) and the Silesian coinages (148–149, 147, 151).

Modern Times

Works devoted to modern period are also few, especially compared to the publications concerning the early Middle Ages. The problem publications include a book on the monetary policy of King John Casimir in the parliamentary discourse (166) and publications on the mints production (167–168, 170, 172, 176, 186). The remaining works are catalogs covering the entire minting activity of the rulers (169, 182–183) or detailed studies on coins of single denominations (171, 177, 179, 180–181, 184, 187).

Exonumia

Non-monetary finds, related to numismatics, include seals, coin weights, tokens and jetons. It is worth paying attention to the two-volume book of MUSIN and WOŁOSZYN, which is a summary of the knowledge about the so-called small lead seals of the Drohiczyn type (197). In addition, single specimens and summaries on commodity money were also published, including the characteristic ingots (199, 201). Findings of seals, tokens and jetons are also prepared (190–194, 196, 200). The numismatic artifacts of the last category are covered by two catalogs published in Poland (188–189).

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CZECH REPUBLIC – SLOVAK REPUBLIC

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Results of the numismatic research, realized in the years 2014–2020, were mostly published in three Czech numismatic periodicals, issued by the National Museum in Prague (*Numismatické listy (NListy)*, vols. 69–75, ed. Polanský, four numbers a year), by the Centre for Medieval Studies in Prague (*Numismatický sborník (NSb)*, vols. 28–34, ed. Militký, two numbers a year), and by the Moravian Land Museum in Brno (*Folia numismatica (FN)*, vols. 28–34, ed. Kašparová, two numbers a year). Besides that, shorter contributions came out in the popular education journal of the Czech numismatic society (*Numismatický časopis*, ed. Mašek, four numbers a year). In Slovakia, a new number of the periodical *Slovenská numizmatika (SN)* appeared in 2015 (vol. 20, ed. Hunka) and the journal *Denarius* continued in its publishing activity (vols. 4–10, eds. Budaj, Hunka).

The rich numismatic production consists of studies, monographs, catalogues, museum collection inventories, and reports on new coin finds and hoards. In the first place, it is worth highlighting the edition series of the National Museum in Prague called Bohemian, Moravian, and Silesian coins of the tenth to twentieth centuries, making Karel Chaura's coin collection available to the professional and lay public. Three volumes of the series were published from 2014 to 2017: coins of the House of Habsburg-Lorraine 1740–1918 (BOUBLÍK (255)), government and private numerical tokens (SMÍŠEK (334)) and special purpose tokens (CAJTHAML and SMÍŠEK (329)).

The Middle Ages is, among others, represented by the monographs concerning the 13th-century Moravian deniers and bracteates (GROSSMANNOVÁ (53)), Prague groschen (CIHLÁŘ (41)), Hungarian florins and ducats (BUDAJ et al. (36)), the hoards from Chýště (LUKAS (201)), Levínská Olešnice (SCHNEIDER et al. (233)), Mojmírovce (BUDAJ (138)), Vamberk (BRÁDLE (128)), Rybné (BRÁDLE (130)), Radíkovice (BRÁDLE et al. (133)), and Kojetín (NOVÁK et al. (222)) as well as by the inventory of early medieval coins from the collection of the West Bohemian Museum in Pilsen published in three parts (LUKAS and HUS (80–82)). Monographs and studies in monetary history analyze late medieval accounts (SUCHÝ (283)), taxes, the money of pilgrims, papal collections, as well as prices and wages (ZAORAL (110–122)).

The modern period is represented by the monographs concerning currency policy in Moravia from 1657 to 1740 (GROSSMANNOVÁ (257)), the hoards of Uničov (HRADIL (312)), Horní Rápotice (MILITKÝ, HRADIL et al. (321)), Frýdlant (TIŠEROVÁ et al. (327)), Bošilec (CHVOJKA et al. (314)) and Týn nad Vltavou (JOHN et al. (317)) and as well as by two inventories which record Polish coins, medals and banknotes from the collections of the Moravian Land Museum in Brno and the Silesian Land Museum in Opava (GROSSMANNOVÁ et al. (2)), and porcelain and stoneware coins and medals from the collection of the West Bohemian Museum in Pilsen (HUS (264)). Studies in monetary history examine, among others, the fiscal and currency strategy of Bohemian estates, silver trade in the 16th century, and the government bankruptcy of 1615 (VOREL (286–299)).

On the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the Czech Numismatic Society, a collective monograph called Stories of old coins appeared (MAŠEK, PETRÁŇ and LUTOVSKÝ (11)). The fifth volume of the inventory of coin hoards from Slovakia (BUDAJ and HUNKA (23)) and the synthesis Money in Slovakia published by the National Bank of Slovakia (TKÁČ et al. (68, 69, 253, 254, 285)) belong to fundamental works of Slovakian numismatics.

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ROMANIA AND THE WESTERN BALKANS

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Writing a text on the topic of Balkan Numismatics was complicated because of several reasons. On the one hand this was due to the negligence of social sciences and humanities in Romania, exemplified by the absence of specialized literature or its very late entry into state libraries. On the other hand, the general COVID-19 situation from winter 2020 till spring 2021 restricted mobility and made documentation difficult. These circumstances are reflected in our comment, which appear more limited for the Western Balkan countries. Furthermore, the absence of the previous report on the same topic (missing in the Survey 2008–2013) posed another difficulty. The page limitations did not allow us to mention all noteworthy works published between 2008–2013. Thus, we will only include a few of them.

Romania and Republic of Moldova

The list of the numismatic periodicals *SCN* (46), *CN* (48) and *MCSEE* (37) was completed by *RCAN* (50), which was established in Bucharest in 2015.

Speaking about general works, *Moneda în Republica Moldova*, published by a group of authors, presents the monetary situation in the region between the rivers of Dniester and Prut, which is currently the Republic of Moldova, with an emphasis on the medieval period and local issues (7). PÎRVULESCU discusses the Wallachian coin emissions by Radu I, which are kept in The Maria and Dr. George Severeanu Collection in Bucharest (54). CIULAVU investigates the activity of the Alba Iulia mint in Transylvania from the 17th–19th century (11). TOMA analyzes Transylvanian hoards from the late medieval to the premodern period (72). VÎLCU presents the Ottoman currency, which can be attested in the Romanian lands between 1687 and 1807 (78). BUTNARIU coordinates a synoptic publication on the numismatic collections of the museums of Botoșani (8), Bacău (9) and Chișinău (1). A selection of hoards from the historical region of the Principality of Moldova was published by BUTNARIU (10), another one concerning the Danubiano-Pontic province by CUSTUREA and TALMAȚCHI (12).

ȘEPTILICI discusses Angevin small silver coins struck with defects and mint-made errors (62). TĂTARU (63), PÎRVULESCU (51, 52, 53) and ȘEPTILICI (61) published Wallachian coins, highlighting their mint marks and making significant observations on the issues. TĂTARU and ILIE systematize Moldovan and Wallachian coins from the old collection of the Galați Museum (66). TOMA points out some hybrid Hungarian denars of Sigismund I (69) and re-studies the Hungarian denars of king Ladislaus I focusing on privy marks (71). TĂTARU and MUNTEANU zero in on the style of Hungarian denars from the Baia Mare mint, which is helpful for future chronological investigations (67). Eagle denars and the activities of the Transylvanian mints are the topic of the DUMITRACHE'S and MIREA'S article (25).

MUNTEANU, HONCU and APARASCHIVEI focused on the religious iconography of the Habsburg denars of the “Madonna with Child” type (41). DERGACIOVA and DJESMEDJAN published Genoese aspers of Licostomo for the first time, which had been known so far only on the basis of written sources (22). DERGACIOVA creates a classification of Moldovan divisional coins of unknown types (19), discusses lesser known issues from the late 14th (20) and early 15th centuries (18) and notices some schematic/geometric symbols in the shape of a tamga on divisional coins, which belong to the so called “cross with bars of equal length” type (17). Furthermore, she investigates Moldovan groats from the 16th century, which used the Lithuanian half groats as blanks (14). OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU briefly describes the typology of the first Moldovan issues (49).

An important discussion of the metrological aspects of Despot Vodă Moldovan orts and so-called “Tatarian zlots” mentioned in written sources was produced by NICOLAE (47). DERGACIOVA speaks about metallurgic standards used for the coining of Moldovan copper coins by Alexander the Good (13).

Various technical investigations (X-ray diffraction and SEM microscopy) have been conducted by MUNTEANU *et al.* (44) for the Polish poltura type monetary counterfeits. The percentages of the main metals used in the making of Wallachian ducats are listed by PÎRVULESCU (52, 54). DERGACIOVA and BOJKO-GAGARIN portray the silvering method

used for the production of the 16th-century Moldovan groats, based on X-ray analyses (21).

The overwhelming majority of the studies deals with hoards and monetary circulation, namely hoards of Friesach denars (34) and of Wallachian issues (65), mixed hoards of Balkan origin with Hungarian, Serbian (26), Genoese and Ottoman coins (22), coins of Moldovan origin (13, 15, 16), and Hungarian coin emissions (70, 76, 73). TĂȚARU presents the composition of a huge depot of over 47 thousand Ottoman *akçes*, which were hidden close to the trade road between Sibiu and Wallachia (64) during a crisis situation in the 15th century. Late medieval and modern numismatics have benefited from the publication of mixed hoards (27, 28, 42) and of large size, European silver coins, which circulated in Transylvania (74, 75, 77) and Wallachia (3, 4, 23, 24, 56) and were hidden due to the military events in Wallachia at the end of Michael the Brave's reign (2, 80) and in the context of troop movements during the war between Poland and the Ottoman Empire (45, 57). Hoards comprised of Ottoman (79) and Austrian coins (58) were hidden during the Russo-Turkish War (1768–1774); those consisting of Ottoman and Ragusan specimens most likely date back to Osman Pazvantoglu's raiding expeditions into Wallachia around the year 1800 (55). Depots of counterfeit Ottoman coins struck in the first half of the 18th century have been also attested in Wallachia (59).

On the basis of single finds of Arpad coins identified in graves, GĂLL discusses the development of the Dăbâca castle (29). He and HARHOIU investigate the necropolis of the settlement of Sighișoara – *Dealul Viilor*, which started to be used in the first decades of the 12th century (33). TOMA investigates a monetary finds-based method used to establish the chronology of the church and cemetery in the medieval village of Rădvani (68).

PURECE and CRÎNGĂCI ȚIPLIC systematize the coin discoveries made during the archaeological excavations on the medieval churchyards situated in Transylvania, pointing out some regional differences and chronological limits (60). MUNTEANU *et al.* publish monetary finds of Moldovan, European and Islamic origin, which were discovered in the cemeteries and churchyards located in the historical region of Moldova, in the Piatra Neamț – Dărmănești quarter (40, 38), in the Brad cemetery (39) and in the Iași – “Talpani” church (41).

The monetary situation of the medieval settlements placed in the historical part of Moldova is discussed by MUNTEANU *et al.*, namely for those in Borniș (43), in Roman – *La Piață* (32) and in Târgul Romanului – *La Bibliotecă* (30, 31). DERGĂCIOVA, BOLDUREANU *et al.* give an overview on Moldovan and Ottoman coins attested in the settlements of Oprișeni (6) and Bărlinți (5), which are situated in northern Bucovina.

LÁSZLÓ and GYÖRFI notice counterfeit coins of the Sigismund of Luxembourg-era in the 14th and 15th century (35), LÁSZLÓ and SZÁNCSUJ study the Polish groats and silver sheet strip residues found during the excavations at the Beldi-Mikes castle in Ozun (36).

Bulgaria

The journals specializing on numismatics are *NumSfraEpi* (82), *Ревверс / Revers* (Хасково / Haskovo).

As general works two monographic studies by KRÁSTEV can be mentioned, which focus on the monetary circulation of Dutch (98) and Ottoman coins (92), pointing out political and economic processes in the Ottoman Empire during the 16th and 17th centuries (92). A catalogue of a private collection was published by BEKOV and MITEV (81).

LAZARENKO presents a discussion of lesser-known types of Michael Asen's coins (102) and OVCHAROV focuses on rare issues by Ioan Sracimir (117). OVCHAROV (116), PARUSHEV (123) and DOCHEV (84) discuss rare Bulgarian copper coins from the end of the 14th – early 15th century. OVCHAROV debates on groats produced by the Terter's Dynasty (121) and in the Despotate of Dobruzha (120), and PETRUNOV pays attention to Bulgarian copper coins (129).

OVCHAROV systematizes countermarked coins in the Dobruzha circulation (118) and attends to copper coins of an imitative type from the middle of the 14th century (119). HARITONOV publishes modern coins of the token type, struck by the Bulgarian Christian Church of St. Nicholas in the Danube town of Lom between 1856–1868 for the local use (85).

Studies on monetary circulation are numerous. MITEV sorts Wallachian coin discoveries on the territory of contemporary Bulgaria (111), discusses the money circulation in Ovech (105) and other medieval cities up to the Ottoman conquest at the end of the 14th century (107), in the Fortress Ovech during the Ottoman period (106). He also arranges and discusses the Polish issues struck by Sigismund I and Vladislav Varnenchik (114). LAZARENKO makes precise observations on the coin circulation along the coast between Lake Varna and Cape Kaliakra (103), KRÁSTEV discusses different coins used in the monetary flow between the Bulgarian lands (97) and Kaza Ahiolu (90, 91). Hoards and/or fragments of them, including Bulgarian coins from the 13th, 14th centuries or early 15th century were published by

MITEV (110, 113, 109), ZHEKOVA (134, 135, 137) and KRASTEV (89). The hoards comprised of Ottoman coins were described by MITEV and GEORGIEV (115), KRASTEV (94), PENCHEV (125, 124) and DIMOV (83). Late medieval mixed hoards were introduced to a scientific audience by KRASTEV, MITEV *et al.* (99, 100, 95), PENCHEV (127), TOMOVA (131) and KLASNAKOV (88), those with large European silver coins by PENCHEV (126). PENCHEV also discusses a hoard of modern gold coins, mentioning their exchange rates (128).

Monetary finds, which were made during archaeological investigations, were published by ZHEKOVA for the “Palace Centar” site in Veliki Preslav (136), by PETRUNOVA for the „Sv. Bogoroditsa” Church of the Kaliakra Fortress (130), by IVANOV for the city of Plovdiv (87), by KUZOV and MITEV for the medieval fortress of the Dolni Chiflik municipality (101), as well as by UZUNOV for the village of Tetovo (132). HUBENOV and MITEV catalogued the archaeological and numismatic artefacts found in the Varna graves, which were left behind after the Russo-Turkish War (86). Among the single finds, Sasanian, Kufic and Far Eastern coins can be mentioned (133), as well as those minted by the British East India Company (96) and the 14th-century specimens of local origin (112, 108).

OVCHAROV performed metallographic analyses for Ioan Shishman’s groats (122).

KRASTEV (93) and MARKOV (104) discuss fake Polish and French coins of the late medieval period, which were in the Bulgarian monetary circulation, as well as the process of their counterfeiting.

Croatia, Serbia, and Macedonia

The numismatic periodicals in Serbia and Macedonia are *Нумизматичар / Numizmatičar* (140), respectively *Македонски нумизматички гласник / Macedonian Numismatic Journal* (Скопје / Skopje).

MIRNIK and KAPETANIĆ present a coin collection created in the years of the discoveries made in Sokol Castle (147). MIRNIK publishes coins found during the subterranean excavations of the actual Dubrovnik Cathedral (145). IVANIŠEVIĆ introduces an assortment of coins from the Mladenovac Museum and private collections to professional circles (142). Based on a formula proposed by Warren Esty, IVANIŠEVIĆ analyses the volume of the Serbian coinage, as well as the mutual ratios between the issues of the Serbian kings (141).

ZAFIROVSKI focuses on a unique imitation of the king Milutin dinar (151). MIRNIK’s paper analyses the Zagreb and “banovac” dinars from the 13th and 14th century, which are mentioned in written sources (146). The “banovac” dinars are also discussed by ŠTEFAN on the basis of the Mekiš-Zgruti hoard (150).

NAĐ lists new coin hoards, which update the Croatian part of Mirnik’s Coin Hoards in Yugoslavia (*CHY*) (148). MARIĆ JERINIĆ publishes a hoard of Ragusan, Ottoman, Spanish and Austrian coins from the Sokolica Monastery, which were hidden in the late 18th century (144).

The numismatic and archaeological artefacts discovered during the investigations of the Church of St. George in Mateško Selo and of the St. Panteleimon Church in the Municipality of Medveđa, as well as the churches’ phases of existence, are the subjects of discussions by PERKIĆ (149), respectively JOVIĆ *et al.* (143). Single coin finds from the site of Stari Tar (Tar – Stanza Blek, Istria county), which indicate a medieval phase of the site’s existence, were published by BENČIĆ *et al.* (139), those attested in the Church of St. Luke the Evangelist of the town of Novske by BELAJ and STINGL (138).

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RUS' AND RUSSIA

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The number of publications on Russian coins of the Middle Ages and the Modern Age, outlined by the end of the 20th century, has rapidly increased during the recent years. The following list of works that includes titles of over 700 books and articles, makes up even less than half of the publications on this subject that appeared during the period from 2014 to 2020. In the bibliographic lists all works are combined into 8 sections ordered chronologically and according to the subject of the research.

The growth of interest in Russian numismatics is caused by a number of reasons. One of the most important of them is the active growth of collecting observed in Russia in the recent decades, as well as the increase of the numbers of findings of coins and money hoards. These trends are reflected in the subjects of the newest publications. Particularly this is notable in the researches on medieval numismatics, where many articles are dedicated to the studies and descriptions of recently discovered hoards (150, 176, 200–202, 304–306, 476–478, etc.), publications of new types and varieties of Russian coins of the 10–17th centuries (264, 326, 353–356, 393 etc.), clarification of the dating or attribution of groups of coins belonging a certain type (267, 280–287, 291, 293–295, 298–300, 404–406, etc.). Numismatic materials originating in archaeological excavations of ancient Russian cities and other settlements are also published (82, 107, 112–115, 376, etc.), although we have to admit that this work is not yet being carried out actively enough.

The accumulation of new sources allows us to continue the studies of the role of Byzantine, European and other foreign coins (124, 176–229), as well as payment ingots (230–260) in the money circulation of the Kievan Rus'. The number of finds of the most ancient Russian coins (*srebrenik*) of 10–11th centuries is growing rapidly, and it allows us to clarify the area of their circulation. It is important to note that the new finds are represented not only by individual coins, but also by hoards, which included various types of silver *srebreniks* (133, 147, 152–164, 167, 168, 171–173). The information about the find of one of the oldest Russian gold coin minted in the late 10th century, shortly after the adoption of Christianity by Rus', is also published (174). Studies that deepen and generalize the available knowledge on the coinage of various Russian principalities of the 14–15th centuries are being held (297, 317, 363, 394 etc.). We should particularly note the publication of several monographs containing studies on coinage and monetary circulation of various periods (83–85, 90, 111, 118).

Over the last decade, research has also intensified in such areas of Russian numismatics, which had hardly developed before due to the scarcity of the source base. First of all, this covers the studies of imitative coin minting, carried out in Eastern Europe at different times. Because of the research of hoards originating from the territory of the Kievan Rus', "Slavic" imitations of Kufic dirhams are currently identified and successfully being studied (134–142, 149, 150, 166, 170). The minting of such imitations was held in the 10th century by some tribal unions of the Eastern Slavs, or possibly by Russian princes until the appearance of coins with Cyrillic inscriptions after 988. Work is underway to improve the systematization of "Taman" imitations of the Byzantine miliarences, as well as other coins minted in the 11th century on the Taman Peninsula, on the territory of the Tmutarakan Principality (125, 128–131, 134, 151, 165). The dating and affiliation to particular minting centres of various imitations of the Golden Horde dangs, which were made in some Russian principalities in the second half of the 14th and beginning of the 15th centuries (322, 323, 336, 346, etc.), are established. Attention is paid to the studies of the monetary systems of the Kievan Rus', regional peculiarity of currencies (87–89, 91–99, 277, 338, etc.), the "fur money" (101, 110, 145, 175) and the lead seals of 11–14th centuries (143–146). The latter, as is commonly believed, could be used for sealing up bundles of worn-out skins of small fur animals used as cash surrogates.

The main publishers of the works on Russian numismatics of the Middle Ages and Early Modern times were the following scientific collections' series: 1) "The Medieval Numismatics of Eastern Europe" ("Srednevekovaya

numizmatika Vostochnoi Evropy”, hereinafter - SNVE); 2) “Rus’, Lithuania, Horde in Artefacts of Numismatics and Sigillography” (“Rus’, Litva, Orda v pamyatnikakh numizmatiki i sfragistiki”, hereinafter - RLO); 3) Materials of the International Numismatic Conference “The Viking Era in Eastern Europe and Numismatic Objects of the 8th–11th Centuries” (“Epokha vikingov v Vostochnoi Evrope v pamyatnikakh numizmatiki VIII–XI vv.”, hereinafter - VEEE). A significant number of articles devoted to various problems of medieval numismatics was published in the collection entitled “Russian Money Circulation of the 10th–17th Centuries” published in 2015 and dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the renowned Russian numismatist P.G. Gaidukov (“Russkoe denezhnoe obrashchenie v X–XVII vv.: Numizmaticheskii sbornik k 60-letiyu Petra Grigor’evicha Gaidukova”, hereinafter - “Russkoe denezhnoe obrashchenie v X–XVII vv.”).

The growing interest among collectors in the Russian coins of the Medieval period and the early modern period led to a significant number of publications of various numismatic catalogues, reference books and identifiers during the recent years. The bibliographic review lists only those of a good level which cover the results of the latest numismatic studies (327, 328, 331, 472, 473).

The studies of Russian coins of the imperial period (18th – early 20th century) is also experiencing a significant upsurge. The classification of the imperial coins was fulfilled earlier by V. V. Uzdenikov, therefore the efforts of the current scholars are aimed at identifying new varieties and cataloguing all varieties of coins. The development of IT caused an increase of information and its availability. As a result, catalogues written by nonacademic authors on the basis of open sources (publications, auction sales databases, etc.) have become possible, while museum collections are either involved or even not even taken into account (589, 605, 708, 711, 737, 755, 764). The abundance of numismatic material online has led to the fact that in a number of catalogues coins can be published without being studied *de visu* (553, 761). The neglect of criticism of sources in an increasing number of publications may become a serious problem in the future.

The tradition of publishing the largest private collections is continued after an interruption that lasted a century. These collections are as rich as the museum collections (594, 595, 678, 703, 704). Catalogues are published in low circulation, usually 50 copies, and are not designed for wide distribution. Nevertheless, these publications play a significant role, marking the range of modern collections and showing the principles and features of their formation.

In addition to the published catalogs, previously unknown types of coins are introduced into the scientific circulation both from private collections (579–581, 739) and from museum collections (659, 771). Despite the seeming knowledge of coins of the imperial period, important and significant coins are found (619, 746). A separate study is devoted to the problem of forecasting coin finds (733).

A significant number of publications is still based on archival materials; the comprehensive analysis of material and written sources is becoming the norm in many researches. A growing number of articles is accompanied by full-text publication of archival documents (592, 631, 661, 666, 667, 670, 672, 709, 744). For the first time, a set of materials was published on the history of the re-minting of copper coins in Nizhny Novgorod in 1796–1797 (752). A complex and important topic – the monetary reform of Peter I – is actively developed with the help of documents (647, 650, 660, 665, 672, 740, 778–780, etc.). The analysis of written sources on the production and circulation of coins in Russia in the 18th century (565, 566) is carried out. The scientific circulation is gradually enriched by manuscripts, numismatic correspondence, catalogues, and rare editions from the collections of libraries and museums (73, 584, 663, 705).

The number of studies that involve the die archive (649, 652, 662, 666, etc.) has increased. The instruments themselves start being published - the dies and hubs from Barnaul (722) and Saint Petersburg (644). The complete incorporation of the die archive to the scientific research is yet expected in the future. An important source of numismatic knowledge have become the die impressions from the collection of the State Hermitage Museum (610, 612, 613, 616) and Goznak (567).

The gold coins of the reign of Nicholas II have become subject for much research (586–588, 596–600, 754–758). The types of obverse and reverse are identified for all denominations of coins, as well as their main varieties, and the catalogue is published (755). Based on this systematization, it became possible to extract among the array of gold portrait coins of Nicholas II those that were minted eventually by the Soviet government with old dies.

The study of the production and circulation of counterfeit coins continues. There one can mark the work with

written sources (620, 628, 629, 634, 673, 685, 686, 721, 774), publication of the coins themselves (552, 570, 622, 626, 632, 643) and the tools (569, 590, 609, 626), as well as the comprehensive analysis of sources (592, 630, 775). The research of counterfeiting coins at the mints was profoundly developed: among them are the roubles of Catherine II of the so-called “rough mint” supposedly produced abroad (735), the Russian-Polish coins from Koenigsberg (749) and the Dutch ducats secretly issued by the Russian government (657, 666–668, 750, 751, 760).

Recently the topic of counterfeiting coins to fraud the collectors has become urgent. A number of works are discussing the methods of detecting the forgery and identifying the coins (562, 593, 641, 683, 748). Despite of the increased number of high quality counterfeit coins and the danger they pose to numismatics, the number of studies on this subject is moderate. More attention was paid to a huge number of low-quality counterfeits, mainly roubles of the 18–19th centuries, that appeared in recent years (583, 624, 716). They are easily detected by experts, but mislead novice collectors.

The development of amateur treasure hunting led to a significant increase in finds both of single coins and coin hoards. However, a small number of finds by individuals is being recorded and published (766). The introduction of hoards and single finds from museum collections (572, 585, 687–689, 718, 765, 767) or from archaeological excavations (112, 561, 591, 677, 776) to the scientific circulation is continued. Some treasure complexes found on the territory of Russia include foreign coins, for example those of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (560). In some cases, numismatic materials allow to determine the time of origin of archaeological objects (602, 603, 762).

Among numerous works on money circulation, only those containing actual numismatics material were selected for this review (691, 728, etc.). Of particular note are studies on the regional features of money circulation (557, 571, 604, 702, 706, 768, 770). Also some studies are devoted to the infiltration of foreign coins into Russia (582, 728, 730) and the circulation of Russian coins abroad (576, 601, 623, 717).

The topic of the secondary use of coins was comprehensively examined: in jewellery and in applied arts (676, 720, 763), in gambling (573, 633, 674), in rites and mythology (753), and in costumes and jewellery of various peoples (625, 635, 729).

After many years of work, a three-volume encyclopedia of Russian numismatics (732) and a dictionary of numismatic jargon (734) were released. The dictionary of the collector of Russian coins (555) was published in the form of journal articles. Work has begun on the historical dictionary of Russian coin production of the 18th century (694). However, there remains an urgent need for an academic numismatic dictionary (encyclopedia), created by a team of specialists.

A large number of publications on the imperial period in 2019 are associated with two events of this year: the 100th anniversary of V. V. Uzdenikov and the 100th anniversary of the death of Grand Duke George Mikhailovich of Russia. In particular, for the first time in 40 years, a compendium entirely devoted to Russian coins of the 18th–early 20th centuries was published. (“Monety Rossii XVIII– nachala XX veka: Sbornik vospominanii i statei: K 100-letiyu V.V.Uzdenikova”, hereinafter - “Monety Rossii XVIII– nachala XX veka”). As part of the project of the International Numismatic Club “August Numismatist” a set of publications are made: the conference materials (“Avgusteishii numizmat. Velikii knyaz’ Georgii Mikhailovich. Sud’ba i nasledie. Materialy i issledovaniya”, hereinafter - “Avgusteishii numizmat”), the exhibition catalogue (2) and the biography of the Grand Duke (1).

All-Russian Numismatic Conference, held once every two years, remains the main forum for numismatists in Russia. The reports read on the conferences are published as brief abstracts (“Vserossiiskaya numizmaticheskaya konferentsiya. Tezisy dokladov i soobshchenii”, hereinafter - VNK). Numismatic readings are held annually by the State Historical Museum, materials of which are also published (“Numizmaticheskie chteniya Gosudarstvennogo Istoricheskogo Muzeya. Materialy dokladov i soobshchenii”, hereinafter - NCh GIM). Since 2018, the Museum of the History of Money of Goznak JSC began to hold international scientific conferences “Money in Russian History: Questions of Production, Circulation, and Usage” and publish collections of articles (“Den’gi v rossiiskoi istorii: Voprosy proizvodstva, obrashcheniya, bytovaniya. Sbornik materialov”, hereinafter - “Den’gi v rossiiskoi istorii”). In 2017, in Veliky Novgorod, the international conference “Russian Rouble. 700 Years of History” was held and a collection devoted entirely to coining and money circulation was released (“Rossiiskii rubl’. 700 let istorii. Materialy Mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii”, hereinafter - “Rossiiskii rubl’”).

Articles on various issues of Russian numismatics are occasionally published in collections of other scientific

conferences organized by museums and scientific institutions of Russia. For example, in the materials of the seminar “Archaeology of the Russian City” (“Arkheologiya russkogo goroda. Materialy nauchno-prakticheskogo seminarara” - hereinafter ARG).

Some articles on Russian numismatics are published in the ongoing collection “Numismatics and Epigraphy” (“Numizmatika i epigrafika”, hereinafter - NE), as well as in the numismatics collections of the State Historical Museum (Gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii muzei, hereinafter - GIM), State Hermitage Museum (Gosudarstvennyi Ermitazh, hereinafter - GE) and the Moscow Society of Numismatists (Moskovskoe numizmaticheskoe obshchestvo, hereinafter - MNO). Articles on a wide variety of numismatic topics are regularly published in magazines “Numismatics” (“Numizmatika”, issued twice per year in Moscow), “Petersburg Collector” (“Peterburgskii kollektzioner”, hereinafter - PK, issued 4–5 times per year in Saint Petersburg), and “Gold Chervonets” (“Zolotoi chervonets”, issued 4 times per year in Saint Petersburg).

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**CRUSADER COINAGE
(WITH MEDIEVAL GREECE & CYPRUS)**

Julian Baker

1. Monographs and scholars

The period 2014-2020 has seen the publications of two major books dealing in crusader coinages, one focusing principally on mainland Greece, the other on the eastern Aegean, though both touching also on wider areas of the Latin East [BAKER (4) and KASDAGLI (7)]. BAKER (2) covers some of the same ground as BAKER (4). A few interesting translations/reprints have appeared: MAZARAKIS (10) deals with ducats in different areas of the eastern Mediterranean: see an earlier note in BAKER (1), n° 178. METCALF (11) and TZAMALIS (19) touch variously on the coinages of Cyprus, Constantinople, Greece and the eastern Aegean. MORRISSON (12), NIKOLAOU and TOURATSOGLU (13), and SAVVIDIS and LIANTA (16), consider the period of the Latin Empire (1204-1261) in the context of wider Byzantine coin circulation. Three slighter monographs deal with hoards from the Aegean, Bulgaria, and Anatolia, respectively, which are particularly important for the profile of the coinages of Latin Constantinople: PENNA (15), which is reviewed in PAPADOPOULOU (14), WOLKOW (21), and ÜNAL (20). By contrast, DAY, MATZKE and SACCOCCI (5) is a monumental work, which surveys all the medieval coins of northern Italy. Given the prominence in the Latin East, first of Lucchese, and then of Venetian coins (and to a much lesser degree the coins of Verona, Aquileia, Genoa, Florence, etc.), this is a very important contribution. A significant monographic discussion of medieval coins in Italian manuscripts, which features amongst other denomination crusader bezants, received a second edition [TRAVAINI (18)].

This discussion makes us painfully aware of the many losses which medieval and crusader numismatics suffered during the covered period (2014-2020). While Anastasios Tzamalīs had passed away slightly earlier, in 2012, the spring and autumn of 2018 saw the losses, respectively, of Vassiliki Penna [STOYAS (17)] and of her teacher Michael Metcalf. Metcalf was the most significant scholar of crusader numismatics of the twentieth century: BAKER (3), IVANIŠEVIĆ (6), LIANTA (8), MAYHEW (9). Michael Matzke left us in May 2020 [ZÄCH (22)], Ioannis Touratsoglou beyond the period considered here (September 2021).

2. The first crusades and the journeys between west and east

The first and subsequent crusades brought western coins to the eastern Mediterranean in significant numbers. Of the previously cited bibliography, BAKER (2, 4), DAY and MATZKE, SACCOCCI (5), KASDAGLI (7), METCALF (11), TZAMALIS (19), are relevant for the present discussion. Some of the early movements of monetary specie are re-visited for Thrace and Istanbul [BAKER (23)], and very extensively for the kingdom of Jerusalem [KOOL (25)]. Lucchese coinage, so important in the early crusader period, is re-assessed in BALDASSARI (24). There are relevant site finds at Jaffa [KOOL (25A)].

3. Antioch and Edessa: coppers

Schindel has made contributions to the early copper crusader coinages of Syria, exploring variously locally cast imitations of Antiochene type [SCHINDEL (26)] and adding to the canon of official(?) Edessene issues in the light of new specimens [SCHINDEL (27, 28, 29)]. Resulting from this, he re-opens the debate on the Trapezuntine attribution of some related copper coins. Some finds in early crusader copper coins are also discussed in BAKER (4): see also BAKER (2) and KASDAGLI (7). WILLIAMS, SCHINDEL and KOOL (30) offers an early history of crusader numismatics, in which Edessene and Antiochene types play leading roles, as much as discussing the specimens which are now in Vienna.

4. Bezants and dirhems

Of the previously cited bibliography, TRAVAINI (18) and WILLIAMS, SCHINDEL and KOOL (30) are relevant for the present discussion, BAKER (4) occasionally. TRAVAINI (36) treats the phenomenon of imitation and adaptation more broadly. Another contribution considers gold issues of crusader Palestine within the wider panorama of 13th century gold minting in the Mediterranean [BALDASSARRI and LOCATELLI (32)]. Finds are presented in ALBACHKAMI (31),

KOOL, GALILI and SHARVIT (33), KOOL, SCHINDEL and BAIDOUN (34), respectively a thirteenth-century silver hoard from Aleppo which combined pieces of Ayyubid, Urtuqid, and crusader origin (the latter bearing AD1253), and two earlier assemblages of cut Islamic and crusader gold (one from the market, the other a shipwreck). In parenthesis, the crusader gold and silver coins of Islamic style formerly in the collection of the king of Italy were not treated in the Arab section of the *BdN online* [D'OTTONE RAMBACH (35)]. This material will await the publication of the relevant crusader sections dealing with the same collection.

5. Jerusalem

In the previously cited bibliography, BAKER (4) mentions such coins on occasion in the Greek context; KASDAGLI (7) lists a single find from Rhodes, KOOL (25A) a substantial number of archaeological finds from Jaffa, WILLIAMS, SCHINDEL and KOOL (30) Jerusalem deniers in the Vienna collection. On privately produced cash in the kingdom, see KOOL and TAL (37) and (38), on a modern forgery of a Turrus Davit issue, SCHINDEL (39).

6. Antioch: deniers

BAKER (4) mentions such coins occasionally: see also BAKER (2). WILLIAMS, SCHINDEL and KOOL (30) lists the relevant deniers in the Vienna collection.

7. Tripoli

WILLIAMS, SCHINDEL and KOOL (30) features Tripoli gros and deniers in Vienna.

8. Cyprus

BAKER (4) mentions such coins on occasion: see also BAKER (2). TZAMALIS (19) has a chapter devoted to Cyprus. There are numerous Cypriot coins finds at Rhodes [KASDAGLI (7)], and one at Ephesos [SCHACHINGER and SCHINDEL (43)]. Cypriot coin finds in Palestine are mentioned in KOOL (25A). For a particularly early Anatolian hoard containing Cypriot large silver issues, see PEKTAŞ (40) and (41). RICCI (42) discusses the metrology of the large silver coinage of Cyprus around the turn of the fourteenth century with reference to an unusually heavy specimen.

9. Cilician Armenia

The Anatolian hoard mentioned in last discussion also contained Armenian issues: PEKTAŞ (40) and (41). Another hoard is presented in PAVLOU (50). BAKER (4) mentions Armenian coins on occasion: see also BAKER (2). There are numerous finds at Rhodes: KASDAGLI (7). Excavation coins from within the kingdom were published in NERCESSIAN (46). Individual studies (and a corpus) concern the issues of Kings Levon I, [KOUYMJIAN (45), NERCESSIAN (47), VARDANYAN (55)]; Levon II, [NERCESSIAN (48)]; Gosdatin I, [BEDOUKIAN (44), NERCESSIAN (49), SARYAN (51), SIBILIAN (52), TARGAÇ (53), VARDANYAN (54)]. The apparent discontinuation of the *Armenian Numismatic Journal* (here: *ANJ*) has impacted negatively on the overall volume of works which have appeared in the years 2014-2020: compare BAKER (1), nos 71-95.

10. Latin Constantinople

With respect to the coinages of the Latin Empire (1204-1261) and possible related issues (e.g. Latin Thessalonica), there are long discussions in BAKER (4) built on ample data and offering new interpretations: see also BAKER (2). Some other output that has already been cited, either reprints of older works [METCALF (11) and TZAMALIS (19)], or general studies of Byzantine coinage [MORRISSON (12), NIKOLAOU and TOURATSOGLU (13), SAVVIDIS and LIANTA (16)], provide coverage. BAKER and GALANI-KRIKOU (58) deals specifically with the Latin Peloponnese. The remainder of the bibliography, some already cited [KASDAGLI (7), PENNA (15), ÜNAL (20), WOLKOW (21), SCHACHINGER and SCHINDEL (43)] discusses hoards and excavation coins, mostly billon trachea, although in one case gold hyperpyra partially of Latin mintage from Anatolia [ÜNAL (64)].

11. Greece

Medieval coinages were minted in mainland Greece and the adjacent islands in prolific numbers. While two re-prints deal extensively with these coinages [METCALF (11) and TZAMALIS (19)], BAKER (4) offers the most up-to-date holistic treatment: see also BAKER (2). BAKER and GALANI-KRIKOU (58) looks specifically at the situation in the Peloponnese. BAKER *et al.* (67) investigates an intensive period of coin issuance in the light of archaeometry. MAZARAKIS (73, 74), SAINT-GUILLAIN (76), looks at smaller issues/mints. A treatment of gold usage in the 13th and 14th centuries also touches on the Greek evidence [LOCATELLI (72)]. The remainder of the bibliography deals with finds of Frankish Greek coins, principally deniers tournois, from southern Greece itself [BAKER (57), KONDYLI *et al.* (61), BAKER and TSEKES (59), GALANI-KRIKOU (60), KOSSYVA (70, 71)], from the remainder of the southern Balkans [BAKER

(23), LIANTA (62), BAKER (65, 66)], from the eastern Aegean and western Anatolia [KASDAGLI (7), SCHACHINGER (63), CARROCCIO (68), SCHACHINGER (79)], from the Levant [KOOL (25A)], and from southern Italy [DEGASPERI (69), RANUCCI (75), SARCINELLI and PANZARINO (77), SARCINELLI, PANZARINO and TUNZI (78), YOON, LEVI, OLLÀ and TIGANO (80)].

12. The Eastern Aegean

KASDAGLI (7) represents by far the most significant contribution to the crusader coinages of the eastern Aegean, especially Rhodes and the issues of the Knights of St. John. The earliest phase of minting at Rhodes is illuminated in significant hoards from Milas and Ayasuluk [PEKTAŞ (40, 41), BAKER and PANCAR (83)]. The later *gigliati* of Rhodes, Chios, and the Anatolian beyliks are documented in two hoards [BAKER (81), BAKER and KLUGE (82)]. FOSS (84) considers the latter issues in their context. Beylik gold has been found in Sicily [LOCATELLI (72)] and one significant beylik issue is analysed in STAHL (86). Different eastern Aegean mints are extensively treated in MAZARAKIS (10) for gold, and TZAMALIS (19). The mint of Chios has been considered separately in KOUKOUNI (85). Coins of Lesbos, Chios, and Rhodes, also circulated in the southern Balkans and the Greek Mainland [BAKER (2, 4, 23), KONDYLI *et al.* (61), BAKER (65)].

13. Later European coins in the East, Venetian colonial coins, the Levant trade

From the turn of the thirteenth century onwards great quantities of European silver, and eventually gold, moved eastwards. This phenomenon features extensively in some of the broader analyses [BAKER (2, 4), METCALF (11), TZAMALIS (19)]. KASDAGLI (7) offers invaluable evidence for the presence of such coins in a particularly thriving Aegean location. DAY, MATZKE and SACCOCCI (5) provides coverage for some of the key domestic and colonial northern Italian coins involved in this process. STAHL (90) sheds light on a neglected phenomenon, the transfer of unminted silver to the east. The literature, some of which cited previously [BAKER (23), KOOL (25A), BALDASSARRI and LOCATELLI (32), PEKTAŞ (40, 41), KONDYLI *et al.* (61), BAKER and GALANI-KRIKOU (58), GALANI-KRIKOU (60), LIANTA (62), BAKER (65), BAKER, DOMPIERI and GÖKYILDIRIM (66), CARROCCIO (68), KOSSYVA (70, 71), LOCATELLI (72), BAKER (81), BAKER and KLUGE (82), BAKER and PANCAR (83)] documents variously early Venetian *grossi*, Venetian *grossi* of the second type onwards, Venetian coins of lesser metals (*soldini*, *torneselli*), Italian gold issues in crusader contexts, silver and billon issues of Sicily, Naples, Provence, France, and England.

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AFRICA, THE NEW WORLD AND OCEANIA

EAST AFRICAN (NON ISLAMIC)

Vincent West

Ancient Ethiopia (Aksum)

HAHN (11) provides a useful introduction to Aksumite coinage for the non-specialist or non-numismatist. Though the paper was prepared for a conference in 2006, with the publication of proceedings much delayed, it remains largely up to date.

DARLEY (2) considers Aksumite and Mediterranean trade with India, critiquing the accepted view that the weight of the Aksumite gold coinage follows the Roman model.

HARROWER *et al.* (17) publish five coins found in the excavation of an Aksumite town Beta Samati. PHILLIPS (21) describes two fragments of clay moulds found in 1906 which may be for coin flans.

In a welcome addition to the small number of recorded Aksumite hoards, MARTÍNEZ CHICO and GONZÁLEZ GARCÍA (20) publish a group of sixteen Roman solidi (Constantius II to Valentinian I) and seven Aksumite gold coins (three Ebana, one Ousanas II and three Kaleb) found in Yemen in 2018, presumed part of a larger hoard.

DOWLER (3) describes the relationship between Aksumite and Roman gold coins, including a useful illustrated catalogue of the 31 Aksumite and four Roman gold coins acquired by D. H. Müller in Yemen in 1898/99 and sold to the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna in 1904 (the descriptions of coins 8 and 20 do not match the illustrations). She suggests that the unique Aksumite gold of MHDYS is a Yemeni or Indian imitation, though its weight and fineness would argue otherwise.

The chronology, metrology and typology from the first coin-striking king Endybis up to the sixth century king Kaleb are discussed in an important series of papers in German, with English translations following, by HAHN (6-10), the later kings having been discussed by him in 2010 – no. 8 in WEST (23).

HAHN and KECK (15) provide an important study of the whole Aksumite coinage in German, superseding all previous studies. A new numbering system for the types is introduced. Corpuses, with die studies, of the 1466 gold and 2176 silver coins known to the authors in collections (public and private) and trade are included. It will be desirable to find a way of issuing addenda and corrigenda to these valuable corpuses, possibly adding the rarer copper types. It is to be hoped that an English translation will be produced.

KOWALEWSKI (19) discusses the symbols and regalia on Aksumite coins and GIROLA (5) the architectural types on later Aksumite silver coins. SCHINDEL (22) argues that the multiple rims on some Aksumite coins derive from their use on Sasanian coins. HAHN (13) discusses the Christian slogans on Aksumite coins. KECK and HAHN (18) suggest that the symbols on early Aksumite gold and silver coins indicate consecutive issues, and that those on later silver and copper coins indicate parallel workshops.

The collection of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, one of the largest public collections in the world, unrivalled in its representation of gold coins, is published in Sylloge format by HAHN and WEST (16). The majority of the 600 coins are from the cabinet of Bent Juel-Jensen (1922-2006). For reviews see BAUSI (1) and GIROLA (4).

WEST (24) provides a more detailed Aksumite numismatic bibliography.

Modern Ethiopia

HAHN (12) describes the circumstances of the first minting of Ethiopian coins in modern times for emperor Menelik II.

HAHN and GIROLA (14) publish a plaquette, badge and pin in memory of the Duke of Aosta, the last Italian viceroy of Ethiopia (1937-1941).

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MONNAIES AFRICANES

Josette Rivallain

Les publications autour de la monnaie africaine abordent principalement leur existence sous quatre angles : esthétique, économique, social et rituel et peu d'études lui sont consacrées ces années-ci. Cela peut paraître étonnant au moment où, dans le milieu bancaire francophone, sont à l'étude des projets pour battre et instaurer une nouvelle monnaie.

La monnaie est vue à travers l'observation de ses formes, les récits de voyages, les enquêtes de terrain. Le numéraire actuel donne lieu à peu d'études à caractère numismatique, relève de l'ordre de la finance et de l'économie. Les archives restent peu sollicitées, tant celles des anciennes compagnies commerciales traitant avec la côte africaines, que celles des pays africains et tout particulièrement celles des anciens pays colonisateurs. Les monnaies en usage actuellement, pièces et billets, apparaissent encore juxtaposées à des monnaies de l'époque précoloniale, n'entrant pas obligatoirement dans la même gamme de transactions car, si les monnaies sont indispensables dans les opérations commerciales, beaucoup sont associées au fonctionnement social, rituel de la société, n'exprimant pas par elles-mêmes obligatoirement la même forme de richesse. Les publications émanent d'universitaires, anglophones et francophones, mais également de la Banque de France, consécutif au don de l'un de nos collègues numismates, Jacques Schoonheydt, disparu depuis, de marchands d'art et de jeunes chercheurs africains, dont les travaux sont ou non publiés.

Ce sont des étrangers au continent qui ont introduit leur numéraire, accompagné de leur dénomination et de leurs modes de comptage, essentiellement grâce au commerce. Tout ceci reste encore peu étudié, mais il en reste des traces ; dinar, dirham, par exemple pour le monde arabe depuis un millénaire. Les pièces occidentales sont parvenues à l'ouest du continent depuis environ un demi-millénaire, certaines refondues pour les transformer en bijoux, ou utilisées directement comme tel, le thaler de Marie-Thérèse en étant un bon exemple au XIX^e siècle. Ce thaler, pièce d'argent à l'effigie de l'impératrice d'Autriche, a été à nouveau frappé après la disparition de la souveraine pour répondre à des besoins commerciaux, notamment vers l'Afrique. Depuis se poursuit une frappe clandestine sur le continent même. D'autres pièces, espagnoles, mexicaines, allemandes, anglaises, françaises, etc., ont circulé sur la zone côtière atlantique, et peu à l'intérieur, et leur usage proscrit à l'arrivée de la colonisation. Les monnaies occidentales, imposées par la colonisation, suivent un peu l'antique démarche provoquée par celles du grand commerce à grande distance depuis très longtemps. Le souvenir de ces interventions extérieures peut parfois se retrouver sur les marchés quand un vendeur en présente sur son étal et les vend à titre d'antiquité.

En Occident, les préoccupations autour de l'étude des monnaies africaines sont toutes autres. Bien souvent les numismates transposent leur regard et leurs préoccupations sur ces formes exotiques qui les intriguent. Nombre de numismates, collectionneurs de monnaies dites primitives, à travers leur contemplation, tentent d'aborder la variété des cultures et des savoirs qui paraissent s'exprimer à travers elles, de comprendre leur fonctionnement et leurs dénominateurs communs. Parfois ces approches s'appuient sur des documents de qualité, d'autres fois, moins. Des collectionneurs, professionnels ou non, publient également des ouvrages. Dans ce cas, la monnaie est assimilée à un objet d'art, hors contexte culturel solide.

Récemment la Banque de France a livré une superbe publication provoquée par le don de l'intégralité de la collection du numismate Jacques SCHOONHEYDT, disparu depuis, respectant l'esprit dans lequel elle a été constituée (5). La mise en forme et la rédaction ont été assurées par Marie-Hélène de Bazelaire ; l'ouvrage est abondamment illustré, accompagné d'un index des noms vernaculaires et d'une bibliographie de qualité. La publication de l'ouvrage de Jacques Schoonheydt permet de participer au mode d'approche qui a été le sien. Passionné par la diversité des systèmes de paiement, il a collecté des objets monétaires dans de nombreuses régions du monde, les classant, les ordonnant, imaginant un ordre précis dans cette diversité, ou arbre de décision constitué de 24 catégories. Une large place est faite à l'Afrique centrale. L'ouvrage que la Banque de France a publié est une invitation au voyage enrichie d'enquêtes et

de lectures de nombreux récits de voyages, des réflexions d'un homme cultivé qui avait étudié de nombreuses collections monétaires placées dans des musées publics ou privés. La publication est un tableau vivant des regards que des occidentaux éclairés ont pu avoir sur des modes complexes de paiement à travers le monde, de la variété des objets monétaires imaginés par les humains, quelque peu déconnecté des aspects historiques de la question.

Nombre de marchands, de fondations, s'intéressant à l'art primitif, ont dans leur fonds d'antiques monnaies africaines souvent dénommées monnaies primitives, en publiant à l'occasion un catalogue. Celui de l'institution genevoise, œuvre de Anne VANDERSTRAETE, richement illustré, présente une sélection d'objets d'Afrique et d'ailleurs considérés comme monnaie, établie sur des critères considérés comme esthétiques auxquels le monde occidental est sensible (8). Ils sont classés et étudiés par qualité de matériaux, ceux en métal étant privilégiés. L'auteur se contente de citer des passages de travaux d'auteurs reconnus, juxtaposant et mêlant des réalités très variées, hors du contexte culturel d'origine, insistant avant tout sur leur rôle dans le commerce, ignorant l'abondance du cuivre, l'ancienneté de ses usages et de leur histoire. Cet ouvrage du Musée Barbier Mueller est à consulter avec prudence, car ignorant les contextes culturels locaux, il mélange bien des réalités sous un abord sérieux, renforcé par des notes et une bibliographie.

Dans un tout autre esprit est conçu le livre collectif présenté sous l'étiquette 'FARINET', nom d'un prestigieux faussaire, réalisé en hommage à Jean-Michel Servet, professeur d'économie engagée, par ses collègues et amis (1). Ce livre a été publié une première fois en 2018, puis réédité en poche en 2021 chez Classique Garnier. Les différents auteurs, en majorité financiers et économistes, mais aussi sociologues et ethnologues, considèrent la monnaie tant comme un objet physique que comme un élément de conception économique complexe, chacun en fonction de son approche propre. Jean-Pierre Warnier et Josette Rivallain y ont insisté sur la diversité des formes monétaires de l'Afrique sur leur essence, leurs usages, leur forme comme garant de l'ordre de la société. La monnaie constitue un lien social avec des variantes dans le temps, l'espace, les cultures. Elle n'est pas seulement commerciale. Et la notion de faux y est toute relative, en Afrique comme ailleurs. A travers les pages, les auteurs envisagent également la monnaie comme un outil de la construction de l'Etat, reconnu en tant qu'élément de protection et de solidarité.

Un regard bien différent est apporté par les chercheurs étudiant archives, livres de compte, récits des compagnies liées au commerce côtier des XVII^e, XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles, et surtout par ceux qui mènent des enquêtes de terrain. Ainsi Collen E. KRIGER rappelle les modes de règlement du commerce dans le Golfe de Guinée au cours de la période moderne quand les Compagnies commerciales faisaient la loi le long de la côte (3), et dans le reste du monde, introduisant numéraires et souvent étalons de troc qui, après coup, devinrent progressivement référents de monnaies sociale et familiale.

Un secteur de la côte atlantique, au cours de la période moderne, est particulièrement étudié celui de l'ancienne Côte de l'Or. Il correspond en partie au sud du Ghana actuel. Klas Rönnback, audacieusement, à partir de sources historiques variées, peu connues, examine le mode de fonctionnement du commerce transatlantique de l'esclave et son impact sur différentes demandes émanant de la zone côtière, comme celle de la nourriture, en lien avec les migrations de populations et les pressions exercées par la RAC (Royal African Company), les spéculations qui en découlent, les variations des salaires, le tout avec, en toile de fond, l'or et l'esclave comme garants des paiements (4). Judith SPICKSLEY se focalise sur un point précis du fonctionnement de la monnaie : l'étape de la dette. Au XVII^e siècle, c'est l'or qui était reconnu comme garant des emprunts, aux yeux des européens engagés dans le commerce, mais au tournant du siècle suivant le métal précieux est débouté par la valeur représentée par l'esclave, autour duquel les informations restent pudiques (6). Relisant les sources tant arabes qu'européennes, Jarvis L. HARGROVE approfondit la connaissance des routes commerciales d'alors, l'impact politique et monétaire qu'elles ont pu avoir sur l'évolution des royaumes akans, et plus particulièrement de l'Ashanti au XIX^e siècle, avant la conquête coloniale (2). Les auteurs complètent les informations écrites par le recours à la tradition orale indispensable pour mieux comprendre le fonctionnement des sociétés des régions situées au-delà de la zone côtière car elles n'étaient pas alors abordées par les étrangers occidentaux.

Lors de l'installation de la colonisation, l'appréciation du terme de monnaie diffère entre les interlocuteurs et l'un des buts du système qui se met en place est d'implanter la monnaie et le système monétaire créé et diffusé par le conquérant. Il s'agit alors d'une étape délicate. Elle est abordée par SOHI Blesson F. (6) qui, dans le cadre du contexte économique du début de la période coloniale, s'interroge sur les modes de circulation des monnaies anciennes en Côte d'Ivoire, de leur tolérance et de leur interdiction. En effet, Les premiers administrateurs coloniaux, chargés d'imposer

un nouvel ordre, ont eu la tâche d'introduire une monnaie nouvelle, mais il leur a fallu, au moins au moment du règlement de l'impôt, constater l'existence de variétés locales, très éloignées des pièces métalliques et des billets de l'Occident. Ils ont du chercher à établir des équivalences entre monnaie locale et monnaie imposée par eux, étape indispensable pour assurer la diffusion du numéraire. Une autre démarche qui a entraîné la diffusion du numéraire a été de prélever dans la population une main d'œuvre, qui, rémunérée, a court-circuité les habitudes locales et introduit un nouvel ordre social. Car la monnaie est bien un des piliers de l'ordre social.

De jeunes chercheurs travaillent à partir des données qu'ils recueillent auprès d'autorités traditionnelles, sources d'informations encore trop peu sollicitées et pourtant très riches. Bien peu de ces travaux sont déjà publiés. Pour information, l'on peut mentionner la thèse en cours de Megang Ariane Justie, centrée sur un royaume du sud Cameroun. A côté du numéraire officiel, la monnaie traditionnelle est thésaurisée par le souverain de la région, le trésor étant sous la protection de gardiens, quelle qu'en soit la matière : sel, métal chèvres, esclaves. Jusque là, toute nouvelle monnaie qui parvenait dans la région devait lui être remise, et c'est le souverain qui en assurait la distribution et la destination. Ce mécanisme permet de comprendre comment, en bien des endroits, les souverains côtiers ont pu s'enrichir au contact des Européens, contrôler le commerce, et de quelle manière ils ont pu barrer la route de l'intérieur aux étrangers.

Selon les régions les monnaies revêtaient des formes variées qui, peu à peu, au contact des commerçants étrangers, ce sont uniformisées. Ces monnaies endogènes offrent des aspects très variés correspondant à des étapes de la vie des différentes sociétés dans le temps : chèvres, sel, fer, esclaves, et, selon les régions, pagnes en raphia, en coton, bijoux, coquilles de mollusques (les cauris étant venus par l'intermédiaire des étrangers). Au fur et à mesure que le temps passait, que le numéraire supplantait les autres habitudes de paiement, les anciennes monnaies glissèrent vers la participation au culte des ancêtres toujours garants de l'équilibre de la société. Elles sont sorties lors de cérémonies précises et très contrôlées.

La monnaie est à comprendre en grande part en lien avec l'organisation des sociétés traditionnelles et relève des sphères sociales et religieuses fondements de la vie de la société. Il y a eu de nombreuses sociétés et beaucoup de formes de monnaies. Les mécanismes qui les animent sont moindres, mais pas plus simples à étudier pour autant. A travers les études en cours, dont on espère de prochaines publications, il ressort que les influences extérieures au continent ont joué un rôle déterminant : introduites par le commerce, elles ont été intégrées dans les mécanismes sociaux et rituels par de nouveaux venus, au point d'apparaître comme monnaie traditionnelle après coup. Bien sûr, de nombreuses variantes existent et, actuellement, l'étude sur le terrain est indispensable pour, de l'intérieur, en analyser les nuances.

Les récentes études publiées ou en cours autour de la monnaie africaine explorent l'histoire des cultures de ce continent, leur fonctionnement, l'impact exercé par les mondes extérieurs, la stratigraphie des usages monétaires. Il faut alors faire appel à des approches politiques, religieuses, sociales et économiques complexes pour expliciter le choix des matières, des formes, des fonctionnements de la monnaie ainsi que de ses originalités. Le champ du travail de recherche sur ces questions reste largement ouvert, l'approche des traditions s'annonce prometteur, bien que difficile à explorer, d'autant qu'il met partiellement en lumière des interdits que nul n'aime à voir exposés. Sans ces connaissances du passé, la compréhension des numéraires africains d'autrefois et en devenir est difficile à appréhender.

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NORTH AMERICAN AND WEST INDIES COLONIAL COINS

Jérôme Jambu and Jesse C. Kraft

The study of American colonial coins is unequal for a number of reasons. First, coins from francophone areas have not yet benefited from the same rich study of those from the anglophone regions. Another reason is that, in the study of anglophonic numismatics, certain themes remain prominent (such as copper coins and their falsification) while others are just starting to emerge (the circulation of foreign coins, for example). Furthermore, current studies point out that we should not compartmentalize these areas, but should study them through the global viewpoint of the empires that made them. It is important to go through the large areas under French and English dominion, from the Windward Islands to Canada, in order to be able to understand a variety of complex mechanisms. This is why, for the first time since the creation of the Surveys, we decided to have a common chapter dedicated to the entire northern American colonial area, which spreads from the previously named West Indies Islands to the doors of the Arctic Ocean. One could object that the territories under Hispanic domination, behind those empires on the eastern coast of the continent, were very much linked to this background as they seized and exploited the precious metal mines. But it is because France and Britain did not have direct access to these resources that they had set specific monetary policies, whether similar or discordant from one another. Let us bank that this approach will reveal all its meaning in the next years as this comparative perspective will progress; therefore, we opted to go on that path until mid-2021.

It is necessary to start by studying what has been done in the French colonies to reveal the first coin production that was exclusively dedicated to American Colonies. For that, we start by citing one of the latest works published by our beloved Sydney F. Martin, former president of the American Numismatic Society who left us in 2020: *French Coinage Specifically for Colonial America* [MARTIN (20)]. In this brilliant book, realized in the pure American tradition (notably including a die study), Martin revealed to us all the specimens of coins produced in France for the American Colonies between Colbert and The Regency. Thanks to his personal connections with passionate researchers, he added, unpublished documents (translated into English) found in the National Archives in Paris. Due to his impressive precision and high numismatic value, just a few minor historical inaccuracies could have completed Martin's work. Clearly, neither France nor Canada yet dispose of such works. This may be because many collectors are not as attentive and likely to repeat the same stories rather than to question them [CHARLET (3), SAINT-ARNAUD (27)]. However, thanks to the mobilisation of a huge number of unpublished archives, a great step was recently made in the identification of the first coins minted in France for America: indeed, 5- and 10-sol coins, long attributed to Canada or New France in its entirety, were proven to be only authorized for the "French West Indies Islands" [JAMBU (14)]. For sure, many other rectifications of this type are still to be made on the attribution of Franco-American colonial coins.

Perhaps the most active area in the United States colonial and pre-Federal period continues to be copper coinage and, in particular, counterfeit pieces. These have long-been favorites among American numismatists, who cannot seem to write enough about the topic. In 2015, Christopher McDowell offered his take on Abel Buell and the History of the Connecticut and Fugio Coinages [MCDOWELL (23)]. This book wonderfully converges upon, not only the numismatic battles that took place between the state and the pre-Federal national governments throughout the 1780s, but also upon the problems of counterfeit coinage that was so pervasive throughout the period. As McDowell so brilliantly interweaves, sometimes the distinction between an official coin and a counterfeit were easy to blur in the Confederation period – especially when the same person was making both types of coin! Abel Buell – coiner/counterfeiter, inventor, mechanic, cartographer, etc. – has long served as one of the most colorful characters in numismatic literature on the late colonial and pre-Federal periods, and McDowell's monograph of him serves as the ultimate reference on the man, the coins, and the history that weaves them all together. The last full-scale treatment of Buell was last published in the late 1950s, and I would expect another 60 years to elapse before anyone could offer as compelling of a volume of the topic as McDowell.

Interestingly, in 2020, Jack Howes, James Rosen, and Gary Trudgen wrote *The History & Coinage of Machin's Mills* – what could be considered a companion publication to McDowell's book on Buell [HOWES, ROSEN and TRUDGEN (10)]. Much like the Buell, Thomas Machin was a bit of a rogue coiner who skirted the lines of official and counterfeit – largely known for his work in the latter. While holding a sub-contract to strike a variety of official state copper coins of the 1780s, Machin also used the opportunity to strike counterfeit British halfpennies. Although located in New York, Machin's Mills was responsible for at least some of the copper coinages struck for Vermont and Connecticut. The authors were able to elevate this book (not that it necessarily needed it) by situating Machin's Mills within the larger framework of post-colonial, pre-Federal numismatics. This positively places Machin's Mills as an important supplier of money during the period, rather than a group of rogue counterfeiters, as the establishment had been viewed by numismatists for decades beforehand.

A third text which also furthers the field dramatically is *Contemporary Counterfeit Halfpenny and Farthing Families* by Roger Moore, John Howes, and Bob Bowser [MOORE et al. (24)]. While, yes, this book also includes coins issued by both Buell and Machin's Mills, the authors expand beyond that and offer the first attempt to classify the many, many other counterfeit British copper coins that are known to have only circulated in the North American colonies. By classifying the different coins into "families," based on the likelihood that they were made by the same individual or group of individuals, a better understanding emerges as to the extent that some of these seemingly-lowly counterfeiters operated. The authors formed these families by linking counterfeit coins that share one or more of the following: dies, die punches, or striking similarities in design that would be too coincidental to have not been made by the same operation.

Here again, the French colonial copper coins did not meet with the interest of collectors and researchers. Maybe because of the lack of archives. Maybe because, for reasons that recently started to appear, copper was very rarely used or accepted in the islands of the Antilles notably in Guadeloupe and Martinique. Copper coins were mainly "crisis coins" in French West Indian Islands [JAMBU (11, 12)]. Again, despite numerous old myths still difficult to forget [BAZOGÉ (2), COMPAROT (4)], we begin to have a better comprehension for Santo-Domingo Island: copper coins from the beginning of the 19th century were clearly imitations of Revolutionary French coins, minted after the conquest of the entire island in 1801 by the former slave, General Toussaint Louverture in the Spanish mint in Santo-Domingo City. The symbol of this "military Mint" has since been identified as "a key" [JAMBU (15)].

After pre-Federal copper coinage, another topic that has become popular in American numismatics is the circulation of foreign coinage. While this phenomenon was already well-known, it appears as if both researchers and collectors of the material are beginning to fully recognize the importance that these pieces played in the economies of early America and are accepting them into their collections. A good introduction to the topic can be found in *Thalers and Pence: Foreign Coins in America 1607-1857*, by GOSSARD (9). Through the various coins that Gossard lists and describes, a better understanding of the monetary circumstances that consumers and merchants faced in the early centuries of European settlement – and, quite frankly, an appreciation for the simplicity that is the modern-day decimal monetary system. The book, however, does have a few shortcomings. For instance, the dates that bookend the period of research are too convenient; situated between the founding of Jamestown in 1607 and the Coinage Act of 1857, which legally ended the circulation of foreign coinage in the United States. The earlier date ignores the historical, but failed settlement on Roanoke Island, while the latter ignores the fact that foreign coinage circulated well past 1857 for a variety of reasons – whether economic downturn or the remote nature of certain places out West. Furthermore, the book also ignores archaeological evidence. With this tool, Gossard would find that, while Roanoke Island had failed, there was a numismatic presence on the island. The use of archaeology not only helps push the understanding of time and dates, but also helps broaden the understanding of the various types that circulated. Gossard, for instance, does not mention the circulation of Nuremberg jetons whatsoever, but archaeological evidence suggests that these were an important component of small change in late-16th and early-17th centuries British America.

In a way, the study of foreign coinage circulation in North America is still in its infancy. Studies that include catalogues, like GOSSARD (9), generally hit the key coins—Dutch Lyon dollars, English/British copper and silver, and, of course, Latin American silver—but a true understanding of how and why certain types of coins circulated. A virtuous attempt at this understanding is found in "The Curious Persistence of the New York Shilling," by John M. Kleeberg, as found in the May 2016 issue of *The Numismatist* [KLEEBERG (17)]. The New York shilling (also called simply the

York shilling) was a ghost currency, or unit of account that was never actually represented in a struck coin of its own. The denomination was based on the Spanish-American real, worth one-eighth of a dollar. Thus, a York shilling was equal to 12½ cents. While the article is good for understanding that the York shilling directly corresponded to the real, it does not quite explain why (or how) people continued to use the York shilling long after those coins ceased to circulate in the country. Furthermore, the article does not mention the Pennsylvania shilling, the New England shilling, or any of the other state/regional units of account that existed at the time. These other ghost currencies did not have a corresponding coin but was in use for just as long as the York shilling.

The foreign coins in the English and French West Indian Islands were Spanish-American and Portuguese-Brazilian. Anglophonic researchers have already published a great amount on this topic. More recently, researchers have embraced two new subjects: the cutting of Spanish coins into mocos – a French denomination on which an article will soon be published to explain its origin and the use of false and countermarked Portuguese gold coins that can be attributed to England and English American colonies with certainty. The mocos still intrigue British and Americans that made progress on this topic: ECKARDT (6B) in St-Kitts, ECKARDT (6A) between Dominica and Trinidad, WOLFER (31) for Martinique, etc. The second ones were well put in perspective by SMOAK (28), and without being a purely numismatic analysis, offers a contextualisation and a precious understanding of the phenomenon. Finally, one can notice that, despite the little number of publications or major articles in the recent years on the modified coins from the French and English Caribbean islands, the sale of some famous collections. Thanks to the participation of specialists such as Ken Eckardt, we have very good quality catalogues. For example, “The Atteck Family Collection of West Indies Holy Dollars” (VE Stack’s Bowers Gallery, New York, August 2015) and “The Lyall Collection of Cut and Countermarked Coins” (VE DNW 149, London, September 2018).

Regarding a specific coin, no topic has been more controversial in American numismatics over the past half-dozen years than the time and place of origin over the Continental Currency coins dated 1776. For most of the historiography of this coin, it reigned supreme as the first coin to be struck for the fledgling United States. To most numismatists, although there was never any concrete evidence to support it, the most obvious answer to its origins was on the coin itself – that it was struck in 1776 by the Continental Congress, presumably in Philadelphia. However, in 2014, Catherine Eagleton found some damning evidence against this supposed truth, as reported in “Collecting America: Sarah Sophia Banks and the ‘Continental Dollar’ of 1776,” in the *Numismatic Chronicle* [EAGLETON (5)]. Deep in the collection of Sarah Sophia Banks, held by the British Museum, was a 1776 Continental dollar along with a note that mentioned that the coin was “never current, struck on speculation in Europe, for sale in America.” Furthermore, an advertisement for the coin at six pence each (far below a dollar) suggested that these pieces were nothing more than medals, tokens, or, at best, fantasy coins. Eagleton’s theories were then expounded on by Erik Goldstein and David McCarthy in “The Myth of the Continental Dollar,” as found in the January 2018 issue of *The Numismatist* [GOLDSTEIN and MCCARTHY (8A, 8B)]. Retorts to this saga can be found in John M. Kleeberg’s, “The Continental Dollar: British Medals or American Coins,” in the December 2018 issue of the *Journal of Early American Numismatics* [KLEEGERG (16)] and in “The Continental Dollar, Coin or Medal?” by Robert L. Rodriguez and Tony J. Lopez in *The MCA Advisory* of June 2021 [RODRIGUEZ and LOPEZ (26)].

A major recent boost to the overall academic study of early American numismatics has been the publication of the *Journal of Early American Numismatics* (JEAN) by the American Numismatic Society. Since its inception in June 2018, JEAN has quickly proven itself to be the leader in the publication of early American numismatics. Formerly the *Colonial Newsletter*, the new format of JEAN has allowed for the journal to be marketed to libraries and universities. Before, the lower quality kept this important publication (and, yes, it was still very important prior to the transformation) as a collector’s newsletter and not necessarily the first location that a non-member of the Colonial Coin Collectors Club (who published the *Colonial Newsletter*) would look for valid, well-researched information on the topic. While that was the case, it did not come off as such. JEAN, on the other hand, is a publication that looks and sounds like it contains the highest-quality information on the topic. Furthermore, the journal has expanded a bit beyond the scope of the earlier format by including several pieces on Latin American coinage. Look forward to years of quality research within the pages of JEAN.

Some of the most magnificent research conducted in early American numismatics, however, has not been found in a book. For several years, Robert L. Rodriguez and Tony Lopez have been conducting the very first scientific

numismatic analyses utilizing the Advanced Photon Source (APS) synchrotron technology offered by the Argonne National Laboratory in Lemont, Illinois. This is one of the premiere particle accelerators in the world. Rodriguez and Lopez have used x-ray micro-diffraction to recover lost surface information from the subsurface metal lattice at depths of 20-25 microns. Information that was thought to forever lost (and, for all intents and purposes, was forever lost) can now be recovered due to the ingenuity of Rodriguez, Lopez, and the scientists at the Argonne National Laboratory.

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UNITED STATES AND CANADA, 19-20 C.

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Since the last edition of the Survey of Numismatic Research in 2013, there has been a push in Internet-based and crowd-sourced research. The most notable digital repository of original numismatic documents is the Newman Numismatic Portal (NNP) from Washington University in St Louis. Currently, the website counts over 3.5 million pages of numismatic documents, and with hundreds of institutional and individual contributors adding content, the site continues to grow exponentially. While the NNP is not in itself original research, it gives researchers access to resources that otherwise could be difficult to access. The quandary with including Internet-based research through websites, forums and listservs is the problem of the permanence of the record. More work and insight are needed on the ability to make information on the Internet permanently searchable and the sources verifiable. Perhaps experts in Internet-based sourcing can speak on this matter. And maybe by the next edition of this survey there will be a definite decision on the inclusion of Internet-based resources in the survey. For now, the survey will continue to examine research produced in print, but widely available on the Internet.

Research into modern American, Canadian and Mexican numismatics covers an array of topics from the macro, such as a country's economic history, to the micro, a die variety of a specific coin. In Canadian numismatics, the Charlton Standard Catalogues are still the main references for collectors. New editions continue to add and hone the information. For specific collections, research into colonial tokens – see BAKER (8), BERRY (9) and FAULKNER (44-47) – and chartered bank notes [see GRAHAM (62-64), NIENHUIS (111), WILDE (154, 155) and ZIGLER (160, 161)] continue to gain traction. The so-called “blacksmith coppers” originally catalogued by Howland Wood is also an area of great interest for its American component, see BIANCAROSA (11), CASEY (29), HOOVER (70-72) and MOORE (108). Canadian decimal coinage received little coverage, with only the efforts of TURNER (151) pursuing his research of large cent varieties, and RICHER (118, 119) on Newfoundland gold coins to recognize. New research into discount coupons is presented in articles written by ROEBUCK (121, 122).

For the American component, as in previous numismatic surveys, the bulk of the research output covered in this period focuses on very specific topics, primarily centered on modern American coinage. And according to certain book titles (see FLYNN (54, 55) and WEXLER and FLYNN (153) for example) these works are official, comprehensive or authoritative. I am not an expert on American numismatics, but I'm sure the next installment of this publication will contain newer works on the same topics. For the ever-popular U.S. silver dollars, Eagleton, Goldstein and McCarthy, and Kleeberg have contributed articles about the Continental dollar (cf. Jambu & Kraft's *Survey*); FERGUSON (49), JULIAN (88) and HILL (67) on the 1804 dollar; JULIAN (87) and SHOLLEY (140) on Gobrecht dollars; BROTHERS (17), BURDETTE (27), FRANKLIN (57), STANDISH (146) and CRUM *et al.* (32) on Morgan dollars; and DANNREUTHER (33) on Peace dollars. BURDETTE (26), LENEVE (98) and DANNREUTHER (34) furthered the knowledge on U.S. proof coins. While many researchers, like Amato, Borckardt and Jacobson, Bowers, Bugert, Doughty, Eckberg, Fuhrman, Izydore, Parsley, Rogers, Wiles, and most contributors to the *John Reich Journal* (see the Bibliography) have delved deeply into examining die varieties and other specific details on U.S. decimals. On U.S. gold see BAIR (7), FERGUSON (48), HYHOLM (77), and KAGIN (90).

For research into American institutions, the U.S. Mint's expense records are published by R. W. Julian in a series of articles in *The Numismatist*. A history of the U.S. Mint is offered in SMITH *et al.* (145)'s book, while works by TRUDGEN (150), MCMORROW-HERNANDEZ (105) and SCHWAGER (131) examine other private mints. Little has been written on U.S. banking history, although SULLIVAN (147) published an annotated bibliography of U.S. bank histories. Issues of gender and social classes in U.S. institutions are covered in articles by BURDETTE (25), and ERNST (42), KABELAC (89)'s book on women presidents of the U.S. Mint.

On paper money and financial documents, see FRANK and SEELYE (56) for their works on military scrip and

tokens. For material related to the War of 1812, see KAGIN (91), on the Civil War, including Confederate currency, see BERTRAM (10), BOWERS (16), FANNING (43), and on modern wars, see O'DONNELL (112), RILEY (120), and SCHWANN (133). Bowers's encyclopedia of obsolete paper money is an important update to the Haxby volumes of the late 1980s. The first part of Illka Makitie's series of articles on circular letters of credit in the *International Bank Note Society Journal* covers America.

Finally, for tokens and medals, articles on specific U.S. private tokens and scrip are provided by Brothers, Sciore, Schenkman, Gunther, Moore, Shafer and Sheehan, and Kraft (see the Bibliography). Look for works on U.S. medals by Alexander, Anderson, Gomez, Hyder and Shelvin, Johnson, Lipson, Margolis, McDowell, Miller and Gianotti, Musante, Sholley, Hyder and Wehner (see the bibliography). For articles on engraving and design of U.S. coins and notes, see BROTHERS (20), HENGEVELD (66), TOMASKO (149), HILL (68), REZAK (116), and HURLE (74).

Some novel areas of research found in recent publications are the coin holders produced over the years either for specific coins, see HUFNAGEL (73), or for entire sets, see LANGE (95, 96), as well as a book cataloguing coin slabs, see SCHWAGER (131), and continued work on savings banks by HOLZ (69). AKIN, BAIRD and AKIN (2) is the first book to provide an archaeological overview of the coins and tokens found in a wide range of North American archaeological sites. It is an important tool for archaeologists working with coins, and for numismatists and collectors to understand the importance of archaeological context. This theme of numismatics and archaeology is exemplified in LEE (97) on the coins of Fort Atkinson.

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OCEANIA

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A principal source of published information on Australian numismatics has been the *Journal of the Numismatic Association of Australia* published by the Association, while that for New Zealand is the *New Zealand Numismatic Journal* published by the Royal Numismatic Society of New Zealand. These two journals contain some meritorious articles on subjects outside the scope of this Survey, in particular papers on ancient numismatics and other topics. In addition, there are various State numismatic society publications, the more important of which are the *Victorian Numismatic Journal*, which replaced the *Australian Numismatist* and is a joint publication of the Numismatic Association of Victoria, the Geelong Numismatic Society, the Melbourne Numismatic Society and the Morwell Numismatic Society, the *Journal (and Report) of the Australian Numismatic Society* (Sydney), the *Australian Numismatic Society Queensland Branch News Bulletin* and the *Queensland Numismatic Society Monthly Magazine*. Another source, but for general articles, is the *Australasian Coin & Banknote Magazine*.

While most references are given to the usual printed copy, there is a trend to publish on-line. With the growing expense of producing hard copy, coupled with a change in world order due to COVID-19, the move to virtual conferences and on-line publication can only accelerate.

In the listings below we start with General articles, followed by Biographies and Obituaries. Then come the relatively small sections on coins of Australia, and New Zealand and Oceania respectively, and Merchant tokens of Australia and New Zealand (it would be artificial to split these as the tokens of each country were used in both). There follow sections on Varieties, Bonistics (banknotes and related items), Commercial Chits, Value-Added Check Pieces and Passes, and Food tokens.

Under General is the book by Peter LANE on the numismatic collection in the Art Gallery of South Australia (12), and the recent publication by Walter R BLOOM and Alf CAMPBELL on the dog registration discs of Western Australia (2). Both represent cultural histories in their respective Australian States seen through the numismatic lens. Then there is the most recent volume 30 of the *Journal of the Numismatic Association of Australia*, which is devoted to the teaching of numismatics in various contexts; many of the individual articles are included even though the context is ancients.

The Obituaries section is unfortunately expanding as the hobbyists age.

The sections on coins and merchant tokens are small in comparison with the preceding Surveys, but it does include some important articles, including (52) and (53).

Varieties continue to be popular in Australia; in addition to the listed articles, there are regular features in the *Australasian Coin & Banknote Magazine*.

Banknotes are well studied in Australia and New Zealand, and this is reflected in the large number of articles and books in this area. Mick VORT-RONALD has been particularly prolific and his publications (80-125) form the main source of information on Australian banknotes.

There has also been on-going interest in commercial chits, value-added check pieces, and passes, with a wide-ranging contribution by Bernie BEGLEY (134-145) and George SHEA (153-201) to the study of the medal-like objects badges and fobs.

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ASIAN AND ISLAMIC COINAGES

INTRODUCTION – PRE-ISLAMIC AND ISLAMIC COINS

Arianna D'Ottone Rambach

This rich section of the *Survey of Numismatic Research* includes Kushan, Sasanian, Guptas and (Iranian) Huns as well as Pre-Islamic and Islamic coins from Central Asia, the Near East and North Africa. Unfortunately the usual section devoted to al-Andalus is missing from this *Survey*.

The somewhat exceptional – due to pandemic circumstances – range of seven years encompassed by the *Survey* (2014-2020) reveals an ever-growing scholarly interest for the Oriental issues. Databases offering high-resolution images, publications of volumes of sylloge series and publications of public and private collections, as well as studies devoted to coin finds, new coin type identifications and attributions are just some of the fruits achieved in the various areas documented by the studies, articles and online initiatives critically selected and commented in the following pages.

Sadly, during the span of time considered by this *Survey*, important specialists passed away. Hopefully new generations of researchers will continue and renew the work in each of these fields.

THE SASANIAN EMPIRE

Nikolaus Schindel

A main focus in this field of research still is the publication of museum collections to broaden the material basis, which is essential for any type of further numismatic or historical analysis. No volume of the main series of *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum* (Paris–Berlin–Vienna) has appeared in the period covered here (even if volume 4, covering Khusro I, is currently being printed); several additional volumes have. 34 presents the rich holdings of the former Schaaf collection, now housed in Princeton, as well as some general discussion of select topics in Sasanian numismatics. In 2, a large hoard from the 7th century is published, containing 1268 drachms from Khusro I to the Arab-Sasanian period. This volume also contains a detailed study of monetary circulation in Late Sasanian Iran as mirrored by coin hoards, in a fashion very similar to 65. After SNS Uzbekistan, 12 publishes Sasanian and Sasanian-type coins from another Central Asian country, viz. Tajikistan. Two general treatments of Sasanian coinage have appeared (7, 27), neither of which is particularly satisfying (cp. 48).

Several coin hoards have been published (3, 8, 22, 25, 26, 31, 66, 68), the most important ones being the “Shiraz” (65; cp. 53) and Orumiye hoards (2; cp. also 1). Both do not limit themselves merely to cataloguing the respective hoards, but also discuss the Late Sasanian monetary system in some detail. 65 also contains a die analysis of the drachms of the usurper Wistahm, from a methodological point of view the most detailed treatment so far.

Apart from minor studies on individual mint signatures (13, 33, 43, 47, 49; for a general discussion 52; for a new overview on administrative geography 15), also entire regions of the Sasanian realm have been discussed based mainly or at least to a relevant extent on numismatic data (Fars: 16; Sakastan: 17, 51; Caucasus Region: 54, 56). Mirroring the increasing number of Sasanian base metal coins that have turned up in the coin trade in recent years, copper (6, 18, 21) and lead (37, 19, 20) coins have been discussed more intensively than before. Also imitations, mainly of Khusro II, have received attention (67, 69, 70). A coin type of Ardashir showing two busts on the obverse has been treated in several contributions (62, 63 versus 44); from a methodological and a paleographic point of view, the latter has achieved more acceptance.

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KUSHAN NUMISMATICS

Emilia Smagur

Since the last Survey one important Kushan coins catalogue appeared. This most important and very welcome volume by JONGEWARD AND CRIBB with DONOVAN (28) covers all of the Kushan, Kushano-Sasanian, and Kidarite coins at the collection of the American Numismatic Society, plus a small group of issues from the collection of Dr. Larry Adams. The total number of catalogued examples is 2638. They were put into context through an overview of previous studies, as well as the chapters on the Kushan coinage tradition, monetary system and mints, portrait types in the coinage of Huvishka, deities on Kushan coins and Kushan tamgas. The catalogue presents many aspects of the new understandings of examined coinages, reorganized on the basis of the results of the die studies conducted in the British Museum. The work also incorporates new chronology and attributions that emerged after Göbl publication of coins at Bern. The useful concordance of the catalogue's listing to the numbers used by Göbl is also provided. The entire ANS collection of Kushan coins can be accessed online at www.numismatics.org. The small collection of the Kushan coins of the National Museum in Warsaw was published by SMAGUR (61).

A general survey of Kushan coinage was published by BRACEY (6) as a chapter of the online edition of the *Encyclopædia Iranica*. In the same *Encyclopædia* the overview of Kushano-Sasanian coinage was published by SCHINDEL (51), who is also the author of another paper on the same subject (49). The section on Kushan coinage, rewritten by BORDEAUX (3), is included in the updated edition of the book *The Archaeology of Afghanistan: From Earliest Times to the Timurid Period*. The issues concerning the Kushan gold standard as well as the export of Kushan coins were examined in FALK's paper (19) on the use of gold in India and in the Indian Ocean trade. The structure of the coinage of Great Kushans was studied by MAC DOWALL (39). The publication of selected works of BOPEARACHCHI (4) includes papers on Kushan numismatics. While his observations on the chronology of the Early Kushans as well as on the origin of Kushan gold were published previously in English, the paper on the dating of the Begram Bazaar originally appeared in French and is here translated into English for the first time. The results of the multi-spectroscopic analysis of Kushan coins were published by MAMANIA AND SINGH (40).

A couple of papers take up the question concerning the role of Kushan coins in establishing the Date of Kanishka. BRACEY (7) offered an overview of the controversy around this subject and discussed new evidences and arguments developed post-1960, it is after the 1960 London Conference. He also traced the advances in evidence that led to the solution of AD 127 explaining the complexity of this process. CRIBB (10) showed that this very date reached by Falk from the astrological text can be confirmed with the use of numismatic and inscriptional evidences. He also discussed the Falk's proposal in the light of its important implications for research on Gandharan chronology and art. SCHINDEL (47) is of the opinion that the year AD 127 cannot be established without doubt and employed numismatic and epigraphic evidences while considering the year AD 227 as a starting point of Kanishka Era.

The discussion on the coinage of Early Kushans is still open. Over a thousand examples of the Soter Megas coins of Kajula Kadphises and Wima Takto were examined by CRIBB (9) who convincingly argued that they issue probably began in the final years of the reign of Kajula Kadphises (ca. AD 50–90) and continued through the reign of Wima Takto (ca. AD 90–110). The same scholar (11) in another study discussed the use of the title *yavuga/xihou* applied to Kajula Kadphises in Chinese textual sources as well as in coin and stone inscriptions in order to illustrate the function of this title for him. GAWLIK (21) studied variations in uninscribed coins of Oesho/Ardochsho type of Wima Takto. TAASOB (63) reconsidered the language and legends of the Early Kushan coinage.

Numerous publications deal with Kushan coin iconography – both with regard to depictions of deities as well as of the rulers. In his comprehensive and important book SHENKAR (53) explored in detail the divine iconography in pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia, including the Kushan Empire, analysing the origins and evolution of images, as well as their meaning and significance. The representations of Miuro and his relationships with the emperor and with

other gods in the Kushan pantheon was discussed by BRACEY (8) in the publication on how Mithra was conceptualized in the ancient world. The depictions of the god Iamsho with a bird on Huvishka coins were analysed by DARYAEE AND MALEKZADEH (12) who believes that they were connected with the idea of the paradisaical state. Skanda-Kumāra and Viśākha representations on the coins of the same ruler were examined by MANN (41) who argued that they demonstrate imperial agenda aimed to solidify Skanda's identity as the Mahāsenāpati of the gods, since his martial identity was of more use to Huvishka's royal persona. SINISI (59) offered a panorama about the representations and identity of Manaobago, the Bactrian version of Vohu Manah. The same author (58) discussed the sealing found in Kafir Qala, near Samarkand, with a scene of investiture with Mitra in the light of divine imagery in Kushan coinage, transmitting visually the notion of the divine origin of Kushan kingship. The new reading of the iconography and role of goddess Nana was proposed by FALK (18) according to whom the deity was shown with the crescent of the planet Venus instead of the moon while the representations of Nana sitting on a lion were based on depictions of Venus meeting Leo. The Vaishnavite imagery on Kushan coins was studied by SMAGUR (60). This author in another paper (61) used the same topic as a case study to answer the question: which of the elements of the official iconography of Kushan pantheon were not just symbolic elements, but semantic markers that characterized the nature of these images in the Kushan cultural context. She also discussed the application of applying the 'kingly reading' versus 'artefactual reading' approach for analysing the relationship between the official royal religion and the beliefs of Kushan subjects. Hellenistic elements in the Kushan coinage were briefly discussed by KUMAR (37), while PIEPER (45) mentioned Kushan coins when dealing with the earliest Shaivite images in the Indian coinages.

The depictions of arms and armour on Kushan coins were examined by MIELCZAREK (42). The royal attributes of power and authority which appear in the representations of Kushan and Sogdian rulers were studied by SHENKAR (54), providing an important insight into perceptions and representations of kingship in the pre-Islamic Central Asia. The Kushan royal imagery in the light of numismatic sources was discussed by SINISI (56) who highlighted the role of the local numismatic tradition and of the Parthian influences in its development. The same author (57) explored the Kushan and Parthian influences in the development of Chorosmian coin imagery. He (55) also presented and interpreted the iconography of the pantheon appearing on Kushano-Sasanian coins which, according to him, is fully Zoroastrian, and absorbed features of Sasanian and Kushan derivation. Kushan coins iconography was put together with other categories of data by GRENET (25, 26) who linked it to Zoroastrianism. FALK (20) proposed a new model of Kushan religion, developing an understanding of a royal cult as regarding the royal lineage being a part of the world of the gods. The issues of propaganda and identity of Sasanian, Kushan and Kushano-Sasanian rulers in the light of their coinages were studied by SCHINDEL (50).

New finds

Uzbekistan

The detailed numismatic reports (13, 14, 23, 24) from the Russian-Uzbek excavations of Hellenistic fortress Uzundara (Surkhandarya Region) located on the northern border of Bactria included finds of Kushan coins attributed to two early Kushan rulers, Soter Megas and Wima Kadphises. Finds of Kushan coins from Bukhara oasis were summarized by GORIN (22). A supplement to the list of coins discovered in Kampyr-Tepe (Surkhandarya Region) was published by MIELCZAREK AND NIKONOROV (43) who presented eight Kushan copper issues excavated between 1988 and 1991 in the north-western part of the fortress.

Pakistan

KHAN, DURRANI AND SAMAD (33) mentioned the coins excavated from a small mound located in Hayatabad (Peshawar) during the first field season in 2017. The site is dated from the 2nd century BC to the 2nd century AD and the most fascinating discoveries constitutes smith workshops systematically established in sequence and recorded at different levels of occupation. The site chronology is reflected in coin finds the earliest of which belonged to the first half of the 2nd century. Coins of Kujula Kadphises, Soter Megas, Kanishka and Huvishka were also discovered during excavations. Finds of Kushan coins from the monastic complex of Bādālpur in Taxila Valley (Haripur District) unearthed during the field season 2005 were illustrated in the KHAN's paper (36). Late Kushan, 'sub-Kushan and Kushano-Sasanian coin finds unearthed during excavations in 2018 at the urban site of Barikot (Swat) were mentioned by IORI AND OLIVIERI (27). 123 copper coins of the Soter Megas series discovered at various sites at Taxila were analysed by KHAN (30).

KHAN, ARIF AND KHAN (31) presented a hoard of copper coins found in 2015 during excavations at Badalpur at Taxila Valley (Haripur District). The find consisting of 31 coins, most of which is dated to the Late Kushan Period, was unearthed scattered on a floor level in a corner cell of a small monastery. A small copper hoard or a combination of two hoards containing 18 coins particularly of the Kushan period was discussed by KHAN AND NAEEM QAZI (35). Those coins were discovered by a local person from a Buddhist site Jamrud (Khayber Agency) located to the west of Peshawar. The presence of two Buddha coins in the parcel raised questions about the nature of this hoard (sacred or donative) which was discussed by the authors. Another Kushan coin hoard containing gold and copper issues of the same period and found by a landowner in his fields at Ray Dheri in the village of Abazai (Charsadda district) was presented by KHAN AND DURRANI (32). The authors had the opportunity to examine a small portion of the hoard, i.e. 14 gold coins and an equal number of copper issues. They dated available material to the same period, it is late in the reign of Kanishka II. KHAN AND HASAN (34) published a new interesting hoard from Tibba Pīr Abdul Rehman, an archaeological site in District Jhang in Punjab, which was found by a resident of the village. It consisted of 180 gold and 65 silver coins as well as two gold ornaments and represented issues of five dynasties of different origin (Late Kushans, Kidarites, Guptas, Alchon Huns, and Sasanians).

Afghanistan

Hellenistic and Kushan coins found during the Afghan-French excavations at the ancient city of Bactra (Balkh) were catalogued, discussed and partially illustrated by BORDEAUX, BESEVAL, MARQUIS AND RASSOLI (5). 98 of them can be identified as Kushan copper issues dated between the reigns of Soter Megas and Shaka. Information about finds of Kushan coins from the territory of Afghanistan with a relevant bibliography can be found in BALL'S (2) revised edition of his *Archaeological Gazetteer of Afghanistan*.

Information about Kushan coins collected by Charles Masson from various archaeological sites, as well as on those which belonged to his own collection were published by ERRINGTON (15, 16) in the books resulting from the Masson Project. She (17) also discussed Kushan coins from relic deposits discovered by Masson, comparing burial practices, contents of reliquaries and architectural data, and proposing a late 1st century date for many of them. Kushan coins and associated objects from stupa deposits in Dharmarājikā (Pakistan) and eastern Afghanistan were studied by RIENJANG (46) in her paper on the chronology of stupa relic practice.

India

KANSAL (29) presented a copper coin which was procured from Kot Kapoora, a Tehsil in Faridkot District of Punjab (India). He attributed it to Kujula Kadphises. Kushan coins collected by Sir Aurel Stein during his early years in India, currently in the Heberden Coin Room of the Ashmolean Museum, were discussed by MAC DOWALL (38).

Bangladesh

Finds of Kushan coins and their imitations from Bangladesh were briefly presented by AHMED AND AL HASAN (1).

Europe

The catalogue of coins minted on the territories stretching from Tigris to Northern India (including Kushan issues) found in Europe was published by DE MÛELENAERE (44) who believes that majority of them arrived between the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, as well as that they preferred to travel along the Danube/Rhine corridor when entering the Europe.

Two small bronze coins were published by SCHINDEL (48) who believes that most probably they represent a new Kushano-Sasanian governor. A local, unofficial issue from the time of Huvishka that appeared on the marked was published by SENIOR (52). TANDON (64) documented two new types of modern Kushan forgeries.

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GUPTAS AND (IRANIAN) HUNS

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The last seven years have been highly fruitful for research on the Guptas and Iranian Huns. New advances have been made in identifying new coin types and varieties, much progress has been made in properly attributing coins, and new interpretations of both the coins and the history have been put forth. In addition, there has been new information on hoard finds. In what follows we will first consider the Guptas and then the Huns. The first few pages will provide an overall summary of the most important research findings, to be followed by detailed accounts and reviews of individual publications.

Research on the Guptas

Perhaps the most widely followed and discussed event in Gupta numismatics in this period was the publication of the first new catalogue of Gupta coins since 1957 (KUMAR (34)). This book brought to notice many new varieties of Gupta coins. Some of its suggestions have been challenged and remain controversial (TANDON (60)); nevertheless, this was an important addition to the literature. It gathered together data on a very large number of Gupta coins, surveyed the literature, and performed XRF analysis on a reasonably large sample of gold coins. TANDON (50, 60) identified new types of gold dinars of the king who has come to be called Candragupta III. A remarkable new coin type published within the last seven years was the silver drachm of the madhyadeśa type of the Gupta prince Ghaṭotkaca (SINGH (49)).

In terms of proper reattributions of coins, undoubtedly the most important was the discovery that the king known as Prakāśāditya and almost uniformly thought to be a Gupta king was in fact the Hun king Toramāṇa (TANDON (55)). This conclusion had been speculated by Göbl but had never been proven and had not gained wide acceptance. The question, however, can now be laid to rest. The discovery allows for the reattribution of a number of other coins to Toramāṇa (TANDON (59)) and his Hun successors. We now know that the Huns issued far more Gupta style coins than we had previously thought.

BAKKER (13) made the case that the repoussé coins in the name of Mahendraditya were not issues of the Gupta king Kumāragupta I, as has become a popular belief recently (KUMAR (34)) but of a Sarabhapuriya king. He also provided a fresh interpretation of the Apratigha type coin of Kumāragupta, arguing that it was issued early in his reign and depicts him with his parents as a sort of “pedigree” type. Bakker argues that Kumāragupta displaced the “rightful” heir Govindagupta and therefore needed to proclaim that he had his parents’ blessing. RAVEN (40) also argues that this type was issued early in the king’s reign.

KUMAR (34) also made some bold re attributions of coins previously thought to be issued by Candragupta II to Candragupta I. However, many scholars believe that Candragupta I never issued any gold coins, and this view was taken up strongly by TANDON (60). Indeed, this latter paper made a case to reattribute some more coins of Candragupta II to Candragupta III, making that king far more important than previously realized. In a series of papers, TANDON (50, 53, 56) fleshed out the coinage of this king and argued that his true identity is Purugupta, the only known legitimate son of Kumāragupta I.

Of course, these reattributions involve reinterpretation of the coins. In the vein of reinterpretation, KUMAR (33) argued that the so-called “standard” or “sceptre” type of Samudragupta has been labeled incorrectly. Instead, most of these coins should be called the javelin type although this conclusion can be challenged (see review below). RAVEN (40, 41, 42) published a series of papers providing further details of her “mint idiomatic” approach to the organization of Gupta coins. This approach remains difficult for most non- art historians to implement but nevertheless is the most promising idea for understanding the structure of the coinage.

SINGH (48) and BANIK (19, 20) report on a new hoard of Gupta gold coins found in Murshidabad. MAJUMDAR (35) published a remarkable piece of detective work: an attempted reconstitution of the first known hoard of Gupta

coins, the Kalighat hoard, originally found in 1783 and dispersed shortly thereafter.

Finally, important new work on the details of Gupta history, particularly in their interaction with the Huns, appeared during this period. BAKKER (10, 16) brought together inscriptional and archaeological evidence to provide a detailed account of the various wars fought by the Guptas and Huns. TANDON (52, 59) attempted to incorporate numismatic evidence into this new historical account.

Research on the Huns

Perhaps the most important piece of work produced on the Huns in the last seven years is the source book edited by BALOGH (18). This remarkable book, an output of the Beyond Borders research project funded by the European Research Council, has gathered together all the primary sources in all languages available to study the Huns. While the classical sources and even the Chinese sources have been relatively well known and well studied, the bringing in of material in other languages such as Armenian, Bactrian, Sogdian, and others is a game changer in this research area. Scholars will be able to draw from this remarkable source for years to come.

Several important new catalogues of Hun coins were also published during these past seven years. The catalogue by JONGEWARD AND CRIBB (30) of the Kushan coins in the collection of the American Numismatic Society also included the coins of the Kidarite Huns, thereby becoming the first major catalogue of the coins of the Iranian Huns since the seminal work of Göbl. The works of PFISTERER (38) and VONDROVEC (62) were also published during this time. These catalogues not only record examples of new and newly discovered coin types but also push forward our understanding of the Hun coinages. TANDON (51) proposed a different approach to the reorganization of Hunnic coins based on the Schøyen inscription, but so far this approach has not been brought to fruition.

It is worth mentioning also the catalogue by FISHMAN AND TODD (27) of the small silver coins of western India called *dammas*. Many of these coins have been thought to be Hunnic, but Fishman and Todd argue against this attribution. They think that the coins thought to be Hunnic were in fact issues of the Rai dynasty and the rulers of Chach.

The new catalogues naturally also present new surveys of Hun coins and history. Several other such surveys have been published in addition, the most notable one being the exhibition catalogue ALRAM (6). This catalogue, which is also available online in English, accompanied an important exhibition of Hun coins held in Vienna from late 2012 to early 2014. Other surveys include ALRAM (2, 3), ALRAM ET AL. (9) and REZAKHANI (45).

Coming to more detailed studies attributing coins and publishing new types, perhaps the most significant piece of research was the discovery, already mentioned in the context of the Guptas, that the supposedly Gupta king known as Prakāśāditya was in fact the Hun king Toramāṇa (TANDON (55)). This discovery opened up the reattribution of other coins to Toramāṇa, such as the Archer type coin in the name of Prakāśa in the Lucknow Museum, which directly led to the reattribution of the so called Nameless coins of the Archer type to the Huns (TANDON (57)). A review of some of these discoveries is in TANDON (59).

Another very significant piece of research was that of DEYELL (25, 26), who argued convincingly that the coins in the name of *Pratāpa* and thought to be Kidarite coins, were in fact issued by the well known Indian king Harṣavardhana and his father Prabhākarvardhana. The reorganization and renewed understanding of the so called Kidarite coins of Kashmir, highlighted by Deyell's work, was also pushed forward by CRIBB (22) and CRIBB AND SINGH (23). One of the potential consequences of this research is the possibility that the Kidarites and Alchon may have been the same people.

A few new hoards of Hun Coins were published. These include a hoard of Kidarite style coins found in northern India published by CRIBB (22), a hoard of 145 copper coins, mostly of Khiṅgila, found in Pushkalavati and published by TANDON (58), a hoard of 17 coins of Mihirakula found in the salt range region and published by ALRAM (7), and a hoard of Hephthalite coins studied by HEIDEMANN (29). These coins were all versions of Göbl type 287 and Heidemann argues that they are all from the mint of Balkh.

Perhaps the most important research concerning the Iranian Huns from the past few years is not directly about the coins but about their history, for which coins provide some material evidence. Of these, the most compelling work is that of BAKKER (10, 16), who combines new readings and interpretations of inscriptions with coins and other material evidence to argue that the Huns waged a succession of wars in India during the late 5th and early 6th centuries. One series of wars was probably associated with the invasion of India by Toramāṇa sometime in the last decade of the 5th century. A remarkable suggestion made by BAKKER (16), which this author finds very convincing, is that the capital

from where he launched his invasion was in the area of the modern town of Akhnur, on the banks of the River Chenab. Starting from here, Toramāṇa moved through northern India, through Haryana and Kauśāmbī, to take possession of Mālwa and probably parts of modern Gujarat. These wars ended with a Hun defeat at the hands of Prakāśadharman in the early 6th century. The second set of wars are associated with Toramāṇa's son Mihirakula, who presumably had re-conquered parts of his father's lost kingdom but then suffered defeat at the hands of Yaśodharman. TANDON (52, 59) has elaborated on this reconstructed history, arguing on the basis of Indian sources that Toramāṇa left Mālwa to invade the Gupta heartland in eastern Uttar Pradesh, defeated the Guptas, and subsequently died there, most likely of natural causes.

BAKKER (11) also further buttresses an argument made earlier by de la Vaissière that the place called Tālagān in the Schøyen inscription as the place where the scroll was created was not Tālaqān near Kunduz, as Melzer had suggested, but Tālagang in the Salt Range. Bakker does so by identifying other places that pertain to the inscription and that are in the vicinity of the Salt Range. Given that de la Vaissière's argument was already persuasive, Bakker's evidence renders the suggestion virtually certain.

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**NUMISMATICS OF PRE-ISLAMIC CENTRAL ASIA
(Bactria-Tokharistan, Soghd, Chach, Ferghana, Jety-Su or Semirech'e, and Khorezm)**

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During the years under consideration, the scarcely populated field of pre-Islamic Central Asian numismatics suffered from sad human losses: Larissa Baratova (1959–2017), Michail Fedorov (1937–2020), Andrei Kubatin (1984–2020), and Edward Rtveladze (1942–2022) passed away.

On the positive side, one can notice that the study of pre-Islamic Central Asian coins entered a new era at least in the format of the publications: while the earlier surveys could report two-three monographs at most, the present list record the appearance of multiple books and catalogues.

General works devoted to coin finds within the borders of modern Central Asian republics are two: a book by KAMYSHEV (55) that covers the entire numismatic history of Kyrgyzstan including the early stages (knives of Zhou period; Kushan; Roman; Byzantine; Sasanian; and Sogdian; as well as the coins of pre-Islamic Chach, Ferghana and Semirech'e); and the first volume of the complete catalogue of all coin finds in the oases of South Kazakhstan authored by PETROV with BAITANAEV AND BRAGIN (16). A collection of articles on pre-Islamic numismatics of Central Asia by FEDOROV (34) also needs to be considered among general works because it contains studies devoted to the coinages of different ancient countries of Central Asia during a broad time span. To the category of general surveys one can also add the broad selections of coins from the collection of the State Hermitage published by KRAVTSOV in exhibition catalogues and popular albums (58, 59) and NAYMARK's recent article surveying finds of late Roman bronzes coins across the entire territory of Central Asia (100).

Bactria-Tokharistan. DOVUDI published a monograph on the finds of Ancient and Mediaeval coins in Dangara (23). Hellenistic coinage of Bactria became the subject of several new books by KRITT (60, 61), GORIN AND DVURECHENSKAIA (49), GLENN (43), and GAVLIK (39), as well as of multiple articles by DEYELL (22), GLENN (40, 41, 42), DVURECHENSKAIA AND GORIN (28), DVURECHENSKAIA GORIN AND SHEIKO (29, 30) RTVELADZE AND GORIN (104), LERNER (64, 66, 68) and other scholars. The catalogue of the holdings of the American Numismatic Society by JONGEWARD AND CRIBB WITH DONOVAN (54) serves now as the standard reference on Kushan coinage. Two other studies published by CRIBB (20, 21) significantly advanced our understanding of the early Kushan coinage in general. GORIN produced an important article on the finds post-Hellenistic coins of Tokharistan (45). Books by DOVUDI (26) and GARIBOLDI (37) covered silver coinage of Tokharistan in the 5th to the 8th century and the finds of Sasanian drachms in Tajikistan. HEIDEMANN attributed a large series of silver drachms to Balkh (51).

Soghd and Chach. ATAKHODJAEV published a new type of coppers with name of Antiochus (2, 3) which according to NAYMARK (87) and GORIN (44, 46) were minted in Samarqand. ATAKHODJAEV also greatly expanded the list of Hellenistic coins found of Soghd (2, 3) and some more new finds were presented by NAYMARK (96). A book by MUSAKAEVA (72) discusses the coinage and coin finds of Bukhara from the Hellenistic period to the Early Middle Ages. Numismatic history of the South Sogdian principality of Nakhshab in the 1st–8th centuries CE became the point of investigation in a series of articles by NAYMARK (88, 93, 94, 95, 97, 99). Finds of Sasanian coins, of their imitations, and Bukhar Khuda coins on the territory of Tadzhikistan were covered in two new monographs by DOVUDI (26) and GARIBOLDI (37). New hoard of Peroz coins with countermarks from Sazagan was published by MUSAKAEVA jointly with BERDIMURADOV (85, 86). Multiple series of Early Mediaeval Sogdian coins were discussed in rather numerous articles by BABAYAROV (6, 7), MUSAKAEVA (74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84), LURJE (69), and NAYMARK (90, 91, 99). HIRANO (52, 53), FEDOROV jointly with KUZNETSOV (33, 35, 36) introduced new types of Sogdian coins. An important hoard of copper from Paykand was investigated by KULISH in collaboration with MIRZAAKHMEDOV AND TORGOMEV (109). GORIN AND OMEL'CHENKO published coins of Kushano-Sasanian epoch from the town-site of Paykand in the Bukharan oasis (47, 50, 103). An article by NAYMARK deals with the finds of Sogdian and Khorezmian coins in Eastern

Europe (92).

Ferghana remains the least explored numismatic province of pre-Islamic Central Asia. BARATOVA summarized all available information on the subject, including the results of her own investigations (17). Three more recent studies devoted to particular series of Early Mediaeval Ferghanian coins were produced by BABAYAROV AND ASANOV (10, 11, 12).

Khorezmian numismatics is represented here by single work: KUZNETSOV'S solid monograph on the coinage of 8th century Khorezmshah Sawshafan (62).

The history of Central Asian numismatic research became the theme of NAYMARK'S article on the coin collecting in colonial Turkestan (97).

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**ISLAMIC NUMISMATICS:
NORTHERN AFRICA, NEAR EAST AND CENTRAL ASIA**

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Introduction *Aram Vardanyan*³

In recent years, significant advances have been recorded in the field of Islamic numismatics due to a constant stream of new finds that have been made readily accessible to scholars from a variety of online resources. The traditional method of studying numismatic finds from archeological excavations has been supplanted and superceded by a sizable volume of high quality scans and photographs published by a growing number of coin dealers and numismatic auction houses. Additionally, museums have begun embracing the creation of online databases with high quality images and metric data of their numismatic collections whose contents were once only available through limited print catalogs or in-person visits. Finally, non-institutional individuals have been increasingly sharing images of their own holdings through personal websites, forums and non-institutional databases that rely on user contributions to grow.

In this regard, the importance of the Zeno Oriental Coins Database cannot be overestimated. With more than 270,000 images of coins struck in gold, silver and copper, it is the largest online database in the world that continues to grow in strength every year. Another important source for Islamic coins is the Rasmir discussion forum - an excellent tool for monitoring the spread of Islamic coinage through various historical periods in Eastern Eurasia with an emphasis on the Volga/Don/Dnieper river basins, Central Asia and the Caucasus. Moreover, under the auspices of the Rasmir forum at least five scientific round tables were organized in the city of Odessa in Ukraine between 2012 and 2017 with the aim of facilitating collaboration and exchange of information between collectors and amateur numismatists coming largely from different parts of Russia as well as Ukraine and Belarus.

In parallel with initiatives by smaller groups of collectors and numismatists a few welcome notes should be made to highlight current projects from larger institutional partners in the field of Islamic numismatics. Trent Jonson is currently working on the digitalization of the collection of Islamic coins in the Ashmolean Museum (Oxford, UK), with a similar project being undertaken by Sebastian Hanstein for the collection in the FINT (University of Tübingen, Germany). Finally, the American Numismatic Society (New York, USA) has continued expanding the initiative to digitize their holdings.

The increased accesability of the source materials to scholars has led to a steady stream of scholarly publications in Islamic numismatics over the past few years that have greatly helped to develop our understanding of the history of this period. In the classical and traditionally accepted peer-reviewed academic journals such as *Numismatic Chronicle* (London), *Revue Numismatique* (Paris) and *American Journal of Numismatics* (New York) that are published annually, one can find a wide range of publications on either various issues of Islamic coinage or hoards containing coins struck by different Islamic dynasties (*Coin Hoards* series in the *Numismatic Chronicle*). Similar articles touching various aspects of Islamic numismatics have also been published in the biannual *Der Islam* (University of Hamburg). Sadly, Stan Goron's withdrawal from the position of the editor-in-chief of the *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society* which had begun in the early 1970s marked the end of a brilliant era for a specialized publication dedicated solely to Islamic and Oriental numismatics. Fortunately, its publication continued for some time thanks to the efforts of Robert Bracey from the British Museum, who succeeded in elevating its standing and balancing the content between pre-Islamic, Islamic and non-Islamic publications appearing in alternating volumes, as well as submission guidelines to the *JONS* until his own departure.

On a final note, the COVID-19 pandemic has left its negative impact on numismatic research as well. There has been a significant decline in the volume of publications and many projects remain incomplete and delayed indefinitely.

3 We are thankful to Levon Vrtanesyan (New York) for the language editing.

Even the completion of this *Survey* ran into difficulties, and was delayed for an additional year. It now includes the results of the scientific research in the last seven years (2014–2020). In this regard, we would like to thank our colleagues and friends for their help and persistence.

General Works *Aram Vardanyan*

The emphasis during these seven years lay on the mapping of the numismatic material in the form of *Sylloges*. The *SNAT* series was extended by two additional volumes devoted to the Islamic coinage representing early medieval Syria (the mint of Damascus only) and some Egyptian mints with a particular attention to al-Iskandariya and al-Qāhira. At present, the forthcoming volume comprising the coinage of the mint of Aleppo is under way. We hope that the long-awaited SICA volumes covering the coins struck by the dynasties that ruled in the Near East in the pre-Mongol era will be soon available to public.

Over the past few years the number of publications devoted to the study of historical numismatic collections in Europe has increased. HEIDEMANN (20) outlined the main developments and trends in building the collection of Islamic coins in the Jena Münzkabinett from the 18th century to the present day, while ILISCH (22–24) surveyed and highlighted the collection of the German orientalist and one of the founders of Islamic numismatics Oluf Gerhard Tychsen (*d.* 1815) as well as the Imperial coin collection held in the 18th century Leipzig. HANSTEIN (19) highlighted the importance of the collections of Islamic coins by Otto Blau and Wilhelm Müller and their connection to the University of Leipzig. TALVIO (40) emphasized Frähn's role for the origin of Islamic numismatics in Finland. In 2018 D'OTTONE RAMBACH received the honorable Samir Shamma Prize for Islamic Numismatics for her book including the collection of Arabic coins that belonged to the Italian King Victor Emmanuel III (1900–1946). The subsequent publications on various Italian collections including Islamic coins, seals and stamps based on her talks was presented at the 4th and 5th *Simone Assemani Symposium on Islamic Coins* held in Trieste and XV International Numismatic Congress organized in Taormina (D'OTTONE RAMBACH alone or in collaboration with CALLEGHER AND TRAVAINI (11–12, 14–16)).

Some publications on the methodology used in modern numismatics are worth mentioning in this section. ALCHOMARI (2) discussed the main scientific approaches for studying coin hoards, while NAROZHNYI (30) shared his thoughts on the semiotic evaluations of the Mongol period coins from burials. NASTICH (31–32) underlined the importance of coin forgeries as a historical source while BACHARACH (5) emphasized the main tools for teaching and studying Islamic numismatics. The enormous work on the creation of an online data-base with references to hundreds of abstracts, articles, books, catalogues and dissertations written in Arabic on Islamic numismatics and neighboring disciplines by BACHARACH'S (6–10) deserves deep appreciation by both academicians and students working and studying in the field. PHILLIPS (37) expressed his opinion on the role and significance of the meetings in frames of the *Seventh Century Syria Numismatic Round Table (1992–2011)* to the study of early Islamic numismatics. FAGHFOURY (17) facilitated the publication of a jubilee issue in honor of Stephen Album who began his numismatic activities back in 1960. The book entitled *Iranian Numismatic Studies. A Volume in Honor of Stephen Album* included the articles and short notes by scholars and amateur numismatists devoted to the coinage of medieval Iran.

KRAVTSOV (26) and KULESHOV (27), by then both representing the State Hermitage Museum (St. Petersburg), paid considerable attention to the scientific experience of Richard Vasmer and Aleksey Bykov as well as their joint efforts for making the Bezlyudovo hoard available for public. Finally, series of obituaries was published in memory of various renowned numismatists such as Elena Davidovich, Azgar Mukhamadiev, Otto Retovsky, German Fedorov-Davydov (NASTICH (33)), NEDASHKOVSKY (34–35), NEPOMNYASHCHY (36), REVA AND MOISEENKO (38), ZELENEEV (42)).

Pre-Reform Coinage *Aram Vardanyan*

An impressive two-volume set by MALEK (82), which is based on a large amount of Arab-Sasanian silver and copper coinage deriving from the extensive Johnson collection comprised back in the 1840s, is perhaps the most valuable publication in the field. This enormous study offers both a through discussion on the coinage and catalogue with some 1600 black and white illustrations. By its importance the volumes thoroughly cover the field for the next several decades. Our knowledge on the *Standing Caliph Coinage* of Jerusalem was extended by SCHULZE (93) who gathered in her work not only all *Filasīn-Īliyā* type coins known to her, but also conducted a scrupulous and extremely important die study. While continuing the topic of the *Standing Caliph Coinage* one must mention the publication by GOODWIN (72) which remains the most up-to-date study in the field.

The publications within the series entitled *Coinage and History in the Seventh Century Near East* 4 and 5 have

considerably expanded our knowledge on various issues of the pre-reform coinage. Particularly, articles by GOODWIN (69–71), JONSON (78), ODDY (83–85) and ODDY AND PRIGENT (87), PHILLIPS (88), SCHULZE I. (92, 94–95), SCHULZE W. (98–99) and SCHULZE AND ODDY (100), TREADWELL (101), WOODS (108) discussing various aspects of the coinage that circulated in the Near East prior to the reform of the Umayyad Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik (685–705 CE) are worth mentioning here.

The PhD thesis by JONSON (77) is an important contribution into the study of the pre-reform precious and non-precious metal coinage of North Africa and Iberian Peninsula. In addition, JONSON, BLET-LEMARQUAND AND MORRISON (79) offered an interesting discussion on the Byzantine mint of Carthago and its connection to the early Islamic mints that functioned in North Africa.

The publication of hoards with pre-reform coins was continued in this period too. A hoard with Hephthalite drachms struck in Balkh was published by HEIDEMANN (76). Almost simultaneously GOODWIN AND GYSELEN (74) published the Irbid Hoard which included several hundreds of copper Arab-Byzantine coins found in the northern corner of Jordan. This publication also includes an important discussion of the Pseudo-Damascus mint. A mixed hoard with Byzantine and Arab-Byzantine coins was published by LICHTENBERGER AND RAJA (80). A short note by TSOTSELIA (102) provided the numismatists with access to the Arab-Sasanian hoards kept in the National Museum of Georgia.

Finally the joint article by AMITAI-PREISS AND BACHAR (58) is dedicated to the enigmatic Yubnā coinage.

The Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphate, and Its Regional Successors *Aram Vardanyan*

Since the forthcoming and long-awaited SICA volumes are still in press and thus cannot be included into this survey, we must admit that only a couple of books have been published in the field in the recent years. Particularly, ALCHOMARI’s PhD dissertation (113) dealing with a description of a large hoard from Busayra which contained several thousands ‘Abbāsīd period silver *dirhams* seems to be the only monographic study published in the field. DARLEY-DORAN’S (118) two-volume set with unknown binding and containing some 1956 black-and-white illustrations is so far the most up-to-date catalogue of Umayyad and ‘Abbāsīd copper (bronze) coins (*fulūs*).

A hoard with Umayyad and ‘Abbāsīd coins from Sepphoris is described in the article by WASSERSTEIN (155). The publication of the coin hoard of Bortchalo (Georgia) ALCHOMARI (111) opened a scientific discussion on the main coin groups that circulated in the Jazīra in the 10th century CE. Otherwise, Umayyad and ‘Abbāsīd coins with new and hitherto unknown mints or dates and struck in precious metals can be found in the contributions by AL-NABARAWY (114), GHODHBANE (122), ILYASOV, IMAMBERDYEV AND KORN (130), LEMBERG (133), NAUE (138) and RAMADAN (141). Based on the evidence of literary sources a new ‘Abbāsīd mint called al-Ma’shūq which produced gold *dīnārs* in the name of the Caliph al-Mu’tamid (870–892 CE) in AH 271 has come to light thanks to RAMADAN (142). Among the most recent publications by BATES (115) one must emphasize an article in which the author makes an attempt to pay more attention to the regional coinage as well as the local administration standing behind it. VARDANYAN (153) reverted to the reflection in the coinage of Armīniya of the rivalry between the Caliph Hārūn ar-Rashīd (786–809 CE) and his brother ‘Ubaydallāh that occurred in the 780s CE.

Very few publications on the coinage by Islamic dynasties that emerged on the ruins of the ‘Abbāsīd Caliphate in the 10th century CE are worth mentioning here. ILISCH AND KULESHOV (129) published the ‘Uqaylid and Marwānid coins from the Vas’kovskiy hoard found in Pskov region of Russia in 1923 and acquired by the State Hermitage Museum in 1924. BUGARCHEV (116) offers a brief overview on the monetary history of the Simjurid state. The article by TREADWELL (150) might be useful for those who is interested in Shī’a and other non-Qur’ānic references appearing in the Islamic coinage struck in the pre-Seljūqid era.

In contrast, the majority of publications that has come to light during the last six years had its focus on the Umayyad and ‘Abbāsīd copper coinage. ALCHOMARI (112) discussed the circumstances under which copper coins of al-Baṣra dated AH 136 penetrated the coin circulation of the early ‘Abbāsīd Syria. The focus of GHODHBANE’S (123) research was the Umayyad copper coinage of Atrāblus/Tripoli. ILISCH (127) considers the marks and isolated words found on the copper coins minted at Khizānat Ḥalab (*Treasury of Aleppo*) in AH 146–148. NASTICH (137), in the light of new discoveries, speaks about the main coin types, mints and dates which are characteristic for the ‘Abbāsīd copper coinage in Māwarānnahr (Marwanshahr?). PARVÉRIE (140) published a short note on a small hoard with Umayyad copper coins found near Ruscino in Southern France; unusual because such copper coins rarely left the area in which they were struck. Contributions by SCHINDEL (143–149) are mainly devoted to the study of the Umayyad copper

coinage that originated from the mints located in Wāsiṭ, Ghazza and Ephesos. As a continuation to his *Islamic Coins Struck in Historic Armenia*, vol. 1 (Yerevan, 2011), VARDANYAN (152) offers an up-to-date catalogue of the ‘Abbāsīd period copper coins attested for the mints of Armīniya, Arrān, Barda‘a, al-Bāb, Dabīl, al-Hārūniya and al-Yazīdiya, all located in the northern province of the Caliphate. ZARAZIR (156) drew attention to the copper coinage that was struck in Shīrāz in AH 137.

Finally, thanks to the articles by KRAVTSOV (131), OTHMAN (139) and D’OTTONE RAMBACH (117) we know more about the Umayyad and then ‘Abbāsīd period glass weights, jetons and wessel stamps. IBRAHIM’S (126) study extends our knowledge on the lead seals prepared in the Umayyad Palestine.

North Africa and Sicily *Aram Vardanyan and Abdelhamid Fenina*

Only a few books were published in this field. Particularly, D’ANDREA (159) focused on the Arab coins struck in Southern Sicily, while ZANCHI (178) published a collection of Sicilian *kharrūbahs*. At the same time, HOHERTZ (169) authored a catalogue of square *dirhams* struck in Spain, Portugal and North Africa between 1130 and 1816 CE. In her article SANTANGELO (177) tells about the Italian archaeologist Paolo Orsi’s experience with Islamic coins found on Sicily.

As for publications in periodicals or in form of book chapters, FENINA (164–166, 168) made sufficient progress in his studies of the ‘Abbāsīd and then Aghlabid period coinage of Ifrīqiya and al-‘Abbāsiya. In each of his short, but rather important notes LIÉTARD (172–174) discussed full and fractional denominations struck by Ziyānids and Marīnids. Some unpublished Ziyānid coins of Tilimsān as well as Idrīsīd coinage, particularly from the mints of Walīla (Volubilis) and Tāhirt (or Tiaret in central Algeria) are covered in articles by BENCHEKROUN (157–158). LIÉTARD AND BENCHEKROUN (175) referred to the copper coinage by Rāshīd ibn Qādim. A local Rustamid dynasty of Ibadī imams with Persian origin is represented by copper coinage that originated at the mints of Tīharat and Tilimsān (LIÉTARD (171)). A much more detailed discussion on this obscure coinage is offered by ILISCH (170).

In one of his articles published in the field of Ḥusaynid numismatics several years ago FENINA (167) reconsidered the role of the central mint of Tūnis.

Egypt, Bilād al-Shām and Arabian Peninsula *Aram Vardanyan*

In recent years the number of publications on the Islamic numismatics of Egypt, Bilād al-Shām and Arabian Peninsula was considerably reduced. Among the books written in the Arabic language one should mention the publication by ‘AQL (185) dealing with the Islamic coinage of Filasṭīn and a much more general one by RAMADAN (208). There are not so many publications of this kind in European languages either. The SNAT (*Sylloge Nummorum Arabicorum Tübingen*, 1993–...) series, at present the only ongoing series in Islamic numismatics, was enriched by two volumes. In 2015 ILISCH (196) published the volume devoted to the mint of Damascus from the earliest Islamic era and until 1260. It included some 948 gold, silver and copper coins struck by various dynasties that controlled Syria during the first six centuries of Islam. The second publication in the field appeared in 2017 and was authored by YOUNIS (217) who gathered in one volume nearly 1200 coins struck in al-Iskandariya and al-Qāhira as well as the mints of minor importance such as Ahnās, al-Fuṣṭāṭ, al-Fayyūm, Qūs from the advent of Islam until the Ottoman period. Finally, many years of diligent research in the field of Iḥṣīdīd numismatics bore fruit in the the online publication of the 2nd and revised edition of the *Islamic History Through Coins. An Analysis and Catalogue of Tenth Century Ikhshidid Coinage* BACHARACH (186).

The article by HEIDEMANN AND KOOL (195) mapping the earliest Numayrid coin found in Ṭabariya (Tiberias) extends our knowledge on the coinage of this obscure dynasty. Simultaneously, AL-NABARAWY (182) and TREADWELL (215) discussed the reign of the founder of the Tūlūnid state Aḥmad ibn Tūlūn (868–884 CE) from both historical and numismatic points of view. As AL-NABARAWY discusses a sole rare Miṣr *dirham* dated AH 265, TREADWELL, uses both literary sources and available coins to help understand the reasons for the appearance of the Tūlūnid state. In his short note, BACHARACH (187), in turn, explains the Middle Asian roots of the Iḥṣīdīd rulers of Egypt. Some fifty years after the publication by N. Lowick, DESOUKY (192) tries to summarize the Tūlūnid coinage at the mint of Bālis. Fāṭimid coinage of Tunisia is discussed in the articles by FENINA (193–194). RAMADAN (209) made available for scientific research the rare and hitherto unpublished Fāṭimid *dīnār* struck in Zawīla in AH 404. SCHINDEL (211) speaks on a small hoard with Fāṭimid gold *dīnārs* struck under the Caliphs al-Mu‘izz (953–975 CE) and al-‘Azīz (975–996 CE) in Cairo and buried after AH 377. The research of the Fāṭimid and Mamlūk period glass weights was continued

by BACHARACH AND SHERIF (188) as well as KOLBAS (198). The dynamics of Mamluk copper coinage of Damascus as well as hoards with silver *dirhams* found in Jordan is the scope of research in the publications by SCHULTZ (212–214).

As far as the numismatic studie of the Arabian Peninsula is concerned, as before, the amount of publications in the field remains quite small. A short discussion on the mints of ‘Athar (‘Aththar) and Makka on coins struck by Yemenite dynasties in the early Islamic period is offered in AL-TUMAIHI (183). Among the very recent publications in the Yemenite numismatics an article by D’OTTONE RAMBACH (189) discussing the Rasūlid coinage from the mints Ta’izz and Tha’bāt is noteworthy.

Seljuq/Mongol Period Anatolia and Ottoman Empire *Aram Vardanyan*

In the field of the pre-Ottoman Anatolia only a few articles deserve special attention. Particularly, HEIDEMANN AND SODE (235) published a rare lead seal (AH 588/1192) issued in the name of a certain Ihtiyār al-dīn al-Ḥasan ibn Ghafra who in accordance with the so-called *Law of the Turks* tried to assume the power in the Rūm Seljūqid state after the death of the Sultan Qilij Arslān II (1156–1192 CE). This artefact is an important historical source shedding more light on the history of the Rūm Seljūqid in the late 12th century CE. SCHINDEL (253) speaks about a coin overstruck by Anatolian Mengujakids. Various aspects of the Beylik coinage were discussed by TEOMAN (266–267, 269), ÖZTÜRK AND PERK (245–248), ERON (225–226) and KİREÇ (242–243). YOUNIS (273) emphasized the importance of inter-dynastic marriages between the Rūm Seljūqs and the Ayyūbids, as well as its reflection seen in the contemporary coinage.

The mapping of the coinage of the late Ottoman Empire has essentially moved forward through the publications by DAMALI (222–223) who in 2014 brought to an end the monumental series entitled *History of Ottoman Coins*. The volumes 8 and 9 span the period from Maḥmūd II (1808–1839 CE) to the last Sultan Muḥammad VI (1909–1918 CE). In his articles SCHINDEL (253–258) discusses various Ottoman denominations struck at the mints located in Asia Minor, Iraq and Egypt. His publication on the hoard with coins of Sulaymān I Qānūnī (1520–1566 CE) found in the Austrian market municipality called Pitten (SCHINDEL (255)) permits the allocation of a new place on the map of Europe where a hoard with Ottoman coins was revealed. At the same time, SCHINDEL (252) makes an attempt to find out the earliest Ottoman copper coins (*mangyrs*) that could have witnessed the rule by Orkhan (1324–1360 CE). SREĆKOVIĆ (261) attracted attention to the lack of die engravers in the late Ottoman Belgrade mint. At the same time, the political realities of the 18th century can be seen in the publication by KRAVTSOV AND STEPANOVA (244) which discusses an Ottoman coin bearing a countermark with a portrait of the Swedish King Carl XII (1697–1718 CE). A brief discussion on the calligraphic peculiarities used while striking Ottoman coins in the 18th–20th centuries can be found in HEIDEMANN (234).

Not so much has been done in the field of the late and post-Mongol period of Anatolian numismatics during the last few years. Only the contribution by BİNBAŞ (221) on the Āq Qoyūnlū period hoard from Arzinjān as well as TARGAÇ’S note (262) on a rare Jalāyirid coin are the only noteworthy publications

Caucasus *Aram Vardanyan and Alexander Akopyan*

During the last few years the number of scientific publications in the field of Islamic numismatics related to the Caucasus region has greatly increased. These are mainly the works dealing with the monetary history and coin circulation of medieval Armenia, Georgia and present-day Azerbaijan. In his PhD thesis VARDANYAN (355) gathered the all known to him Sājid, Sallārid, Daysamite and Rawwādid gold and silver coins that participated in the circulation of Armenia and the adjacent territories in the 10th century CE. At the same time, his catalogue of early Islamic copper coins supported by both historical and numismatic discussion might shed more light on the administrative system that existed in the ‘Abbāsīd North (152). Several rare and hitherto unpublished Islamic coins struck in historic Armenia during the Islamic rule (from ‘Abbāsīds to Qājārs) can be found in the pages of a special publication presented by the Central Bank of Armenia and devoted to the 25th anniversary of the national currency, the Armenian *Dram* (VARDANYAN et AL. (357)).

As before PAGHAVA et AL. (344, 349) has continued studying the ‘Abbāsīd period coinage in Georgia. The Georgian imitations of ‘Abbāsīd *dirhams* and their probable connection to David III Kuropalates’ (978–1000/1 CE) coinage is the main scope of research in the studies by KULESHOV (314–315, 317, 318). The latest has also succeeded in mapping the Khazar imitations of the ‘Abbāsīd *dīnārs* (316). The rich coinage of the Shīrwānshāhs was covered in great detail in recent books by RAJABLI (353) and ZLOBIN (362).

Significant progress has been achieved in the study of the coinage of Kakheti-Hereti (11th century CE). After the publication of the earliest billon *dirham* issued in the name of the King of Kakheti Kwirike III the Great (1010–1037 CE) by AKOPYAN AND VARDANYAN (295) in 2012, a series of publications devoted to the numismatics of this period appeared in recent years. Particularly, coins struck by representatives of this obscure dynasty were further discussed by AKOPYAN (291), ALEXANYAN AND PAGHAVA (298). An interesting specimen citing Kwirike III was found in a large coin hoard from the Republic of Azerbaijan in 2013 (VARDANYAN AND ZLOBIN (359)). Since then, the subject of Kakhetian numismatics has been the topic of additional articles by AKOPYAN AND ALEXANYAN (292), ALEXANYAN AND CHANISHVILI (297, 303), as well as by PAGHAVA in cooperation with his colleagues and friends (307, 337, 340).

As far as the numismatics of the core lands of Georgia is concerned, a milestone monograph in the field was prepared by BENNETT (299), whose work was kindly edited and supported by Stephen Album (Santa Rosa). With more than a thousand coin types and sub-types characterizing the coinage of Georgia from ancient times until the late medieval era, this catalogue is a significant contribution to the regions publications. It replaces both Pakhomov's *Monety Gruzii* of 1910 and Kapanadze's *Gruzinskaya Numismatika* issued in 1955. Simultaneously, various types and sub-types of coins struck in different periods of Georgian history were discussed or re-evaluated in the articles by PAGHAVA and his co-authors (306, 324, 330, 333, 343). The studies of AKOPYAN (275, 285, 286) offer a preliminary discussion on the coinage of Dvin during largely unknown period spanning the 11th–12th centuries CE, as well as his thoughts about the Georgian-type coins ascribed to the 14th century Avarian ruler Bayar ibn Suraqa (284, 293). In addition, the coinage and monetary circulation of the Ganja, Qarābākh (Qarābāgh), Īrawān (Chukhūr Sa'd) and Nakhjawān Khanates are among the main focus of his more recent studies (288, 290).

Finally, a series of publications by AKOPYAN et AL. (278, 282, 289, 294, 296, 307), PAGHAVA (327) and VARDANYAN (356) focused on identifying some mint-names and their localization within the Caucasus region. At the same time, coin hoards unearthed in the different parts within the Caucasus region have been registered by AKOPYAN et AL. (279, 292), BERIKASHVILI AND PATARIDZE (300), KULESHOV AND ORLOV (319), PAGHAVA et AL. (323, 335, 336, 342, 351), VARDANYAN AND ZLOBIN (359). Based on the evidence of literary sources and coins VARDANYAN AND MARGARYAN (358) made an attempt to introduce the history of medieval Qarābākh, the nature of its toponym as well as to introduce the main coin types that circulated in the region in the Mongol and post-Mongol periods (13th–15th centuries CE). The localisation of the mysterious mint-name Qarā Āghāj within the Qarabakh province is also included in this study.

Eastern Europe (Viking Age and Later) *Alexander Akopyan*

The circulation of coins in Eastern Europe during the Viking period remains one of the fastest developing areas of numismatics which continues to attract the attention of historians, archaeologists. The growing interest resulted in an increasing number of published works in this area during the few last years. Works have focused particularly on dealing with the typology of locally struck coins and their attribution. Thus, the research by KOVALEV (400), KULESHOV (404), LEIMUS (428–429) and RISPLING (439) offered a serious discussion on the earliest coins minted in the Rus'. At the same time, several aspects related to the chronology of the circulation in Eastern Europe of Islamic coins were analyzed in the publications by KULESHOV (405, 411), which then found their reflection in his PhD thesis (409). Studies by SHCHAVELEV AND FETISOV (440–441) are devoted to the mapping of the Viking era coin finds and their possible connection with trade routes. The composition of available coin hoards helped KOVALEV (401) to come to a conclusion that the circulation of Islamic coins struck in the Eastern Mediterranean and Upper Mesopotamia to Eastern Europe occurred as early as in the mid-10th century CE. On the cases of Severia and Suzdal Opolye, an attempt has been made to find out more on the regional currency zones (LEBEDEV (415)), MAKAROV, GAYDUKOV AND GOMZIN (432)). Articles by ZHUKOVSKY (450–452) are devoted to the weight units used in Eastern Europe. BEGOVATOV, LEBEDEV, KHRAMCHENKOVA (44) and SHAYKHUTDINOVA AND KHRAMCHENKOVA et AL. (52, 54) made significant progress in the metal analysis of Islamic coins that circulated in Eastern Europe.

The number of publications dealing with the Viking period coin hoards is also traditionally high. Hoards from Novgorod were described by GAYDUKOV, GOMZIN et AL. (374–375, 384–388, 454), while those revealed in other parts of the Rus' was published by FEDOROV et AL. (371–372), GOMZIN et AL. (380–381, 389), LEBEDEV et AL. (392, 393, 416–420, 422, 424–426, 446), KULESHOV et AL. (408, 410), LEMBERG AND SERGEEV (430, 431), REVA (438), VARDANYAN (444). Karelia is represented through the hoards discussed by KULESHOV (412), while the treasuries of Mordovia are in the articles by GOMZIN (382–383) and LEBEDEV (423). Coin hoards unearthed in the Perm region were

registered by GOMZIN (390), while those found in the Baltic Sea area are mentioned by MALARCZYK et AL. (366, 448), DOBROVOLSKY (369), ILISCH et AL. (395–396), LEIMUS (429, 436). Volga Bulgarian hoards can be found in the works by late BEGOVATOV et AL. (364, 365), TROSTYANSKY AND KALININ (443), while the topographic data on hoards from Crimea was amended thanks to publications by KULESHOV et AL. (407, 414). As before a special attention is paid to the hoards from the Slavic-Khazarian border. The huge Bezlyudovsky hoard was analyzed by BYKOV (368) and VASMER (445), while the importance of the “Gorokhov’s hoard” was highlighted by DOBROVOLSKY (370). Finally, the hoards from Greater Poland were published by MALARCZYK et AL. (433–435). Subsequently, they have been summarized in the monographic study by SZCZUREK, PASZKIEWICZ, TABAKA et AL. (442).

Golden Horde and Its Successors *Alexander Akopyan*

The study of Golden Horde coinage has progressed significantly due to inexhaustible effort of Russian numismatists deserving of special recognition and gratitude for their contributions to the field. Coins and the monetary circulation in the Golden Horde is one of the most active fields in Islamic numismatics. The majority of the studies selected for this survey is in Russian, although limited material has been published in English. For instance, HULETSKI AND FARR (506) published a catalogue showing the earliest coins of the Golden Horde, while SAVOSTA (585–588) in his book reverted to the coins struck in the Western parts of the Golden Horde as well as Azāq and Ḥājjī-Tarkhān. In addition, the coins of Azāq are in the catalogue of DOBROMYSLOV (478). An exhaustive monograph by PETROV, BAYPAKOV AND VOYAKIN (544) includes a comprehensive study on the monetary circulation of what is now Kazakhstan during the rule of Chingizids, Juchids and Chagatayids. An attempt to decipher the main peculiarities of the Bulghār monetary system in the 13th – early 14th centuries CE was made by BUGARCHEV AND PETROV (472). Through the efforts made by ALIMBAY, PETROV AND BELTENOV it was possible to publish coins kept in the Central State Museum of Kazakhstan (456).

Continuously, intensive scientific research is being conducted to reconstruct the main features of the regional coinages. For instance, the main aspects of the coin circulation in Bulghār are discussed in the studies by BUGARCHEV (464–465), Sarāy (PETROV, KRAVTSOV AND GUMAYUNOV (548), ERMOLOV AND DOBROMYSLOV (489), Azāq (DOBROMYSLOV (478)), Mājar (DOBROMYSLOV AND ERMOLOV (481–482)), Khwārizm (KHROMOV (511), REVA AND BRAGIN (573–574)), Syghnāq (GONCHAROV (501), REVA AND BRAGIN (570–575)), Crimea (GONCHAROV (501), MOROZOV (524), YAKUSHECHKIN (599)), Lower Dnieper (KHROMOV (508, 510, 512)), Western Black Sea region (DRUZHININ AND PETROV (484), GONCHAROV AND CRIVENCO (504), ZAYONCHKOVSKIY et AL. (603, 605)).

Concerning the political history of the Golden Horde, especially during the time of political instability when various *khāns* were aspiring to assume power in the state for themselves, some important suggestions based on the numismatic data were proposed by REVA (560–563). The same author (REVA (568) tried to pay more attention to the history of Golden Horde during the most difficult period coinciding with the early 15th century. REVA (567) covered rare coins struck by the secondary branch of the Juchids, the Shibānids (Shaybānids), while REVA AND BRAGIN (571) succeeded in identifying coins that can be ascribed to the Juchid ruler Künche Khān. REVA AND TISHIN (580) published the earliest coins of the Tyumen *khān* Maḥmūd Khūjā, while REVA, KAZAROV AND ZAYONCHKOVSKIY (577) identified the coins by the *khān* Ibrāhīm who ruled in Southern Siberia. Particular attention was also paid to the names of non-Chingizid rulers indicated on coins. For instance, Idigū-bek, Maḥmūd-bek, Waqqās-Bek were identified by REVA et AL. (576, 578–580), while ZAYONCHKOVSKIY et AL. (602, 607) has achieved some success in the identification of Tin-Ṣuffi and Ḥaydar-Bek.

A large amount of work has been done for the publication of coin hoards as well as the reconstruction of the monetary circulation in the Golden Horde. The majority of these studies are in the Russian language and deal with the Middle and Lower Volga – BUGARCHEV et AL. (464, 467, 469, 474–475, 519–520, 581), PETROV AND KUBANKIN (549–550), GOLUBEV AND LEBEDEV (493), MUKHAMETSHIN (526–529), NEDASHKOVSKIY (532–533). Various aspects of the monetary circulation in Crimea as well as hoards discovered in this region have been discussed by SIDORENKO, ALEKSEENKO AND TSEPKOV (595), YAKUSHECHKIN (600). Coin hoards unearthed in the present-day Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are described by GONCHAROV (499), PETROV et AL. (463, 545–547, 552), REVA AND BRAGIN (572–575). Those registered for Western Siberia were described and analyzed by REVA (569), the Russian principalities by GOMZIN (494–495), PETROV (542), the Grand Duchy of Lithuania by GORLOV AND KAZAROV (505), the Northern Caucasus by NAROZHNY AND NAROZHNYAYA (530), the Western Black Sea region by CRIVENCO AND GONCHAROV (476), Ukraine by

KHROMOV AND SANZHAROV (515).

The external economic and political relations of the Golden Horde reflected in numismatics have been studied by GONCHAROV (497–498). The specific nature of Juchid coinage requires a thorough and many-sided research based on a die study that is starting to be fulfilled by a series of publications thanks to DOBROMYSLOV AND ERMOLOV ET AL. (477, 479–480, 486–488), SAVOSTA (585–589). More research has been conducted in recent years on the chemical analysis of Juchid coins with the use of various methods (XRF, SEM, OES, CT) (SHAYKHUTDINOVA AND KHRAMCHENKOVA with co-authors (43, 45–47, 50–51, 53–54) and MOROZOV (48–49).

Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan *Aram Vardanyan and Alexander Akopyan*

In recent years more publications dealing with numismatics of the Persian lands have appeared in Iran. Such contributions are welcomed as they offer a huge number of interesting, sometimes new and previously unrecorded numismatic materials which for many years had long been unavailable for scientific study, especially to those in the West. The most remarkable publications written in Persian language in this latest period are perhaps the monographs by ALAEDINI (618–620) devoted to the Mongol, post-Mongol and Tīmūrid numismatics of Iran. With several hundreds of nicely illustrated specimens, mostly kept in private collection(s), his catalogues shed more light on the coinage of Iran under Islamic rule. The catalogue by SOLEIMANI (664) devoted to coins struck by various dynasties that ruled in Iran during or after the collapse of the ‘Abbāsīd Caliphate follows the same style in regard to the presentation of the numismatic material. EFTEKHARI (630) concentrated himself on the coinage by the Afsharid dynasty, while HAGHSHEFAT (635) compiled a catalogue of Qājār machine-struck (milled) coinage.

As for publications in Western languages, the book by DAUWE (626) with some 323 entries offering a wide range of gold, silver and copper coins struck in the Iranian city of Qumm (from Umayyads to Qājārs with particular attention to the ‘Abbāsīd period dynasties and Tīmūrīds) is a fruit of his years long labor of collecting and studies in the field. His other studies related to the coinage of Fumān and Simnān in Northern Iran are important contributions to Tīmūrid numismatics (DAUWE (624–625)). Among studies dealing with the early Islamic coinage of Iran, one must mention the catalogue by WILKES (666) devoted to the Tāhirid coinage, as well as the series of articles by LLOYD (645–649) whose contribution published in parts in the *JONS* volumes is extremely important and so far the most comprehensive research conducted in the field of the Ṣaffārid numismatics after the publication by Richard Vasmer back in 1930. At the same time, the coinage by Dulafīds, another dynasty that ruled in Jibāl province in the second half of the 9th century CE, is discussed in the article by VARDANYAN (665) who for the first time brought together both gold and silver Dulafīd coins struck in the cities of Arrajān, Iṣbahān, Hamadhān and Nihāwand (Māh al-Baṣra). The chronology of governors that ruled in Ṭabaristān province of Iran in the early ‘Abbāsīd period was revised by KULESHOV (643). A thorough analysis of the coin hoard of Āmul found in 1973 with some 209 silver Ziyārid, Bāwandid and Būyid (Buwayhid) *dirhams* permitted ILISCH (638) to conclude that certain isolated letters frequently appearing on some Būyid coins had not only been mint-master’s initials, but also served some kind of signatures for the control of fineness. A few publications on the coinage of the Great Seljūqīd sultans in Iran itself as well as their dependencies in different provinces within the Iranian world are mainly connected with the name of the Egyptian numismatist DESOUKY (627–629).

AKOPYAN AND MOSANEF described the coins from the time of the fall of the Īlkhānid state (late 1330s–1350s CE) including the issues inscribed with the names of the Chūbānid (Chopanid) ruler Ashraf (*d.* 1357 CE) and his former follower, a Turco-Mongol officer named Akhījūq (*d.* 1359 CE) in the context of the Juchid campaign of 1357 CE into the Southern Caucasus and Western Iran (616). The same authors published a study on the coinage by Musha‘sha‘ who ruled in Iraq and Khuzistān in the 15th century CE (617). AKOPYAN also reviewed the typology, denominations and weight standards of the Iranian copper coinage dated 16th–18th centuries (613). A group of special marks seen on coins struck during the last decade of the reign by Sultan Ḥusayn (1694–1722 CE) was analyzed in another publication by AKOPYAN (612). A general overview on the late Iranian coinage as well as the current state of numismatic research in the area was carried out by HEIDEMANN (636).

A comparably modest number of publications in Western languages dealing with Islamic coinage of Afghanistan can mostly be associated with the names of KHAN (639–641), who discussed the coinage of Northern India (al-Hind) and Afghanistan (Ghazna) under Umayyads and Ghaznawīds, and GORON (632–634), the most recent studies of whom are connected with the Afsharid period in Kābul and coinage under the Durrānī ruler Qayṣar Shāh (1803–1809 CE).

CRIBB's (622) notice refers to some Sāmānid, Ghaznawid, Ghūrid and Khwārizmshāh silver and copper coins struck in the mints of Bamiyān and Farwān located in the Central and North-Eastern Afghanistan. All these coins were found in Bagram (Begram) and originated from the collection of the British traveller Charles Masson (Kabul, 1833–1838 CE).

Central Asia *Aram Vardanyan*

As before the most fruitful output in this section belong to scholars representing the post-Soviet academia. With the publication (vol. 1 – catalogue, vol. 2 – countermarks) of a large hoard with Tīmūrid silver coins (2645 out of 2670 illustrated) discovered in the settlement of Sayram in Southern Kazakhstan in 2011, BAYTANAEV, BRAGIN AND PETROV (673–674) contributed much into the study of Tīmūrid history and numismatics. The composition of the hoard, which mainly consisted of silver *tankas* struck by Shāhrūkh (1409–1447 CE), has shown that its burial may have taken place in or after AH 821/1418 CE. In addition, BRAGIN (675) individually and in cooperation with other colleagues (BRAGIN AND KAMYSHEV (678), BRAGIN AND PETROV (679)) continued the work on the topography of finds of Tīmūrid silver and copper coins in Kyrgyzstan and elsewhere. Moreover, some Tīmūrid copper coins with the denomination *tassūj* are discussed in BRAGIN AND PETROV (680). Articles dealing with an issue of copper coins under Zāhir al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābūr (2nd reign, 1500–1501 CE) in Samarkand in AH 907/1501 CE as well as the silver coinage by the Shaybānid ruler ‘Ubaydallāh Khān (1534–1539 CE) are among a few studies conducted for the period of the 16th century Central Asian numismatics (BRAGIN AND BATRAKOV (676–677)).

Some progress was also achieved in Sāmānid and Qarakhānid numismatics, though the number of publications in the area has decreased over the last a few years. Thus, SCHINDEL (707–708) published two hoards with Sāmānid coins found in Pepineg in Gallizia and in Central Asia. AL-NABARAWY (670) discusses a rare Sāmānid *dīnār* inscribed in the name of Nūḥ I ibn Naṣr (943–954 CE) and struck in al-Muḥammadiya in AH 341. A short note by CANNITO AND FEDEROV (682) offers some thoughts on an enigmatic copper (bronze) *fals* of Bukhārā minted in AH 348. DOVUDI (687) scope of research was the rare presentation *dirham* struck in the name of the Sāmānid ruler Maṣṣūr I ibn Nūḥ (961–976 CE). KALININ (690) attracted the attention of numismatists to previously unknown *dīnārs* issued by the Sāmānid amir Fā’iq. In cooperation with colleagues from the State Hermitage Museum, the same author published the Bondyuzh hoard of Kufic coins minted in the early 10th century CE (KALININ AND KULESHOV (692)). Some aspects of the coinage in the Qarakhānid state are discussed in KALININ (691) and KOSHEVAR (697).

As far as the numismatics of the late Central Asia is concerned, the articles by NASTICH (701, 704) and SCHUSTER (709) must be mentioned. NAYMARK (705) emphasized the main directions and trends of coin collecting in Turkestan before and after the Russian conquest of the region. Finally, the catalogue by NASTICH AND SCHUSTER (703) comprising the gold, silver and copper coins struck by the Khanates of Bukhārā, Khīwa, Khūqand, Jand and other smaller political entities that existed in Central Asia in the late 17th – early 20th centuries, has become an indispensable resource for both numismatists and collectors. It contains several hundred colored illustrations and is so far the most up-to-date study in the field.

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EAST AND SOUTH EAST ASIA

INTRODUCTION

Helen Wang

For too long, East and South East Asian currencies were relegated to the back of books, the bottom of lists, and the end of cabinets. It is excellent to see this new Survey split into volumes, affording the currencies of East and South East a more equal status, and, even better, making the sections available online, open access, so that the contents will be easier to consult than the previous hard-copy surveys.

To recap, the first INC Survey, in 1961, covering the period up to 1959, contained nothing for East and South East Asia. For the 1967 Survey, covering 1960–1965, H.F. Bowker contributed two pages on the “Far East”, arranged under five sub-headings: Bibliography, Manuals, Catalogs of Major Collections, China, and Japan (Section 15, pp. 288–289). Under “Bibliography” he noted A.B. Coole’s *A Bibliography on Far Eastern Numismatics* [1940] and Elvira E. Clain-Stefanelli’s *Select Numismatic Bibliography* [1965], adding “no comprehensive bibliography of East Asian numismatics has been published since the writer’s *A Numismatic Bibliography of the Far East* [1943].” Under “Manuals”, he wrote “there is no corpus of East Asian numismatics in any language, for which there is a great need. Heretofore most books have been limited to cataloguing coins in collections of individual collectors, and these all fall far short of being at all comprehensive.” Under “Catalogs of Major Collections”, he listed the collection of Frederik Schjøth (1929, reprinted and expanded 1965), and the Anz collection of East Asian copper coins in a private collection in Hamburg (which Bowker had catalogued and hoped to publish). Under “China”, he included *Zhongguo jindai huobi shi ziliao* 中國近代貨幣史資料 (1964), comprising two volumes covering the period 1840–1911; and Ding Fubao’s 丁福保 *Guqian dacidian* 古錢大辭典 [Encyclopaedia of ancient coins (1938), with two facsimile editions issued in Japan. Under “Japan”, he noted that the Japanese had been very active in numismatics and listed five publications.

Since then, the situation has changed, and this is reflected in the East and South East Asian sections of the Survey, which have grown in size and scope. We have also gradually moved away from the Eurocentric terminology (eg Oriental, Far Eastern) towards more geographical terms (eg East Asia, South East Asia).

The 1973 survey, covering 1966–1971, included an “Oriental Section” edited by Helen W. Mitchell Brown, in which the East Asian sub-section, including South East Asia, covered four pages (Vol. 2, pp. 339–342).

In the 1979 Survey, covering 1972–1977, the “Far East” section, compiled by Joe Cribb, was 12 pages—triple the size of the previous survey—and included China, Japan, Korea, Annam, South East Asia (pp.480–491): eight pages for China, and shorter sections on Japan, Korea, Annam, Coin-shaped charms, and South-East Asia.

In the 1986 Survey, covering 1978–1984, the “Far East” section (Vol. 2, pp. 784–823), again compiled by Joe Cribb, had a two-page introduction, and 34 pages for China—tripling the size of the previous survey again—with sub-sections on Chinese currency through the ages, minting technology, Chinese precious metal currency, Chinese paper money, Chinese coins found outside China, coin-shaped charms, numismatic miscellanea. There were three pages on Japan and a paragraph each on Korea, Vietnam and Mongolia. For the first time, South East Asia had its own section (pp. 824–830), compiled by Robert S. Wicks, and consisting of seven pages with sub-sections on Burma; Thailand, Laos and Cambodia; Indonesia, Malaysia and Brunei; and the Philippines.

For the 1991 Survey, covering 1985–1990, more international help was enlisted. Vol. 2 of the Survey contained surveys of Japan, by Joe Cribb (pp. 698–701); China, by Dai Zhiqiang and Yao Shuomin (pp. 702–738); and South East Asia, by François Thierry (pp. 691–697).

The collaborative nature of the East and South East Asian sections has continued since then. In the 1996 Survey, covering 1991–1995, François Thierry surveyed South East Asia (pp. 785–790); Dai Zhiqiang and Zhou Weirong surveyed China (pp. 791–806) and Takashi Ohkubo surveyed Japan (pp. 807–809).

The 2001 Survey, covering 1996–2001, includes sections on South East Asia, by Michael Robinson (pp. 689–690); China, by Dai Zhiqiang, Helen Wang and François Thierry (pp. 691–734); and Vietnam and Indo-China

(François Thierry), pp. 735–738).

The 2009 Survey, covering 2002–2007, includes sections on South East Asia, by Michael Robinson (p. 527); China, by Helen Wang, Zhou Weirong and François Thierry (pp. 528–573); Vietnam and Indo-Chine, by François Thierry (pp. 574–577); and Japan, by Shin'ichi Sakuraki (pp. 578–581).

The 2015 Survey, covering 2008–2013, includes sections on The 2015 Survey, covering 2008–2013, includes sections on Chinese numismatics by Françoise Thierry (pp. 514–520), Vietnamese and Indochinese numismatics by Françoise Thierry, Nguyễn Thùy Hà and Emmanuel Poisson (pp. 521–524) and Japan by Shin'ichi Sakuraki (pp. 525–528). The sub-section on China which I prepared was not included, the main reason being that it was more of a list than a critical survey of the field. In the end, I published it on my academia.edu page. While I appreciate the motivation behind the rejection, it was already a mammoth task to prepare a list of publications on Chinese numismatics in Chinese, with pinyin, and an English title that was not without interest or use.

In the past 60 years, the fields of East Asian and South East Asian numismatics has grown in quantity, quality and internationally. However, it is not an easy task to compile these surveys, and inevitably we are dependent on experts and their availability. The current Survey includes four sub-sections on China, by Lyce Jankowski and Helen Wang; Japan, by Takagi Hisashi; Cambodia, by Grégory Mikaelian; and Island South East Asia, by Elsa Clavé. We are very grateful to them.

CHINA

*Lyce Jankowski and Helen Wang***Introduction**

Durant les six dernières années, un nombre conséquent de travaux en numismatique chinoise ont été publiés. Il s'agit dans leur très grande majorité de publications en langue chinoise, mais aussi en anglais, français, japonais et russe. Nous remercions d'ailleurs Vladimir A. Belyaev pour son aide pour les références dans cette dernière langue.

L'énorme travail de compilation du *Zhongguo qianbi da cidian* 中国钱币大辞典 [Grand dictionnaire des monnaies chinoises] se poursuit et deux nouveaux tomes portant sur les billets monétaires à l'époque de la République de Chine ont été finalisés (290, 291). La Société de numismatique de Chine (*Zhongguo qianbi xuehui* 中国钱币学会) a publié le sixième volume du *Zhongguo qianbi lunwen ji* 中国钱币论文集 [Recueil d'essais de numismatique chinoise – 6e série], rassemblant des articles sur des périodes et des problématiques diverses (6).

On peut saluer la publication d'un ouvrage majeur de référence en français, celui de François THIERRY, *Monnaies de la Chine ancienne* (8) qui retrace de façon exhaustive l'histoire de la monnaie en Chine depuis les origines jusqu'à la fin de l'empire. Bien qu'il ne s'agisse pas d'un ouvrage de numismatique, on pourra citer, la remarquable histoire économique de la Chine, par Richard VON GLAHN (9).

Un ouvrage impressionnant par son ambition et par sa taille, est la nouvelle édition de *Ch'ing cash*, de Werner BURGER (221) qui propose une étude du monnayage de la dynastie Qing (1644-1911) complétée par des tableaux chronologiques illustrant par des estampages les types émis par année et par atelier. La collection *Monies, Markets, and Finance in East Asia, 1600-1900*, dirigée par Hans Ul. VOGEL s'est enrichie de plusieurs volumes sur l'industrie des mines et la fonte monétaire (228, 253, 452).

Les découvertes en contexte archéologique sur le territoire chinois ont été nombreuses. Elles ont mis au jour des monnayages appartenant à toutes les périodes historiques, depuis les Royaumes Combattants (17, 18, 54) jusqu'aux Qing (227, 235, 236), voire même aux débuts de la République (279). Il s'agit le plus souvent de fouilles de sépultures, datant dans leur très grande majorité des Han (57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 74, 75, 80, 81, 82) mais aussi des Ming (183, 184, 186, 188, 193, 199, 203, 204, 205, 206, 217). Plus rares sont les lieux de culte (126, 182, 428), ou les sites d'architecture civile et militaire (76, 68, 133) ainsi que les ateliers monétaires (71). Quelques épaves ont également été étudiées (137, 227, 235). La découverte en 2011 de la tombe monumentale de Liu He (92–59 av. J.C.), marquis de Haihun, a révélé dix tonnes de sapèques. Mais ce sont surtout ses lingots en or en forme de sabots qui ont interpellé de nombreux chercheurs (56, 59, 83, 87, 89, 93, 97). La spectaculaire découverte en 2017 des vestiges de la flotte de Zhang Xianzhong 张献忠 (1606–1647) à Pengshan au Sichuan et de sa cargaison de lingots d'argent et de monnaies d'or (192) suscitera sans aucun doute de nouvelles questions de recherche. L'étude du monnayage en or et en argent semble être un thème majeur de la recherche actuelle en numismatique chinoise, comme l'a montré la tenue d'un colloque sur cette question en juin 2017 au musée provincial du Zhejiang Provincial Museum. Les actes édités par Li Xiaoping 李小萍 rassemblent vingt-deux articles depuis les Han occidentaux jusqu'à aujourd'hui (453). Les travaux de ZHOU Weirong 周卫荣 sur les lingots d'argent ont fait l'objet de plusieurs articles (122 ; 343 ; 485, 488) et d'un ouvrage (487).

Quelques collections muséales ont rendu leur catalogue disponible (419, 420, 141, 212).

Chaque année, la revue *Zhongguo qianbi* 中国钱币 [China numismatics] publie une sélection des références les plus importantes, livres et articles publiés dans des revues en République populaire de Chine. Nous avons repris cette sélection (中国钱币学货币史研究综述) réalisée de 2014 à 2019 par HUANG Wei 黄维, et d'autres collègues - QIN Huiying 秦慧颖, YANG Jun 杨君 et ZHAO Yunfeng 赵云峰 pour 2014, QIN Huiying 秦慧颖, CHEN Qi 陈祺 et REN Wenbiao 任文彪 pour 2015, SUN Yadi 孙雅頔, CHEN Qi 陈祺, REN Wenbiao 任文彪, TIAN Xianhao 田显豪 et MENG Xiangwei 孟祥伟 pour 2016, QIN Huiying 秦慧颖, CHEN Qi 陈祺 et MENG Xiangwei 孟祥伟 pour 2017, WANG

Keyu 王科宇 et SUN Yadi孙雅頔 pour 2018, et enfin WANG Jinhua 王金华 pour 2019.

Les références sont classées en suivant les catégories suivantes:

- (1) Histoire générale de la monnaie
- (2) Pré-Qin et Qin
- (3) Han occidentaux, Wang Mang et Han orientaux
- (4) Wei, Jin, Dynasties du Sud et du Nord et Sui
- (5) Tang, Cinq Dynasties et Dix Royaumes
- (6) Song
- (7) Liao, Xi Xia et Jin
- (8) Yuan
- (9) Ming
- (10) Qing
- (11) Qing–République
- (12) République de Chine
- (13) Révolution, Résistance contre les Japonais et guerre civile
- (14) République populaire de Chine
- (15) Monnaies par région
- (16) Routes de la soie et monnaies étrangères en Chine
- (17) Techniques de fabrication et analyses
- (18) Amulettes monétiformes
- (19) Banques, billets et histoire financière
- (20) Collections et histoire des collections
- (21) Divers

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JAPAN

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This chapter reviews numismatic studies in Japan between 2014 and 2019. It focuses particularly on excavated coins which are estimated to have been created during the latter half of the medieval period and the transitional period to early-modern Japan (between the 14th and 17th century).

SAKURAKI (40) provides a general introduction to Japanese numismatics by a leader in the field, being a summary of his 2009 introduction (39), updated with more recent finds and research methodology. SAKURAKI (41) is a survey of numismatic archaeological studies in Japan in recent years. TAKAGI (46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52) offer a general history of currency in Japan and surveys of recent studies in this field, including numismatic and archaeological finds.

1. Coins (*zeni*) – mainly bronze, but also iron and brass

Zeni (Chinese: *qian*), the round coins with a square hole, were the main metal currency in pre-modern Japan. The primary material used in Japanese zeni was bronze, though iron, brass, and silver were also used. The word ‘coin’ in this chapter refers to zeni.

1.1 Re-evaluation of privately manufactured coins in Japan

TAKAGI (49, 50) defines the period between the latter half of the 13th century and 14th century as the beginning of the early-modern age of historical currency in Japan, as determined by the resumption of domestic coin production. During this period, the private sector in Japan imitated China’s bronze coin. Conventional studies have described how the imitation coins disrupted transactions owing to their poor quality. Recent studies, including those by TAKAGI (49, 50), re-evaluate coin production in Japan at that time as a test of how the private sector could provide liquidity through small coin, when the government was not creating metal coins.

A large proportion of imitation coins in Japan is of poor quality. For example, the inscription may not be clear, which KURODA (19) and SAKURAKI (39, 40) attribute to the lack of tin production in Japan. The lack of tin production also relates to the production of the coins with inscriptions that circulated after the 15th century.

TAKAGI (47, 48) describes governmental regulations concerning imitation coins produced in Japan. The laws defining coin discrimination by the governments during the late 15th century and the first half of the 16th century indicate that coins produced in Japan were circulating in society and that people could identify whether a coin was produced in Japan or not.

SAKURAKI (41) describes the continuity of coin production technology in Japan from the late 16th century to the 17th century.

1.2 Re-definition of *bita*

Bit a is a sub-category of zeni. TAKAGI (49) describes the earliest record of bit a dating to 1499.

Conventional numismatic discourses, e.g. OOKAMA (33), defined bit a as the assemblage of privately manufactured poor quality coins and imitations of imported zeni produced after the first half of the 14th century. In other words, bit a were defined as imitation coins produced in medieval Japan.

This definition probably dates to the *Kokon Senka Kagami* (Catalogue of Old and New Coins) of 1789, written by Kutsuki Masatsuna (1750–1802), daimyo, or domain lord, in the mid-Tokugawa period. A well-known researcher of numismatics, his collection can be found at the British Museum and Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. In *Kokon Senka Kagami*, he defined bit a as imitation zeni created in Japan by the private sector after the Ashikaga period (late 14th to 16th century) and evaluated the quality of bit a as very poor.

Meanwhile, we can find other definitions of bit a as being imported coins. In his 1711 book *Honcho Hoka Tsuyo Jiryaku* (A Brief History of National Currency Circulation) Arai Hakuseki (1657–1725), a Confucian and policy advisor of the Tokugawa shogun, defined bit a as old coins issued by other dynasties, such as the Chinese dynasties. In 1736, the scholar Aoki Kon’yo, in his *Keizai San’yo* (An Essence of Economy) defined bit a as coins from the ‘west

land', or the subcontinent of China.

These definitions of bita are based on the existence of Kan'ei-tsuho, the official zeni issued by the Tokugawa shogunate from 1636. The above-mentioned 18th-century works defined bita as zeni that were produced by the private sector in Japan or imported to Japan in the medieval age, as opposed to Kan'ei-tsuho.

Since the 18th century, conventional numismatic research has emphasized the low quality of bita and described these coins as despised. Contemporary numismatic studies in Japan share the opinion that bita was a poor quality coin.

However, this image of bita differs from the reality, as observed in 16th-century records, and recent studies evaluate bita as a symbol of the early modernization of currency in Japan.

The basic premise of the modern discourse was presented in YASUKUNI (60), first published in 1999, which showed that edicts of 1608 and 1609 defined the official exchange rate between gold currency, silver currency, and bita. These edicts defined bita as all zeni except for those of the lowest quality (made of lead, damaged, mis-shapen, unfinished, etc), and defined the value of 1 bita as 1 mon (mon being the basic unit of zeni). The Tokugawa shogunate issued the Kan'ei-tsuho in 1636, which defined the value of Kan'ei-tsuho as equal to bita. Therefore, it can be said that the origin of the Kan'ei-tsuho is the bita, and that the adoption of the bita as the standard coin in the edicts of 1608 and 1609 was a trial integration of zeni prior to the issuance of Kan'ei-tsuho. In 1670, bita was suspended as a tradeable currency.

SAKURAI (38) and YASUKUNI (60) describe the continuity of production for both bita and Kan'ei-tsuho. This implies the succession of coin production in medieval Japan. In short, the integration of zeni by Kan'ei-tsuho was an extension of the historical experiences of both value standards and production systems since the 16th century.

Since the first publication of (60) in 1999, successive researchers have tried to demonstrate the process of zeni integration by bita. Their observations have included: (a) the definition and the real contents of bita, (b) the circulation area of bita, (c) the value standard of bita, and (d) the policies regarding bita prior to the policies implemented by the Tokugawa shogunate.

Regarding (a), CHIEDA (1, 2) demonstrated the following two points:

(a-1) according to the early records describing the value standard of bita (1570s), bita was discounted coin. For example, a record in Ise province (now Mie prefecture) written in 1574, evaluated bita as one seventh of Eiraku-tsuho (Chinese: Yongle tongbao), the standard coin in the Kanto area.

(a-2): According to recorded loan transactions in Ise province in 1582, the parties transferred bita in its broadest definition — anything which was not standard zeni. There were exceptions: hatakake (coins with a damaged edge), hirame (coins without inscriptions), koro (Hongwu tongbao that were copied in Kajiki, Osumi province [now Kagoshima prefecture]), and heira (incomplete coins).

(a-1) corresponds to the definition of bita in *Kaikokushi*, a volume that discussed the topography of Kai province (now Yamanashi prefecture), compiled by mandate of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1814. The *Kaikokushi* stated that bita were “zeni that do not pass as one mon.”

(a-2) implies that in practice, only the poorest of bita were excluded, and that the other coins passed as bita. This includes both those produced domestically and those which were imported. This was the earliest record in history to give a definition of bita.

In addition, (a-2) is significant as the record shows the definition of bita prior to the edicts of 1608 and 1609. It also illustrates that zeni copied in Japan (except for Hongwu tongbao) were in circulation.

Regarding (b), CHIEDA (2) and TAKAGI (45, 47, 49) demonstrate the geographical prevalence of bita. The authors found records of bita in 1582, the age of the Oda administration, both inside and outside the administration's domain.

The records of bita outside Oda's domain imply that bita were prevalent in social practice prior to political inducement by the Oda administration. This phenomenon may have been due to the network externality of the zeni system at the time. Kyoto was the economic centre during that period and was also the political centre of the Oda administration. Social practice in Kyoto society was to pass bita as standard zeni. We can assume that society outside Kyoto also followed their social practices.

Regarding (c), as described in (a-1), bita was discounted coin in the first half of the 1570s. After that, bita was appreciated and became the standard coin. CHIEDA (1) and SAKURAI (38) observed that discounted zeni which had been stratified into several classes converged into one class, bita, in the late 16th century. They explain that the convergence

was due to the shortage of zeni.

KAWATO (12) and TAKAGI (47, 49) describe the adoption of bita as standard zeni in the late 16th century in both social practice and policies by the reunified administrations (Oda and Toyotomi). In the meantime, the zeni discrimination was activated and bita was stratified.

The reason for the zeni discrimination and stratification of bita was, as described by HONDA (6), the Toyotomi administration's political reunification of the Japan archipelago. The administration established an infrastructure for the distribution of goods oriented to the national capital region, Kyoto and Osaka. This allowed Osaka castle, the residence of Toyotomi and the central government office, to be constructed. In addition, the infrastructure establishment was intended to mobilize large numbers of troops against, for example, the Chinese subcontinent in the 1590s. As a result, a large amount of zeni flowed towards the national capital region. This region adopted a narrow definition of bita as the standard zeni. However, troubles like coin discrimination occurred in zeni transactions as the definition of bita was not completely agreed upon in society. In addition, people tried to utilize the circulated zeni at a maximum to compensate for the demand for currency during the zeni shortage. At that time, people discounted lower class bita in narrow definition to less than one mon. As a result, value stratification in bita occurred. In other words, the stratification of bita occurred in parallel with the zeni reunification by bita in social practice.

Regarding (d), TAKAGI (45) discovered that the 1580 edict from the Oda administration defined the accommodation fee of soldiers and horses of troops against Tajima province (now Hyogo prefecture) in units of bita. Furthermore, he (47, 49) used this record as evidence to demonstrate that the Oda administration adopted bita as the standard zeni prior to the Tokugawa shogunate. YASUKUNI (60) describes the Tokugawa shogunate adopting bita as the standard zeni in order to facilitate mobilization of troops. He also (45, 47, 49) emphasizes that the objective of the Oda administration's edict was similar to the Tokugawa shogunate's — a traffic policy. The Toyotomi administration also adopted bita as the standard zeni.

CHIEDA (1) and SAKURAI (38) demonstrated that according to the records of rice prices the value of bita increased towards the 1580s. Archaeological studies also observe the appreciation of bita. KAWATO (12) and SAKURAI (39) demonstrate the proportion of imitation zeni in the increasing hoards located in central Honshu, the main island of Japan, during the 16th century. This phenomenon implies that people in central Honshu started using imitation zeni, that is, former non-standard coins and some bita, as a means of value storage. Researchers assume that the background of this phenomenon is the appreciation of imitation coins.

Due to the appreciation, bita emerged as the standard zeni in social practice. SAKURAI (38) and TAKAGI (48, 49, 50, 51, 52) detected early cases of bita circulation in the national capital region, e.g. Nara, Kyoto, Sakai (now Osaka prefecture) in the 1570s. For example, market prices of rice were recorded in bita units.

SAKURAI'S (38) explicit description of bita has not been detected in Nara after the 1590s. This implies that it was no longer necessary to explicitly write bita in price descriptions because the implicit societal consensus was that the standard zeni was bita.

The research in recent years urges us to reconstruct the definition of bita against the conventional numismatic context.

1.3 Main examples of excavated zeni

The recent studies that describe excavated zeni produced in Japan, including imitations and coins without inscriptions, are as follows.

The methodology, including scientific analysis, is described in ISHIGAMI (8), KATO (9), KOBAYASHI AND NAKAMURA (17), MATSUMURA ET AL. (21) and NISHIKAWA ET AL. (29).

Excavated ancient zeni (7th-11th centuries, issued primarily by the imperial court) and re-evaluation of ancient zeni in collections are described by HARA (4), HATACHI (5), KOBAYAKAWA (16), KONDO (18), NAGAI (24, 25), NAKAJIMA (27), NISHIHARA (28), ONOUE (30, 31, 32), SAEKI (35), SAITO AND AOSHIMA (37), SATO AND KANO (42), SHIGETA (43), SUNAMI (44), TSUJIKAWA (55), WATANABE (59), and YATOGE (61, 62, 63). MATSUMURA (20) is significant due to its observation regarding the social practice of bundling zeni into strings, according to the excavated resource.

Excavated medieval zeni (12th-16th centuries, except for imported coins) are described by KATO (11), MORIOKA (23), NAGAI AND FUJISAKI (26), ONOUE (30), SAEKI (36), and TAKAHASHI (53).

Zeni issued by the medieval Ryukyu kingdom (now Okinawa prefecture) and excavated on the Japanese mainland

are described by KATO (10).

Excavated early-modern zeni (17th–19th centuries, both government issues and those imitated by the private sector, including zeni for religious rituals) are described by HATACHI (5), KOBAYAKAWA (14, 15, 16), MORIOKA (22, 23), ONOUE (30, 31, 32), OONISHI (34), TAKEMURA (54), TSUIKAWA (56), and WATANABE (57, 58, 59). ONOUE (31) describes an excavated case of Keicho-tsuho.

2. Gold currency

SAKURAKI (41) describes the refining technology of gold and introduces examples of cut gold ingots as a currency by weight during the 16th and early 17th century Japan.

3. Silver currency

HONDA (6) provides general information of silver currency production during the 16th and 17th century in Japan, mainly at the Iwami silver mine (a world heritage site).

IKEGAMI (7) suggests a re-classification of chogin (silver bars used as currency).

SAKURAKI (41) describes the refining technology (cupellation) of silver and introduces examples of cut silver ingots as a currency by weight in the 16th century.

SAEKI (36) describes *kodama-gin* (small silver currency by weight issued by the Tokugawa shogunate) excavated in mountainous regions.

4. Paper currency

Conventional studies regarding the history of currency in Japan focused primarily on metal currency. Recent studies have shed light on how the society, in the transitional period from medieval to early-modern Japan, utilized credit transactions without metal currency, in particular through paper media and oral contracts. The paper media is relevant to numismatics.

TAKAGI (46, 47, 49, 50) considers bills of exchange in medieval Japan as an origin of paper currency in early-modern Japan and emphasizes the continuity of both.

CHIEDA (3) tries to identify the issuance date of Yamada-hagaki, that is, the private notes issued in Yamada (now Mie prefecture, the town in front of Ise-jinku shrine) in the 17th century, according to the information on the note.

KISHIZOE (13) tries to re-identify the issuance date of the domain note from Amagasaki-han (now Hyogo prefecture) according to the information on the note.

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LA NUMISMATIQUE AU CAMBODGE

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Les publications des années 2013–2021 sont pour beaucoup redevables à une jeune revue, *Numismatique Asiatique (NA)*, éditée par la Société de Numismatique Asiatique. Son équipe compile et met à jour la bibliographie, écume les collections publiques et privées qu'elle inventorie, présente des sources ou des études connues mais devenues difficiles d'accès, publie des pièces d'archives inédites et de nouvelles études. Elle a même organisé le premier colloque de numismatique cambodgienne, à Paris, en 2015 (46). Tout ceci constitue un important et louable effort au service d'une discipline balbutiante. Il convient toutefois, pour mieux en apprécier la dynamique, de situer ce récent élan dans ses contextes politiques : prompt à valoriser ce qui peut favoriser son rayonnement au national comme à l'international, le gouvernement cambodgien multiplie les démarches de représentations et c'est dans ce cadre qu'il a décidé, il y a quelques années déjà, la construction d'un Musée de l'Économie et de la monnaie (32, 47). Les collectionneurs, amateurs et chercheurs ont trouvé dans cette entreprise gouvernementale un terrain propice à la découverte, au financement, à l'achat, et finalement à l'étude de nouvelles pièces dont certaines ont achevé leur trajectoire dans une salle de ce bâtiment inauguré le 8 avril 2019. Nonobstant ces indéniables avancées, beaucoup des auteurs qui se sont dernièrement penchés sur la monnaie cambodgienne restent encore trop souvent déconnectés des études khmères et de la critique historique des sources pour exploiter au mieux les données numismatiques mises en exergue.

Bibliographies

Trois articles (19, 20, 21) réunis en un volume augmenté (23) présentent une bibliographie précise, commentée, avec mention des pages utiles pour le cas des volumes qui ne traitent pas directement de la question. À côté de nouveautés, comme ces ouvrages de numismatique japonaise de la fin du XVIII^e siècle mentionnant des monnaies du Cambodge, on constate quelques oublis, dont les rares articles et ouvrages publiés en cambodgien. Le classement thématique étonne parfois, notamment lorsqu'il mélange les sources primaires, les sources secondaires, et la critique. Un dernier article qui recense les études publiées par la Société de Numismatique Asiatique témoigne du dynamisme qu'elle a su insuffler à ce champ de la discipline (50).

Collections

Un article dresse l'état des rares collections de monnaies constituées durant l'époque coloniale qui nous sont connues : la collection Jules Silvestre (1878), celle d'Adhémard Leclère (1886-1911), de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient (1900–1920), d'Albert Schroeder (1905), de la Monnaie de Paris (1907), de Georges Groslier (1921), d'André Salles (1929), et de Louis Malleret (1944) (40). La collection Jules Silvestre a par ailleurs fait l'objet d'un inventaire détaillé, dans lequel on recense 26 monnaies offertes au collectionneur par le roi Norodom et réapparues à l'occasion d'une vente privée (36), de même que la collection cambodgienne de la Monnaie de Paris (une cinquantaine de pièces) (34), et la collection Adhémard Leclère (une quinzaine de pièces) (30). Un chapitre d'ouvrage traite de la Collection Tranet constituée depuis les années 1990 (106 monnaies), d'un abord délicat puisqu'elle mélange vraies et fausses monnaies (17). Enfin, le nouveau Musée de l'Économie et de la Monnaie récemment aménagé à Phnom Penh dans les locaux de l'ancienne Municipalité coloniale (32) a fait l'acquisition d'un des rares spécimens existants de la pièce d'Ang Duong de 4 ticals de type Ingram, dans une vente à Hong Kong (47).

Les médailles et monnaies du Cambodge ancien (Funan et pré-angkorien)

Un important trésor monétaire a été découvert en 2011 chez un commerçant de Phnom Penh spécialisé dans le recel des monnaies d'Angkor Borei, dont l'origine a pu être localisée au sud de ce site archéologique, à Konlah Lan. D'après les contextes restitués grâce à l'examen des matériaux céramiques, les monnaies qu'on y a retrouvées en nombre, pour l'essentiel des monnaies d'importation au type du Soleil levant, seraient datables d'entre la seconde moitié du VI^e siècle et le tout début du VII^e siècle (13). Un examen postérieur à partir d'une étude des contextes historiques date le dépôt des trois premières décennies du VII^e siècle, du temps de la conquête du Funan par le Chenla (15).

Autre découverte importante remontant à 2012, celle d'une « monnaie » en or du roi pré-angkorien Isānavarman I^{er} (c. 611/616–635/637) (12), retrouvée dans les mêmes conditions mais qui proviendrait cette fois du dépôt de fondation d'un temple situé à l'intérieur même du site d'Angkor Borei. Son dessin, au dire d'une étude qui lui est consacrée, serait emprunté au modèle bengali du roi Śaśānka (590-637) (royaume de Samatata). Comme elle est un hapax et que le Cambodge ancien ne connaît pas de pièce monnaie, l'auteur suggère un usage rituel (donations religieuses) plus qu'une émission monétaire au sens classique du terme (7) ; le confirme par défaut la découverte du trésor de Konlah Lan dans lequel on ne trouve aucune monnaie qui pourrait se réclamer de la royauté khmère (12, 15) ou encore celle d'une amulette (14) : monnaies en circulation émanant d'autres États sans marqueurs reconnaissables clairs, à côté de possibles imitations locales, amulettes prophylactiques, monnaies à usage rituel, mais point de monnaie émanant d'une autorité souveraine. Reste que l'imitation en question n'est pas un simple décalque et qu'il y a là comme en bien d'autres domaines adaptation créative (15). L'émission de ce médaillon correspondrait, plus précisément, à un dépôt rituel lors de la refondation d'un sanctuaire aujourd'hui ruiné (13). De son côté Michel TRANET livre en khmer un ouvrage qui présente pour la première fois au public cambodgien les monnaies du Funan retrouvées à Angkor Borei, et traite de manière systématique le symbolisme de leurs dessins. Il est malheureusement dépourvu d'appareil critique et de référence quant à l'origine des pièces qu'il présente, dont certaines proviennent sans doute de sa collection personnelle (44). D'une manière générale, ces études étonnent par le contraste accusé dont elles font montre entre, d'une part, les conditions de production, aléatoires, des données positives étudiées – découvertes hors contextes, sites d'origine hypothétique, datations relatives obtenues au moyen de raisonnements hypothético-déductifs – et la présentation fortement positiviste de conclusions pour lesquelles le conditionnel disparaît souvent au profit de l'assertion. Le raisonnement historien n'en sort pas toujours indemne, notamment lorsqu'il recourt à de spectaculaires anachronismes (ainsi, par exemple, de « l'absolutisme » du règne d'Isānavarman I^{er} (15).

Les monnaies post-angkoriennes

Trois articles intéressent le système monétaire « traditionnel », constitué de poids de métaux précieux. Un premier article sur l'usage des pénalités numériques dans la codification du Cambodge post-angkorien eut pu faire date. Mais, ignorant l'état de l'art relatif à cette codification, assis sur un appareil critique indigent, il ne fait que répéter ses prédécesseurs, sans d'ailleurs toujours les citer, ou les contredit implicitement, mais sans rien démontrer (1). Deux autres articles traitent à proprement parler de monnaies traditionnelles : un premier décrit la situation monétaire bigarrée des confins du Cambodge à la fin du XIX^e siècle où se côtoient pains de cires, feuilles d'étain, lingots (de fer, de fonte, de cuivre, de bronze ou d'argent), en plus de ticals siamois, de piastres mexicaines et de sapèques vietnamiennes (10). Un second, tiré d'une thèse de 1987 récemment éditée traite spécifiquement de l'usage des barres de fer comme monnaie, et leur production par le peuple Kuoy, de longue date tributaire des rois du Cambodge (11). Tout progrès, dit-on, se paye par un regret. Les études consacrées aux monnaies « modernes » qui circulèrent dans le Cambodge post-angkorien à partir du XVI^e siècle n'échappent pas à la règle. L'attention nouvelle qu'on leur porte est appréciable, mais l'approche retenue, là aussi étroitement positiviste, favorise les erreurs factuelles autant que les raccourcis interprétatifs. Une première étude tente de faire coïncider les données tardives des chroniques royales cambodgiennes (XIX^e–XX^e siècles), celle des sources européennes et japonaises des XVI^e–XVIII^e siècles, et les données métrologiques apportées par l'étude des monnaies elles-mêmes. Ces frappes monétaires de pièces rondes et plates, unifaces, représentant la plupart du temps des animaux qui ne sont pas toujours clairement identifiables, sans aucune mention de date, de souverain, de lieu, constituent une énigme, que divers auteurs ont tenté de résoudre en s'efforçant de faire correspondre le système traditionnel des poids de métaux précieux mentionnés dans les sources khmères (monnaie de compte et/ou monnaies réelles selon les cas) avec les différents spécimens de pièces conservées dans les diverses collections. L'auteur s'y essaye à nouveaux frais, sans emporter l'adhésion faute de toujours bien ordonner sa documentation : en mettant par exemple sur le même pied un témoignage européen du début du XVII^e siècle, et le récit vernaculaire d'une émission monétaire rédigée au XX^e siècle par les équipes du ministre du palais, qui la situe au cours d'un règne légendaire du XVI^e siècle qu'aucune autre source que les *Chroniques* les plus tardives ne mentionne, il s'expose au scepticisme du lecteur. Postuler en outre une erreur dans certaines sources – hollandaises en l'occurrence – pour faire tenir ensemble des correspondances métrologiques non assurées n'est sans doute pas de bonne politique. Parmi d'indéniables avancées (la critique du témoignage de Tavernier, l'apport de la documentation japonaise de la fin du XVIII^e siècle), les hypothèses *ad hoc* s'enchaînent pour tenter de résoudre les contradictions qui saillent dès lors

que l'on confronte des sources à la fois discontinues, et disparates (8). Deux autres études portent sur une monnaie d'argent arborant un quadrupède, répertoriée en une dizaine d'exemplaires, dans laquelle l'auteur croit reconnaître l'effigie d'un *makara*, animal de la mythologie indienne, sans là non plus emporter l'adhésion. Il avance l'hypothèse que ce type de monnaie tout à la fois rare et fondue en métal noble aurait été destinée à une circulation restreinte – ce qui s'entend. Elle aurait, avance-t-il encore, été conçue par des religieux avec l'autorisation du roi, ce qui relève cette fois de la supposition gratuite. C'est que l'auteur la rapproche d'autres monnaies à figures animales ayant eu à son idée une commune référence astrologique : arborant des figures animalières du zodiaque, elles seraient l'œuvre de milieux sacerdotaux dans le cadre de donations, par exemple à l'occasion de crémations. L'effigie en question qui ne ressemble guère aux canons de l'imagerie cambodgienne n'aide pas à soutenir une telle hypothèse. Il en va de même d'autres pièces à figures de quadrupèdes, dans lesquelles l'auteur croit reconnaître un *rājasī* pour l'une (?) ou, avec cette fois plus de vraisemblance, une licorne chinoise pour l'autre, ou encore un improbable loup pour une troisième. L'identification d'un motif sinisé (la licorne chinoise) achève ainsi de démonétiser l'hypothèse d'une référence à l'astrologie cambodgienne. Ces spéculations sur des pièces qu'on ne sait pas dater (XVII^e ou XIX^e siècle ?), malgré des précisions toujours utiles quant à leurs caractéristiques (dimensions, poids, aloi, composition, etc.) viennent finalement renforcer le sentiment du lecteur qu'il ne s'agit pas, là encore, d'une émission monétaire royale (29 [pp. 35–44], 18]. Une autre étude du même auteur porte sur une pièce en argent à motif d'hippogriffe (un cheval ailé), provenant de la collection Sylvestre, et apparue sur le marché numismatique en 2010. Elle aurait fait partie d'un don du roi Norodom à Sylvestre, peut-être issu du trésor personnel de la reine-mère. L'auteur la fait correspondre à une description hollandaise de 1622, puis postule qu'elle serait le fruit d'une émission royale de cette période quand rien n'indique l'origine de la pièce (26). Une dernière étude porte cette fois sur les pièces à effigie de *hamṣa*, dont le voyageur Tavernier a reproduit un dessin en 1648 et pour lequel l'auteur recense une cinquantaine de variantes, dont il propose un classement typologique. Le recours au microscope électronique vient asseoir un scénario de datation relative des différents types, de la fin du XVI^e au XIX^e siècle, dans lequel le poids et le taux d'argent des pièces vont *decrecendo*. Autant ces conclusions intéressent, autant les rapprochements que l'auteur opère entre tel type de pièce et telle ou telle décennie de l'histoire du Cambodge paraissent forcés (31). Ces pièces d'argent à effigie animalières, dont la description a beaucoup gagné en précision grâce à la revue *NA*, restent pour l'heure une énigme : qui les a émises, quand et pour quels usages, tel est le nouveau problème que ces études permettent de formuler, mais pas encore de résoudre. Deux derniers articles du même auteur s'attellent à faire correspondre les sources européennes relatives aux pièces de monnaie qui circulaient dans le Cambodge des XVI^e–XVIII^e siècles avec les pièces réputées anciennes qu'on y a retrouvées à partir de la fin du XIX^e siècle. Sa lecture positiviste des sources – à commencer par celle *Chroniques royales* rédigées au XX^e siècle qu'il prend pour un récit historique énonçant la vérité des événements passés – l'amène à mettre sur le même plan des données vérifiées, d'autres hypothétiques et invérifiables, et donc à commettre des contresens. Ils côtoient cependant des renseignements inédits et des précisions métrologiques toujours utiles (27). Le défaut de cette approche est surtout de ne considérer comme monnaies que ce qui ressemble à des pièces, de parfois les confondre avec des unités de compte, et d'ignorer ou de négliger les autres formes de monnaies ou de faire dire aux sources ce qu'elles ne disent pas : que Tomé Pires ne parle pas des monnaies cambodgiennes en évoquant le Cambodge ne veut évidemment pas dire qu'elles n'y existaient pas ... (28).

Les monnaies de la principauté de Battambang (fin XVIII^e siècle-1907)

Types de monnaies en circulation, frappes traditionnelles, frappes mécaniques, hôtel des monnaies, affirmages et fausses-monnaies ont été l'objet de plusieurs récits de voyages d'Européens ayant visité la principauté du nord-ouest du Cambodge dans le dernier tiers du XIX^e siècle, dont certains textes ont été republiés (5, 48). À partir de ces témoignages et des spécimens eux-mêmes (36), une nouvelle chronologie de la monnaie de Battambang a pu être proposée qui repose, là encore, sur beaucoup de suppositions : le premier monnayage de la principauté (comme on le sait vassale de Bangkok) aurait représenté un garouda debout à l'imitation de la monnaie du roi du Siam Rama III (1854–1851) ; après la mort de ce dernier, le motif du garouda aurait disparu des émissions monétaires au profit d'une pièce à effigie d'oiseau (généralement décrite comme un coq ou un *hamṣa*) proche de celui des anciennes monnaies du Cambodge ; à partir de 1867 un fermier chinois aurait ajouté à cette pièce de cuivre argenté le caractère chinois *ji* ; dès 1878 aurait été conçu le projet de remettre en circulation des pièces à garouda, en commandant pour cela des presses monétaires, probablement par réaction identitaire : ainsi de 1880 à 1884, un fermier indien qui avait fait venir

une presse mécanique de France aurait fait frapper une pièce biface portant un garuda au droit et la mention *brah tampan* au revers (« bâton sacré », renvoyant au nom siamois, prononcé en khmer, de la principauté) (22). La pièce uniface portant au droit l'oiseau passant à gauche et surmonté du caractère chinois « chance » a fait l'objet d'une étude plus précise : le modèle en serait la pièce uniface à l'oiseau dont on trouve plusieurs attestations dans les sources des XVII^e–XVIII^e siècle (cf. (8)) ; l'ajout du caractère chinois serait possiblement lié à la nécessité de distinguer les pièces cambodgiennes traditionnelles de celles ayant cours au sein de la principauté, abandonnée par la France à la royauté siamoise par le traité de 1867, à moins qu'il ne s'agisse, plus probablement selon l'auteur, d'un usage spécifique aux maisons de jeu ou aux paris sur jeux de plein air. C'est en fait ce caractère « chance » qui se trouve souvent sur les jetons sino-siamois de porcelaine fabriqués pour les maisons de jeu du Siam, qui servirent aussi, occasionnellement, comme « monnaie de nécessité ». La principauté était en effet réputée pour sa pratique des jeux de paris (combats de coq, courses de pirogues, etc.). Hypothèse alternative, l'idéogramme ne serait que la contremarque d'un fermier chinois, celle-ci pouvant d'ailleurs se combiner avec l'hypothèse des jetons de jeux, la pièce ayant pu avoir les deux fonctions concomitantes. Pour ce qui est de son émission, l'auteur en tient pour une chronologie resserrée partant du traité franco-siamois (15 juillet 1867) jusqu'à 1880, lorsque l'affermage des monnaies passa aux mains d'un indien, avant que ne reprennent toutefois quelques émissions sporadiques lorsque la ferme revint dans l'escarcelle d'un chinois après 1884. La circulation effective de ces pièces de cuivre argenté, d'une valeur de 1 *at* par rapport au *baht* siamois, excéda cependant de beaucoup leurs émissions puisqu'elles sont encore attestées jusqu'en 1921, après la rétrocession de Battambang en 1907 (38).

Les monnaies du règne d'Ang Duong (1848-1860)

Étudiée dès 2000 par Jacques Népote dans sa dimension régaliennne et symbolique dans un article de la revue *Péninsule* en partie réédité par *NA* (43), la frappe mécanique d'une pièce de facture européenne ordonnée par Ang Duong a fait l'objet d'une attention renouvelée. Contrairement à la période post-angkorienne, les numismates avancent ici en terrain plus assuré, la documentation étant plus abondante (43, 45, 49) et les spécimens bien répertoriés (25, 47). La frappe fut réalisée à partir de 1853 sur une presse à balancier commandée depuis Singapour à l'entreprise anglaise Ingram & Co (43, 24) puis, un des coins ayant été brisé, Ang Duong en fit commander d'autres auprès de la maison Heaton, lesquels furent en activité à partir de 1856, tandis qu'un troisième jeu de coins aurait été commandé auprès de la France en même temps qu'une nouvelle presse (43, 24). Succédant à son père en 1860, Norodom, abandonna au moins une presse à Oudong (49) lorsqu'il fit de Phnom Penh sa capitale, au mi-temps des années 1860, tandis qu'il en installa d'autres dans son nouveau palais. Le tical d'Ang Duong continua de circuler sous le règne de ce dernier qui en fit également frapper de nouveaux (24). On constate alors la présence de contremarques, probablement apposées au revers par des commerçants chinois pour en certifier la teneur en argent, et ainsi lutter contre les contrefaçons. Une dizaine de ces contremarques a pu être identifiée, la plupart du temps en forme de soleil, mais aussi sous la forme de divers idéogrammes chinois. La pratique remonterait au début du règne de Norodom, alors qu'elle était courante en Cochinchine (1860–1863) ; l'auteur fait l'hypothèse que la contremarque solaire serait le fait de l'autorité royale (9, 24). Quelle que soit la valeur de la monnaie ou le type de frappe (Ingram ou Heaton) considéré, la date inscrite à l'avvers de la pièce est toujours la même (3^e jour de la semaine, 3^e jour de la lune croissante du 4^e mois lunaire, 1209 de la petite ère, année de la chèvre neuvième du cycle dénaire) qui correspond au mardi 7 mars 1848 ; ce serait la date qui figurerait dans les *Chroniques royales* pour les cérémonies d'investiture d'Ang Duong. Sauf que la source (Eng Sut, p. 1070) avancée par l'auteur à l'appui de son assertion donne non pas le 3^e jour de la lune croissante, mais le 1^{er} jour, tandis que d'autres versions des chroniques donnent le 4^e jour de la semaine (mercredi), 4^e jour de la lune croissante (comme le notaient Chandler dès 1973, et Népote, à sa suite, en 2000) (2).

Les monnaies du règne de Norodom (1860-1904)

Norodom est le premier souverain qui fit battre une pièce de monnaie de facture européenne portant son effigie et les armoiries de la Couronne, qu'il venait d'inventer. Une étude paléographique des inscriptions khmères frappées sur ces pièces montre qu'elles combinent un archaïsme post-angkorien délibéré, une influence de l'écriture siamoise contemporaine, et une part de stylisation inédite liée au travail de graveurs non khmérophones travaillant sur modèle (4). Plusieurs articles documentent d'ailleurs ce processus de fabrication déléguée à des graveurs et des maisons d'émission monétaires européennes, sans que les renseignements paraissent toujours bien assurés (6, 39). Il semble toutefois qu'une chronologie relativement précise puisse être établie pour certaines pièces : en 1875, le graveur

belge Wurden réalise les premiers essais de monnaies cambodgiennes à l'effigie du roi ; en 1879, la société Oeschger, Mesdach & Compagnie reçoit sa première commande de pièces cambodgiennes de 5 centimes à l'effigie du roi, suivie d'une seconde en 1882, et d'une troisième en 1889. Les frappes en furent sous-traitées à la société Heaton's Mint de Birmingham, qui avait déjà fourni le roi Ang Duong en coins pour sa presse monétaire (39). Un article décrit l'affermage de l'émission de la monnaie de billon octroyée par le roi à deux associés français, Octave Vandelet et Felix Gaspar Faraut. Entre 1888 et 1893, ces « aventuriers » affairistes, tout comme l'étaient leurs prédécesseurs chinois, ont joué le même jeu aventureux consistant à émettre de la monnaie plus que de raison pour s'enrichir sans consentir à racheter les excédents en circulation comme le stipulait le contrat d'affermage. Rien de nouveau sous le soleil si ce n'est qu'avec les fermiers français, la frappe de la pièce de 10 centimes à l'effigie de Norodom fut frappée non plus au Cambodge, mais en France (probablement la frappe de 1889, cf. (39)). Autre nouveauté, ces fermiers avaient dans leurs prérogatives de faire frapper une sapèque cambodgienne d'un centime, qui en resta cependant au stade de l'essai (33, 35), réalisée là encore par la société Oeschger, Mesdach & Compagnie, et gravée par Paul Trotin (39). À côté de ces pièces européennes, on trouve aussi l'usage de barres d'argent fabriquées au Vietnam portant la contremarque de Norodom, un N surmonté d'une couronne à l'imitation de la couronne de Napoléon III (6).

Les médailles et monnaies du règne de Sisowath (1904-1927)

Un article décrit la médaille frappée par la Monnaie de Paris à l'occasion de la visite officielle qu'y effectua le roi Sisowath le 13 juillet 1906, médaille française de part en part qui ne dit rien de la tradition numismatique cambodgienne (3).

Le bilan de ces dernières années est donc mitigé. Les découvertes – parfois sensationnelles – et les données techniques (métrologiques notamment) s'accumulent, et n'ont jamais été aussi nombreuses en matière de numismatique cambodgienne. Mais, nulle part on ne voit poindre ce qui permettrait de les comprendre en profondeur. Une compréhension de l'usage de la monnaie dans le royaume khmer ne pourra faire l'impasse d'une véritable réflexion qui s'inscrive dans le cadre d'une histoire sociale de ses usages sur le temps long.

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NUMISMATIQUE INSULINDIENNE

Elsa Clavé

Les précédentes livraisons du *Survey* font une place inégale à la numismatique insulindienne qui reste un domaine d'étude relativement peu développé. Dans la mesure où aucun article n'a été consacré à la région pour la période précédente (2008–2013), et que le dernier point sur les recherches date de 1990–1995, nous nous permettons de remonter au-delà du cadre chronologique de cette livraison. Les publications présentées concernent différents types de monnaies d'or, d'argent, et d'étain en circulation à Sumatra, Java et en péninsule malaise. On note également quelques études, d'intérêt variable, sur l'histoire monétaire des Philippines.

Monnaies d'or et d'argent de la période indianisée

Les monnaies à motif de fleur de santal sont au centre des travaux de LEYTEN (10), GUILLOT ET AL. (4), et apparaissent dans l'étude de PERRET ET SURACHMAN (19). J. Hans LEYTEN (10) propose un essai de classification de ces monnaies pour Java et Sumatra, offrant le plus récent état de la question. Claude GUILLOT et ses collègues comparent quant à eux, dans un ouvrage consacré à l'histoire de Barus (Sumatra ouest), trois monnaies retrouvées sur le site de Lobu Tua avec celles, déjà connues, du même type. Ce faisant, les auteurs reviennent de manière intéressante sur certaines des conclusions de Wicks (1992) concernant l'origine et les usages de ces monnaies. Ils soulignent ainsi la nécessité de distinguer les monnaies d'or de la péninsule de celles de Sumatra, en démontrant qu'il existait différents usages dans cette île. Si l'on se servait bien des monnaies pour commercer à Barus (côte ouest), il en était autrement à Palembang (côtes est), où leur rôle était d'ordre symbolique et rituel. Enfin, Daniel PERRET et Heddy SURACHMAN documentent deux monnaies trouvées sur le site de Padang Lawas (Sumatra nord).

Picis et monnaies d'or de la période islamisée

Les petites monnaies d'étain et de cuivre qui remplacent progressivement l'or et l'argent sont le sujet du second groupe de travaux. À l'exception du catalogue raisonné de Frank ROBINSON (20), qui concernent toutes les monnaies en circulation à Palembang, et liste 291 variétés de *picis*, les études se répartissent en deux catégories : la première, qui est de loin la plus importante, traite des monnaies chinoises ou de leurs imitations (3, 4, 6, 14, 16, 17, 22, 25, 27, 28, 29) ; quant à la seconde, elle livre une description de *picis* portant des inscriptions en malais et en javanais, lesquels circulaient au sein de plusieurs sultanats sumatranais (12, 15, 26). Pour le monnayage chinois, Brigitte BORELL (3) et Claudine SALMON (22) se sont intéressées respectivement aux monnaies mises au jour lors de fouilles à Singapour (14^e) et à Barus (12^e–17^e). BORELL conclut qu'à cette époque les monnaies chinoises étaient déjà utilisées comme moyen d'échange dans le commerce et n'étaient pas seulement considérées pour la valeur du métal. L'usage de ces monnaies est également le thème du travail de Derek Thiam Soon HENG (6) qui, sur la base de sources archéologiques et textuelles chinoises, a cherché à mieux cerner l'utilisation de ces monnaies dans le détroit de Malacca (10^e–14^e). Enfin, Michael MITCHINER (14) et MITCHINER ET Tjong Ding YIH (16, 17), étudient, dans trois articles, les monnaies issues par les sociétés chinoises (*gongsi*) à destination des communautés de mineurs, entre le 18^e et le 19^e siècle, sur l'île de Bangka. Il convient de noter également l'intéressante présentation de MITCHINER (13) sur les usages monétaires et non-monétaires de l'étain à Palembang, une situation mise en perspective avec les données connues de la péninsule malaise et de Java.

Les *picis* produit au sein des sultanats et portant des inscriptions en malais (*jawi*) et en javanais (*aksara*) ont donné lieu à une série d'articles qui mérite une attention particulière en ce qu'ils détaillent le contexte historique dans lequel ces monnaies circulaient dans les deux îles (plus précisément à Palembang, Jambi, Siak, Banten et Cirebon) et permettent une mise à jour des données déjà connues (12, 15, 26, 27). Les études sur les monnaies des sultanats soulignent les liens entre les différents états participant au commerce avec Palembang (Siak, Kampar, Indragiri et Jambi) et mettent en avant les particularités de chaque monnaie, lesquelles révèlent des choix linguistiques et stylistiques différents.

Trois autres études couvrant la période islamisée sont à signaler. L'ouvrage en malais d'Ibrahim Bakar LANGKAWI (7) propose une vision d'ensemble des monnaies de l'aire malaise (monnaies d'or et *picis*). La présente étude apparaît incomplète mais l'ouvrage reste un outil de travail fort bienvenu. La thèse de Mohd Supian SABTU – à laquelle nous n'avons pas eu accès – couvre une période et une zone plus restreinte, les sultanats de la péninsule malaise entre le 15^e au 19^e siècle (21). Enfin, on doit à LEYTEN un ouvrage sur les monnaies d'or des sultanats de Samudra-Pasai et Acheh (8). En plus de donner un catalogue détaillé de ces monnaies, LEYTEN propose un véritable essai d'histoire politique en croisant les informations qu'elles contiennent avec celles des sources épigraphiques et manuscrites connues.

Etudes sur les monnaies philippines

Il convient enfin de mentionner plusieurs travaux sur les monnaies des Philippines (1, 11, 18), en particulier le catalogue d'une collection (23). À cela s'ajoutent deux études qui abordent certains aspects de la numismatique philippine, tel un intéressant travail sur le crédit (30) ou un ouvrage sur la monnaie d'occupation japonaise issue lors de la seconde guerre mondiale (4).

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5. MEDALS

INTRODUCTION

Tuukka Talvio

As the following reports will show, medallic art is still thriving, and also actively studied, especially in those parts of Europe where it rooted early. FIDEM, the International Art Medal Federation, has been organizing congresses since 1937, and in the recent decades local medal societies have been founded in several European countries, like Britain and Germany. Outside Europe the American Numismatic Society has promoted this art form since the nineteenth century. Although it seems difficult to discuss medals without mentioning the word ‘art’, they can also be studied from many other standpoints.

Historical museums have traditionally been places where people can learn about medals, but nowadays museums often have financial problems, even in well-to-do Scandinavia. The Swedish Royal Coin Cabinet has been luckier than some others, for although it had to leave its premises next to the Royal Castle, it still has a sufficient number of employees, including a full-time keeper for its medal collection. In Finland, on the other hand, the National Museum in 2015 decided to close the whole of its numismatic exhibition, and soon thereafter the medal specialist of the coin cabinet lost her job. In the Baltic countries, however, the situation seems to be improving, and Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania now have a joint entry in this publication.

Norway is not included in this *Survey* at all. The recent publications have been few, and in the opinion of a local specialist, not important or interesting enough. There are also other countries that do not have entries of their own, for one reason or another. Often the reason is a lack of research tradition, but language barriers unfortunately also still exist.

Some uncertainty may have been caused by the new guidelines, according to which the *Survey* should provide ‘a critical commentary on the most important recent works’ but ‘it is not intended to be exhaustive’. This was a welcome recommendation, but it may need some time to be fully realized, for the bibliographies still tend to be exhaustive. The most serious problem was, however, that some of the promised contributions were not received at all. The main reason was the pandemic, which at the time of writing is still going on. We must hope that the gaps can be filled by future issues of the *Survey*.

DENMARK

Else Rasmussen

The Danish publications from 2014–2020 include a few articles and one book. Information on new medals and smaller studies are published mainly in *Numismatisk Rapport* and *Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad (NNUM)*. The German-born medallist Anton Meybusch (c. 1645–1702), who worked much of his life in Denmark, is the subject of a substantial work by KOLD (6). The first part is an introduction to his life and work, the second contains a catalogue of Meybusch's coins and medals. LEIMUS (7) has published an article on the mint director Paul Gulden from Tallinn, who moved to Denmark and worked for Frederik II from 1582 to 1584. Leimus also discusses the technique of the medal.

The history of the medal of the Royal Society for Danish History was written by GRINDER-HANSEN AND JENSEN (2). The medal was first issued in 1750 for the king's birthday. MÄRCHER (8) describes the history of a Danish platinum medal from 1830 produced by the Altona mint. He also discusses the making of platinum medals and the difficulties of working with this unusual material on the basis of written sources. HARCK (5) comments on a medal from 1658 with the view of Copenhagen, identifying several buildings shown on the medal. BRABO (1) presents several variations of a royal wedding medal from 1935. The subject of the medal was the marriage of Crown Prince Frederik and Princess Ingrid. HANSEN AND VILLADSEN (4) write about the Niels Bohr medal, which after 30 years has again been awarded to a researcher.

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SWEDEN

Martin Tunefalk

Due to relocation, The Royal Coin Cabinet in Stockholm was closed from 2017 to 2021. There were no exhibitions, and no catalogues of medals were published by the museum. A first, temporary, exhibition was, however, opened in the new location in April 2021. The permanent exhibition – which will include medals – is set to open in 2023.

Since the last Survey, Uppsala University Coin Cabinet (UUM) has published a number of ‘working papers’ on medals. HAIDENTHALLER (8) studied the earliest domestic medallic art in Sweden in a paper on the three German medallists Johan Rethe, Johan Georg Breuer and Anton Meybusch. The essay was originally written as a master’s thesis in Art History and examines the lives and works of the three artists, the imagery of their medals, and how medals were studied, collected, and used in royal ceremonies. HAIDENTHALLER (7) has also published an essay on the medals of Queen Christina showing her as the goddess Minerva.

We must also mention an earlier study, published by UUM in 2013 but not included in the previous *Survey*, listing the Latin inscriptions on Swedish royal medals, together with their Swedish translations, and commenting on their sources. First compiled by SVENBERG in the 1980s and revised by SJÖKVIST (18) it is valuable for anyone working with Swedish historical medals.

The intricate layers of one particular Latin inscription were studied by BOHLIN (2): the sentence *Hic transit in via virtus* on a Danish medal commemorating the 1676 capture of Vänersborg during the Scanian War (1675–1679). The article discusses the medal in its historical context, commenting also on the philological aspects of Early Modern Latin.

JONSHULT (10) compiled a catalogue of the medals, tokens etc. issued by the Royal Patriotic Society from 1772 to today. Besides being a comprehensive catalogue, it describes the historical context of the medals and how they were used.

The works of the seventeenth-century medallist Anton Meybusch, who was also active in Sweden, were listed by KOLD (11). Meybusch is seen as one of the most innovative and successful artists in this field in northern Europe. The book is an attempt to present him both as an artist and a person. It includes a biographical section, a catalogue of his works and archival material.

GUSTAVSSON AND DANELL (6) published a book on the terminology of medallic art. It discusses the differences between medals, medallions, plaques etc., how to define the obverse and reverse, how to date a medal, identify the artist etc. Despite the modest title and the shortness of the text the book is very useful to those working with medals.

Monographs dealing with the history of medals also include TUNEFALK (19), a doctoral thesis on Swedish commemorative medals from c. 1600–1850. It is a comprehensive study of commemorative non-royal medals issued in Sweden until the mid-nineteenth century. The practice of commemorating non-royal persons with medals was more common in Sweden than elsewhere during the period. Using both quantitative and qualitative analysis the study examines who was commemorated, how, for what, by whom, and how this changed during the gradual change from early modern to modern era.

There have also been a number of short articles and notes, mostly published in *Svensk Numismatisk Tidskrift* (SNT). They deal with a wide range of subjects, including both new (1, 5, 16) and historical medals and their artists (2, 3, 4, 9, 17). Accounts were also published of the FIDEM congresses in Gent 2016 (22) and Ottawa 2018 (23), as well as the biennial in Sofia 2014 (21).

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FINLAND

Tuukka Talvio

The number of publications on Finnish medals in this *Survey* is smaller than in the previous one. One reason is that the selection has been more critical, but there are also other reasons. The production of new medals – both struck and cast – declined markedly in Finland during the economic recession of the 1990s, and the situation has not changed since then. In 2015 the Finnish Art Medal Society (‘Guild of Medal Art’) still celebrated its 50th anniversary in optimistic mood, but soon thereafter three of Finland’s best-known medallists, Kauko Räsänen (1926–2015), Toivo Jaatinen (1926–2017) and Heikki Häiväoja (1929–2019), passed away. The younger medallists are too few to secure the continuous prospering of this art form in Finland.

A further setback was that in 2015 the National Museum of Finland announced that the Coin Cabinet will lose its exhibition rooms, which means that medals will be included in the museum’s exhibitions only occasionally. The museum also no longer has a medal specialist. Recently, however, a medal section has been formed within the Finnish Numismatic Society.

Most of the articles listed below were published in the yearbook of the Finnish Art Medal Society, *Mitalitaiteen vuosikirja (MitV)*. The articles have summaries in Swedish and English at the end of each volume. The Art Medal Society has shown an admirable commitment to keep this periodical in existence, despite the small number of contributors.

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ESTONIA, LATVIA AND LITHUANIA

Ivar Leimus

First to be mentioned is the book by T. LEIMUS, covering the history of Estonian medals from 1545 to the beginning of the Soviet period in 1944 (4). The other publications were few. KUODYTĖ compiled a catalogue of agricultural medals of the Russian Empire (including Lithuania, Poland and other areas) in the collection of the National Museum of Lithuania (3). GRĪNBERGA presented the historical medals of Poland and Lithuania in the collections of the National History Museum of Latvia that were purchased from Voldemārs Miesiņš in 1929 (2).

A rare medal of Anna (d. 1602), Duchess of Mecklenburg and consort of Gotthard Kettler, Duke of Courland, was published by TALVIO.

A triennial exhibition of modern medals in Vilnius in 2016–17 was accompanied by a catalogue by ABLĒNIENĒ (1).

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GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Henry Flynn

In keeping with previous periods covered by the *Survey*, the main source of information, articles and research on British medals continued to be *The Medal*, the twice-yearly publication of the British Art Medal Society. Articles on the subject also regularly appeared in journals such as the British Numismatic Society's *British Numismatic Journal* (*BNJ*) amongst others. In a recent development during this period, the newly formed British Historical Medallion Society published articles on British medals from various periods of time in their *Historical Medal Journal*. Medal-related articles also featured in *Money and Medals*, the thrice-yearly newsletter produced by the Money and Medals Network and aimed at those interested in numismatic collections held in UK museums. A major publication during this period was BURNETT's (3) *The hidden treasures of this happy island: a history of numismatics in Britain from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*. Other notable works included CHEEK's (5) *Monarchy, money and medals: coins, banknotes and medals from the collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, HINDE AND ATTWOOD's (12) *Badges and medals of the Corporation of London and guilds outside London, trade tokens and other medals in the collections of the Worshipful Company of Cutlers of London*, and WITHERS (26) *The token book 3: tickets & passes of Great Britain and Ireland*. The BAMS Student Medal Project continued to build momentum in raising awareness of the importance of medals amongst students and an associated catalogue was produced each year by LEAVITT BOURNE (61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67). Undeterred by the global pandemic, the Project continued to be held in 2020 and 2021, with the catalogue for the latter, LEAVITT BOURNE (68), being published online.

2014 had the sombre significance of being the centenary of the outbreak of the First World War. An exhibition of medals held at the Bode-Museum in Berlin had an associated publication that incorporated a catalogue featuring multiple British medals, KLUGE AND WEISSER (54). The British Museum also held an exhibition of medals as part of the commemorations and while it did feature a representative sample of British medals, its focus was on those produced by German artists. An article in *The Medal* by HOCKENHULL (53) reflected this emphasis, and examined the British Museum's approach to collecting German medals produced during the conflict. Other publications associated with the First World War included PHAGAN AND VAN ALFEN's (58) *The art of devastation: medals and posters of the Great War*.

When it came to publications on early British medals, the sixteenth century was once again under-served during this period, with just one entry by GOLDRING (27), but the seventeenth century fared much better than previously. A significant development was the completion and publication in 2017 of PLATT's (32) *British historical medals of the 17th century: medallists, books, authors, collectors, book-sellers & antiquaries*, representing the culmination of another important research project conducted by these authors.

There were noticeably fewer publications relating to eighteenth century medals compared to the previous *Survey* period. Notable works included GUTHRIE's (36, 37, 38) volume on Jacobite material culture and research articles for *The Medal*, and WARBURTON's (39) publication on *Sentimental Magazine medals*. By contrast, the nineteenth century was well-represented. Bridging the gap between the two centuries was COMFORT's (35) volume on naval medals by industrialist Matthew Boulton. An important achievement with regard to scholarship of nineteenth century British medals was the publication of ATTWOOD's (41) *Hard at work: the diary of Leonard Wyon 1853-1867*, an invaluable resource providing an insight into the wider Wyon family, a dynasty of medallists and die-engravers. Another notable contribution from ATTWOOD (42) was an article for *The Medal* highlighting the British Museum's acquisition of a medal by Alfred Stevens. Stevens was a talented nineteenth century artist whose foray into designing medals was brief, making this acquisition a significant one. Other noteworthy works included JONES (45) on medals for the Great Exhibitions of 1851 and 1862, and VANDENBROUCK's (46) article for *The Medal* on astronomical prize medals. WHITTLESTONE AND EWING's (48) comprehensive continuing series of volumes on *Royal commemorative medals*

produced two new publications during this period, one being *Queen Victoria Diamond Jubilee 1897* in 2015.

The second volume of *Royal commemorative medals* produced during this period focused on *Edward VII 1901-1910*, CUMBERS AND WHITTLESTONE (50). Other significant twentieth century works not already mentioned include two publications by LEGROVE (55, 56) on the work of sculptor Geoffrey Clarke and an article in *The Medal* about the medals of Captain Scott by LEWIS AND MAY (57). The twentieth century was relatively well-served by publications, but there were fewer that related to the twenty-first century beyond those that have already been mentioned. Works of interest included HARDY's (59) catalogue of commemorative coins and medals made in 2005 to celebrate the bicentenary of the Battle of Trafalgar, and various articles in *The Medal* highlighting the work of modern British medallists. The medals of artist Felicity Powell were highlighted in a tribute to her by JONES (60), celebrating her life and work in issue 67 of *The Medal*.

BAMS and FIDEM once again held conferences celebrating medals during this period, although BAMS events are no longer covered in detail in *The Medal*. ATTWOOD's (1) 2017 article examined the role the UK played in FIDEM during the period 1937-1987, and the FIDEM events of 2014, 2016 and 2018 were covered by the associated publication *Médailles* by PELSDONK (71, 72, 73) as per usual. The 2020 FIDEM Congress, planned for Tokyo, was unavoidably postponed due to the global COVID-19 crisis.

The Money and Medals Network, the UK's subject specialist network for numismatics seeks to promote collections care and in 2016 published a booklet, compiled by FLYNN (10) with contributions from others, which featured an advice section on storage, display and documentation of numismatics generally but with some specific references to medals. Its regular newsletter, *Money and Medals*, featured several mentions of British medals throughout this period, and issue 75, KELLEHER (17), took medals as the subject of its regular Focus section. A British Museum exhibition celebrating the work of the Network was held in 2018. Associated articles focusing on its loan objects, including many important British and Irish medals, appeared in *The British Museum Magazine*, FLYNN (11) and *Money and Medals*, KELLEHER (16). The Network has often worked in partnership with BAMS and other societies that exist to promote the medallic tradition, and it is thanks to initiatives by organisations like these and FIDEM that the subject continues to maintain a high profile in the UK.

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BELGIUM, THE NETHERLANDS AND LUXEMBOURG

Huguette Taymans

Belgium has benefited from a fruitful period in the field of medallic art. The XXXIVth FIDEM congress in 2016 was a real boost. It started in Namur under the auspices of the Société Archéologique de Namur and then continued in Ghent under the wings of Ghent University. A commemorative medal was designed by Paul Huybrechts, with each side dedicated to a city. A few exhibitions also took place. The first showed the work of Geo Verbanck, a Ghent sculptor and medallist. A second exhibition was held in the Ghent Museum of Fine Arts which holds a collection of medals from the “Belle Époque”. A selection of this collection, made especially for the congress, was presented to the public for the first time in 75 years.

In 2016, the Royal Numismatic Society of Belgium celebrated its 175th anniversary and organized its second triennial colloquium on “Belgian Numismatics in perspective”⁶. A commemorative medal was designed by Marit Hartman and there was a separate publication, edited by Jan Moens.

The third colloquium of the Society, held in 2019, was entirely devoted to medals. All the contributions were published in 2020 in *Revue Belge de Numismatique*. The *RBN* also publishes an annual bibliography of papers published on Belgian numismatics in Belgium and abroad. With the exception of the publications of the last five years, this bibliography is available on-line on the site of the Society (www.numisbel.be).

The “European Numismatic Society” also regularly publishes articles on medals in its yearbook and in the magazine *De Muntklapper*. The other Belgian associations, “The Promotion of the Medal” with its *Flash Medailles* magazine and “Medec” with its own magazine, are also specifically focused on medallic art and decorations.

In the Netherlands, the medallic art is less classical than in Belgium, and the creations tend to be more sculptural. The boundary between medals and small sculpture is fading. The Dutch entries for the 2016 FIDEM congresses in Belgium and 2018 in Canada also followed this trend.

The Association for Medallic Art remains very active by issuing an annual medal for its members, encouraging new designs by various artists, and visiting studios. All these activities are discussed extensively in the magazine *De Beeldenaar*.

In June 2017, the Dutch Numismatic Society celebrated its 125th anniversary with a congress on the premises of the University of Utrecht. The Society took this opportunity to set up an exhibition of all the medals that it had issued or received over the years. Medallic art and the digitization of numismatics were also discussed in the papers presented.

In June 2018 an exhibition “Amis – Ennemis Mansfeld et le revers de la médaille” was organized in Luxembourg at the Musée Dräi Eechelen. The exhibition presented the work of Jacques Jonghelinck (1530–1606), whose circa 90 medals were shown in an exhibition organized by the National Museum of Art and History of Luxembourg and the Brussels Coin Cabinet. A beautiful catalogue was also produced.

The global pandemic made 2020 a very special year. All numismatic activities were canceled. However, this had little effect on the numismatic publications. The researchers used the free time to publish pending material, supplemented by on-line research as more and more collections and archives are now accessible on the web.

Renaissance and sixteenth-century medals

EKHOUT (27) gave an overview of the medals of the Eighty-year War. JONGELING (52) discussed a lead plaque from 1577 that can be attributed to Jacques Jonghelinck. ARNOULD AND REINERT (1) also brought Jonghelinck’s medals back to life in their catalog without compromising Smolderen’s earlier work. The geuzen medals were extensively discussed by VAN DER POLS (91, 92, 93, 94), while PRIEM (96) dealt with the medals of the Ghent guilds. A silver counting medal from the Masters of the Mint of Flanders (1480–1482) was discussed by DEWULF (18). TAS (104) published a renewed edition of her work on her own collection of counters.

Seventeenth-century medals

The medals struck in memory of the triumphal journey of William in 1691 were placed in context and compared to the French medals of Louis XIV by DENCHER (15). The medals of the city council of Alkmaar and their die variants were extensively highlighted by DE VRIES (126). DEWULF (17, 19, 20, 21) published contributions on counters from Ostend and Bruges and charity medals from Ostend. Liège pieces are dealt with by JACQUEMIN including a medal with the image of Jean Duvivier and other pieces of this engraver and a medal on the bombing in 1691 (40, 41, 44). The great alchemist medallion from the Art History Museum of Vienna was studied by OOSTERVINK (69), who also discussed a wedding medal for Leopold I and Elenore from 1676 (71) and the prize medals in the Dutch Golden Age (73).

Eighteenth-century medals

DE KOOL (58) discussed a remarkable medal of the city council of The Hague, for which a drawing has been preserved in the archives. JACQUEMIN wrote on an English medal from 1702 (45) commemorating the capture of the Citadel of Liège (46) and on a piece by Jean Duvivier with the image of Nicolas de Launay (49). The wanderings of the Van Berckel die collection were once again discussed by LENNAERTS (60). A unique series of election medals was published by SANDERS (99). These were only used in the city of Leewarden for the procedure of electing new members to the magistrate and city council.

Nineteenth-century medals

As before, the trio POELS, VANDAMME AND VANOVERBEEK were active in writing, both separately and together, about the Belgian medallists Bonnetain (123, 124), Braemt (83) and Griet Jonker (121). WILKIN discussed the period of Napoleon's defeat at the Battle of Waterloo (130), the Saint Helena Medal (131) and the Belgian Revolution (133). TAYMANS gave an overview of the prize medals of the Ghent Academy of Fine Arts from 1830 to 1914 (109) and of the Rederijkerskamer De Fontaine (105). She also discussed a unique medal by Tiberghien, purchased by the Ghent city museum STAM, which until now was considered lost (107). The medals at the salons for fine arts between 1850 and 1900 were discussed by BOEL (8). CORNET attempted to classify the Verviers medals (11). A medal of Frederik Willem as sovereign prince was brought to the fore by GROENENDIJK (33).

Twentieth-century medals

Because of the centenary of the Great War, medals related to it were discussed in various publications (119, 120). WIDART also dealt with the medals awarded to the Brabant committee for help (129), while WILSCHUT wrote about a Dutch medal awarded to the members of the Foreign Refugee Commission (137), the signs of the mobilization (124) and a silver medal from the 1915 mobilization hike in The Hague (136). DE SMET wrote about the Belgian medal and badge of honor for the Carnegie Hero Fund (101) and the medals for the centenary of railways (100). CASANOVA highlighted Art Nouveau commemorative medals (9).

POTTIER gave a lecture for the Royal Belgian Society on the medals of his hometown Spa which ended in a publication by POTTIER AND SCHILS (95). In 2020 *De Beeldenaar* gave much attention to the commemoration of the 75th anniversary of the liberation of the Netherlands after the Second World War (57, 82, 141, 142).

Contemporary medals

Contemporary medals were presented in particular in the issues of the Dutch magazine *De Beeldenaar*. During this period, VAN DER MEER MOHR published more than thirty contributions on both the membership medals of the Association for Medallic Art and other new issues (64, 65, 66). POL-TYSZKIEWICZ, on the other hand, mainly dealt with the sculptural medals (86, 87, 88, 89, 90). Also other, mainly Dutch, writers discussed contemporary medals. Most publications were, however, concerned with the FIDEM congresses. The congress held in Namur and Ghent was treated by AUTRIQUE, BROUILLARD AND CARLIER, etc (3), GEBOERS (30), HUYBRECHTS (37, 38) and PELSDONK (76, 77). The latter author also wrote extensively about the next FIDEM congress that took place in Ottawa, Canada (78, 79, 80, 82). One of the exhibitions related to the congress in Ghent was described by TAYMANS (110, 111).

Tokens and pilgrim badges

DE BACKER (4) discussed a lead medal from the Church of Our Lady in Wavre. TEULINGS continued his research on guild medals (113, 114). LABROT wrote about the counting tokens of Tournai (59).

General and thematic

The most voluminous publication of this period was by WAERZEGGERS who provided an overview of all Leuven

medals from the end of the Ancien Régime to the present day, including even medals that are only known from written sources. The work had 3,600 pages and twelve volumes (127). The same author won the Goltzius Prize of the Belgian Society for his contribution on the counting medals of the Brussels city receivers and the shipping intendants (128). POELS, VANDAMME AND VANOVERBEEK continued their work on an encyclopedia of the Medals issued by the Brussels Mint. It gave an overview of the production of this institution from 1947 to 2015 (84, 85). A special contribution on Belgian medal producers from the 19th to the 21st century was published by DE LOMBAERT (62).

The eight contributions to the colloquium “The art of medals in the low countries”, held in Brussels in 2019, were published in the RBN 2020 – a nice kaleidoscope of presentations by ATTWOOD (2), CUPPERI (12), REINERT (97), JONES (51), VAN HEESCH (35), TAYMANS (112), DORCHY (23) and DE LOMBAERT (63).

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ESPAÑA

Rosend Casanova

A excepción del amplio y transversal glosario que abarca la numismática en tierras de presencia catalana, donde DE CRUSAFONT (41) hace constantes referencias a la medallística, los estudios siguen centrándose, por lo general, en piezas concretas, algunos sobre su fabricación y en menor grado sobre los grabadores o medallistas. La producción del siglo XX se mantiene como la más estudiada, tanto en lo que concierne a sus artífices como a los motivos que propiciaron las medallas. En este sentido, un buen número de publicaciones las presentan por temas y las de carácter institucional se estudian más. Las medallas de proclamación ganan en su descripción y en abundante documentación inédita que las sitúa en su contexto. La lectura de una tesis doctoral que trata la disciplina medallística española se ha visto acompañada por otras que la documentan en algún capítulo.

Más allá de los estudios publicados, el curso sobre medalla devocional celebrado en el Gabinet Numismàtic de Catalunya (MNAC) ofreció una oportunidad para ahondar en este tema. Dentro del curso, y reflexionando sobre la medalla en general, GIMENO (67) presenta el objeto y sus tipologías visto como un instrumento de comunicación y propaganda; y CASANOVA (28) trata principalmente su aspecto artístico.

De igual modo, la medalla ha dado pasos significativos en lo que concierne a su exposición pública: en 2014 el Gabinet Numismàtic de Catalunya hace una importante contribución con la muestra sobre las historias metálicas, donde ESTRADA-RIUS (51, 52) analiza el lenguaje de la medalla y cómo esta sirvió para crear un relato histórico. Poco después y también en el Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya (MNAC) ESTRADA-RIUS (54) expone documentación inédita de la casa de medallas Ausió de Barcelona. En otra muestra, dedicada al retrato en la medalla y celebrada en la Fundació Rafael Masó de Girona, CASANOVA (22, 23) reflexiona sobre el concepto y la plasmación artística de la esencia humana. Otras exposiciones, como la del Museo del Prado sobre el escultor catalán Miquel Blay (7) propician recoger en su catálogo sus principales medallas. Igual ocurre con la muestra dedicada al escultor Julio López Hernández (93) celebrada en la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando de Madrid.

Siglos XVI a XVIII

Continúan siendo poco frecuentes los estudios sobre la medalla en la península Ibérica en sus inicios. GIMENO (70) sistematiza la documentación iconográfica y el contexto de la medalla de la abdicación de Carlos V a favor de Felipe II, ROMA (96) estudia otra dedicada al almirante Coligny y DE RAMÓN (95) analiza las medallas de la Historia de España, de Carlos II a Carlos III. JIMÉNEZ (84) documenta varias reseñas de medalla religiosa escritas en el siglo XVIII y BOADA (15) recoge las medallas y los jetones editados durante la disputa por Menorca en dicho siglo.

Tomando como punto de partida las historias metálicas, MÍNGUEZ (91) analiza las alegorías reales como manifestación del poder, TORRES (106) explica la parte tecnológica de la fabricación, CANO (16) trata la producción pontificia, DE TURCKHEIM-PEY (108) la historia metálica de Luis XIV, DARNIS (46) la de Napoleón y Mudie, y GIMENO (61) las impresas referidas a los Países Bajos. MORICEAU (92) expone la guerra metálica entre Luis XIV y Guillermo III de Orange, FONTCUBERTA (58) la de Luis XIV y del archiduque Carlos, mientras EISLER (49) se centra en la dinastía de los Dasser y GIMENO (62) se pregunta sobre la inexistencia de una historia metálica de la monarquía española.

Siglos XIX a XX

En cuanto al siglo XIX, SENDRA (101) recopila la documentación sobre la medalla valenciana a Godoy, SERRERA (102) trata de las medallas realizadas en Cádiz por Félix Sagau, BALAGUER (9) reflexiona sobre la epidemia del cólera mallorquina de 1865 y su medalla, LLOBET (86) aporta nuevos datos sobre la medalla de la defensa de Cervera de 1875, y DORCHY (47) explora la renovación técnica y social de fines del siglo.

Ya en el siglo XX, DE CRUSAFONT (37, 38) y CASANOVA (20, 24, 25) presentan el periodo de esplendor modernista de la medalla en Cataluña en el 1900, BOADA (13) documenta la medalla de la Exposición Balear de 1903, CASANOVA (27) la que Miquel Blay modeló para la revista *Forma*, traza el vínculo medallístico del belga Godefroid Devreese

con la Grand-Place de Bruselas (30), da a conocer una medalla inédita de Eusebi Arnau (32) y documenta la medalla de Dionís Renart para la sociedad deportiva barcelonesa Sportsmen's Club (29). LLOBET (87) documenta la medalla de la Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País de Cervera, y DE CRUSAFONT (39) estudia las editadas para la popular Fiesta del Árbol catalana y las de carácter comercial que acuñó la firma Martini Rossi (40). GIMENO (76) documenta la sola representación española de Mariano Benlliure y Bartolomé Maura en la exposición medallística de 1910 en Nueva York. CASANOVA (33) biografía a Antonio Bagué y su plaqueta uruguaya de 1913. GARCÍA HERRANZ (59) trata a Mariano Benlliure y la Casa de Velázquez, como ya hiciera en su tesis doctoral (60). MARTÍNEZ y DE CRUSAFONT (90) tratan el cambio de símbolos en las medallas colombófilas de la II República. GIMENO (73) también se ocupa de la exposición internacional La mujer en la medalla celebrada por la FNMT en Madrid en 1968, y reflexiona (74, 68) sobre toda una generación de medallistas que, desde dicha fábrica, renovaron la medalla en España. En su tesis doctoral, una de las pocas dedicadas por entero a la medalla en el ámbito español, VICO (110) analiza el periodo de esplendor que vive la medalla entre 1950 y 1980 centrándose en la obra de destacados autores. En otra tesis doctoral, VASALLO (109) dedica un capítulo a documentar las medallas del escultor Juan Luis Vassallo, y SOLER (104) las que coleccionó Manuel Rocamora.

En cuanto a las temáticas, QUEVEDO y ANCA (94) tratan las de tema naval que se han acuñado en los últimos 150 años, y GONZÁLEZ y BARRERA (82) las de la División Azul, siendo el primer libro que las estudia en detalle, tanto las realizadas por alemanes como por españoles. DUELO (48) analiza las medallas específicas de Cartagena como apartado final de su libro, DE CRUSAFONT (43) documenta las de la fábrica textil Gorina de Sabadell y las de la villa de Gràcia de Barcelona (42), CASANOVA (31) expone los motivos que llevaron al Ayuntamiento de Barcelona a promover una primera Medalla de la Ciudad en 1930 y otra en 1940, y lo mismo ocurrido en la ciudad de Girona (35). BALAGUER (11) trata la medalla de la ciudad de Marsella, FORTEA (56), en ocasión del 600 aniversario de la confirmación legal de la Generalitat Valenciana, describe su *Alta Distinció*, y también estudia la medalla presidencial de la Generalitat de Catalunya (57).

Merece la pena reseñar, por originales y sugerentes, los once cuentos novelados de CASANOVA (34), cuya base argumental son las historias y descripciones de las piezas. GIMENO (75) firma el prólogo, donde reflexiona sobre la medalla como tal.

Finalmente, la necrológica dedica al medallista Francisco López Hernández (1932–2017) firmada por DE LA CUADRA (45) y la de Ramon Ferran (1927–2015) escrita por GIMENO (63) aportan datos inéditos sobre sus biografías, al igual que CASANOVA (26) que la acompaña con un texto inédito de este último fallecido (55) sobre sus motivaciones sobre la medalla y su obra.

Medalla actual

La escultora y medallista HERNANDO (84) recoge algunas de sus últimas creaciones. DE LA CUADRA (44) expone el trabajo realizado en el aula-taller de medallas y el gabinete que recoge útiles, maquinaria y colecciones derivados del trabajo docente. ABAD (1) presenta el trabajo de esta última escultora, medallista y profesora en la UCM, y las medallas representativas de la UNED (2). Como en años anteriores, GIMENO (64, 69, 71, 72) trata la participación española en la FIDEM, exposiciones incluidas.

Medalla de proclamación, medalla devocional y objetos afines

Sin lugar a dudas, BOADA (14) hace una gran aportación en el campo de la medalla de proclamación al tratar el ritual oficial por el que, durante los siglos XVIII y XIX y tras la proclamación de un nuevo rey, se lanzaban al público las medallas conmemorativas que lo celebraban. ABASCAL (3) estudia lo relativo al proyecto de las medallas conmemorativas de la proclamación de Carlos IV en Madrid en 1789.

Por lo que se refiere a la medalla devocional, destaca el XX Curso de Historia Monetaria Hispánica celebrado en el Gabinet Numismàtic de Catalunya (MNAC): SALVÀ (99) reflexiona sobre la frontera entre lo religioso y lo ornamental, BALAGUER (10) se centra en la medallística referida a la Virgen de Montserrat, y MARÍN (88) se ocupa del escultor Eusebi Arnau. ESTRADA-RIUS (53) documenta la fábrica de medallas Ausió de Barcelona, MARTÍ (89) plantea el origen enigmático de las medallas devocionales, AYMAMÍ (6) recoge su presencia en la red, y CLUA (36) se refiere al fondo que, de dicha tipología, conserva el gabinete anfitrión. Merecen también destacar los estudios de GÓMEZ (79, 80, 81) sobre varias hermandades de Granada.

Como resultado del XXVI Encuentro de Estudios sobre la Moneda, promovido por la Asociación Numismática

Española de Barcelona, BALAGUER (8) explica la función de la medalla religiosa y propone una clasificación, AYMAMÍ (5) se aproxima a las medallas devocionales Hamerani de los siglos XVII y XVIII, y SALVÀ (98) propone una cronotología de las medallas devocionales catalanas.

BENAGES (12) presenta un original diálogo entre monedas y medallas, estas últimas básicamente religiosas y militares, en una edición de autor de los Bibliófilos de Tarragona.

En lo referido a objetos afines, un tema habitualmente poco tratado es el de la fabricación de botones. Aquí el trabajo de JIMÉNEZ (84) aporta luces sobre la falsificación monetaria en el siglo XIX.

Por su novedad, destaca el estudio sobre jetones que SANAHUJA (100) centra en los publicitarios de productos, establecimientos y espectáculos documentados entre 1850 y 1939 en Cataluña, que cataloga por vez primera.

Colecciones y museografía

En relación a los ricos fondos del Patrimonio Nacional, RUIZ TRAPERO (59) tratan su colección de medallas extranjeras y CARRERAS (17, 18) las españolas de la colección Romero Ortiz conservada en el Museo del Ejército. ASENJO (4) se ocupa de la obra medallística de Pisanello en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional y GRANADOS (78) de las medallas de Alfonso V de Aragón y I de Nápoles en el mismo museo. GIMENO (65) explica la función que tuvo el Museo de la Real Casa de la Moneda en cuanto a ocuparse de la realización de medallas de la FNMT, tema que complementa (66) reproduciendo su documentación. Merece aquí la pena citar el Premio Tomás Francisco Prieto (50), del que TEODORO VIDAL (105) reproduce las medallas de 1990 a 2013, y que forman parte de la colección numismática de dicho museo. Además, con motivo del cincuentenario del edificio que la FNMT-RCM posee en la calle madrileña de Jorge Juan, se recoge brevemente la acuñación de medallas (107). GIMENO y TORRES (77) detallan la colaboración del escultor y medallista Fernando Jesús con la FNMT quien, más allá de sus medallas, también propuso la decoración para la nueva fábrica en 1964, realizada solo en parte.

Sobre la práctica y la técnica de ordenar una colección, SISÓ (103) expone la evolución del coleccionismo de billetes en el mercado.

Finalmente, en cuanto a las exposiciones, CASANOVA (21) reflexiona sobre la museología y la museografía de *Retrats de medalla*, y repasa el proyecto multiexpositivo galo *Au creux de la main* (19) y sus aportaciones, en su mayoría de colecciones públicas.

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ITALIA

Eleonora Giampiccolo

Questo contributo si propone di fornire un commento critico sulle principali e più significative pubblicazioni che hanno visto la luce in Italia nel periodo 2014–2020 nel campo della medaglistica, specialmente su quelle che riguardano aspetti della materia poco noti o trascurati. Sicuramente merita di essere presentato il volume curato da PENNESTRI, *Il campionario di medaglie devozionali della bottega Hamerani. Simboli e luoghi del sacro a Roma e in Europa tra Seicento e Ottocento* pubblicato nel 2019 nel Notiziario del *Portale Numismatico dello Stato*. Nato dalla scoperta presso il Museo Francese del Collegio San Lorenzo da Brindisi a Roma del campionario di medaglie prodotte e vendute nella loro bottega dagli Hamerani, la celeberrima famiglia di incisori papali, il volume testimonia il rinnovato interesse nei confronti di medaglie che in passato troppe poche volte sono state oggetto di studi seri e approfonditi e non hanno mai goduto di una grande popolarità fra gli studiosi di numismatica o di medaglistica, essendo state ritenute di scarso valore storico, artistico e soprattutto “troppo popolari”. Il campionario di medaglie devozionali rappresenta una documentazione fondamentale per la storia della bottega Hamerani e getta luce sulla capacità imprenditoriale dei suoi proprietari, i quali seppero sfruttare al meglio le innumerevoli possibilità di business offerte dalla fama procuratasi ben presto al servizio dei Romani Pontefici grazie alla quale giungevano loro committenze private da parte di vari ordini religiosi, confraternite, parrocchie e dal fatto che la loro bottega si trovasse in una delle strade più frequentate dai pellegrini, specialmente durante le canonizzazioni e i giubilei. Il primo tomo dell’opera ospita alcuni contributi interessanti sull’argomento (10, 14, 16, 67, 74). Nel secondo i singoli modelli di medaglie sono descritti e classificati in base ai loro autori.

La medaglistica papale costituisce uno degli argomenti principali delle pubblicazioni a cura del Medagliere Vaticano che nel periodo di riferimento ha pubblicato importanti studi. Degno di nota è il volume *Aurea Roma* di Giancarlo ALTERI pubblicato nel 2014 (1), nel quale si narra la storia di un viaggio lungo più di cinque secoli ed iniziato tra le rovine della Roma dei Cesari, in una città che più nulla ha della grandezza di un tempo, che non è più la splendida città di marmo che Augusto ha lasciato in eredità ai suoi successori. Della città che poteva vantare più di un milione e mezzo di abitanti resta solo un groviglio di vie sconnesse, malsane e deserte, dove le chiese cadono a pezzi e dove gli agglomerati informi di case cadenti sembrano a mala pena sorreggere i vecchi palazzotti fatiscenti. Questa è l’immagine che accoglie nel 1417 Martino V, il pontefice che riportò la Sede del papato nell’Urbe. Da qui il desiderio da parte del pontefice di restituire alla città la sua dignità di sede del Vicario di Cristo. Da quel momento in poi i papi cominciarono a restaurare le vecchie mura e i cadenti acquedotti, a restaurare o costruire *ex novo publicae commoditati* palazzi, ponti, piazze, ma anche per i pellegrini che in occasione delle festività religiose la affollavano. E con ogni sforzo essi si adoperarono affinché Roma fosse restituita al suo antico splendore e per immortalare la nuova *facies* che la Città Eterna andava assumendo, essi affidarono ai più grandi maestri incisori di ogni tempo la realizzazione di medaglie celebrative di ogni singola costruzione. Dopo una breve introduzione di carattere generale sui monumenti raffigurati sulle monete romane, il viaggio prende l’avvio a partire dal pontificato di Paolo II, il papa che inaugurò la tradizione della medaglistica pontificia e in particolare quella della medaglia papale architettonica, e si conclude con il pontificato di Pio IX.

L’articolo di Eleonora GIAMPICCOLO *Intorno a una medaglia di Pio V Ghislieri* del 2016 (40) fornisce una interpretazione della medaglia dalla legenda del rovescio NE DETERIVS VOBIS CONTINGAT più plausibile di quella pubblicata nel terzo volume del *Corpus Numismaticum Omnium Romanorum Pontificum* (n. 588). Per essa, che era stata considerata allusiva del Giubileo Straordinario del 1566, l’autrice, dopo una attenta analisi della medaglia stessa e uno studio del tipo del rovescio, propone un riferimento alla politica adottata dal pontefice volta alla conversione degli ebrei, come del resto avevano suggerito alcuni autori antichi.

Il pontificato di Paolo VI attraverso le medaglie, sia quelle ufficiali emesse dalla Santa Sede sia quelle private,

realizzate da stabilimenti privati principalmente per il mercato dei collezionisti è l'argomento del volume di Eleonora GIAMPICCOLO *Le medaglie di Paolo VI: possesso perenne di un pontificato*, pubblicato nel 2018 (114). Le medaglie illustrate in questo volume scandiscono le tappe del percorso della Chiesa verso quel rinnovamento, secondo i dettami del Concilio Ecumenico Vaticano II, e quell'apertura alla modernità fortemente auspicati da Paolo VI durante i quindici anni del suo pontificato. Esse rappresentano, pure, la testimonianza più evidente di quel dialogo che il pontefice riprende con gli artisti moderni, i quali, anche quando il committente delle proprie creazioni è il Vicario di Cristo, possono tornare ad essere finalmente liberi di esprimere nel tondello metallico la propria personalità, il proprio stile, la propria visione della realtà, la propria ricerca insoddisfatta del nuovo, il proprio bisogno di trovare certezze in un mondo in cui sembra dominare l'incertezza, perché, come spiega il pontefice, in questo consiste il lavoro dell'artista: rendere visibile, nella pienezza e nella spontaneità della sua libertà espressiva, ciò che è trascendente, inesprimibile, ineffabile. In questo senso, le medaglie realizzate durante il pontificato di papa Montini, specialmente quelle ufficiali, sono dei veri e propri capolavori di scultura moderna di cui riflettono le caratteristiche formali ed espressive.

Se nel saggio relativo alle pubblicazioni degli anni 2009–2013 la rivista del Medagliere Vaticano, *Historia Mundi*, era stata presentata come una novità editoriale, oggi è ormai affermata nel panorama editoriale italiano. Nata come rivista di medaglistica, nel corso degli anni ha iniziato ad ospitare alcuni contributi riguardanti pure le monete, anche se gli articoli che hanno per argomento i vari aspetti della medaglistica ne costituiscono la parte principale (4, 9, 28, 48, 68, 79, 96, 103, 104, 105, 106, 112, 116, 119, 120, 123). È apprezzata per i suoi contributi scientifici, molti dei quali riguardano proprio le collezioni del Medagliere Vaticano, ma anche per la qualità delle immagini e gli ingrandimenti di cui possono godere i suoi lettori. Costante nell'articolazione della rivista la presenza di un articolo dedicato a medaglisti pontifici (62, 63, 64, 65, 66) e una monografia dedicata a medaglisti contemporanei (97, 98, 99, 113, 117). L'ultimo numero ad oggi pubblicato, il nono, è uscito nel 2020.

In questo quinquennio hanno visto la luce importanti studi riguardanti artisti la cui produzione medaglistica è poco studiata. *In primis* si segnala il volume dell'Accademia Italiana di Studi Numismatici dedicato a Francesco Raibolini detto il Francia che è stato pubblicato a conclusione del Convegno *In punta di bulino. Francesco Francia e gli incisori italiani del Rinascimento*, organizzato presso il Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna nell'ottobre 2017 in occasione del cinquecentenario della morte dell'incisore e contiene gli interventi degli studiosi che vi hanno partecipato (29, 36, 39, 47, 50), tra i quali spicca quello di Michele CHIMIENTI e Guglielmo CASSANELLI, *Francesco Francia incisore e i medaglisti bolognesi del periodo* (37), già autori, peraltro, del volume sullo stesso autore *Francesco Raibolini detto il Francia. Orefice e incisore di conii* (35); a seguire si può citare il contributo di Antonella ARZONE sulle medaglie di Giovan Francesco Caroto e di Giulio della Torre, il primo pittore veronese attivo a Milano e a Casale Monferrato, di cui si conosce un'unica medaglia dedicata al marchese del Monferrato Bonifacio II Paleologo, e il secondo, giurista di professione, ma artigiano del bronzo per passione, autore di una medaglia che ritrae Giovanni il fratello di Giovan Francesco Caroto (26).

A proposito di Giulio della Torre, si cita il contributo della ZAMPERINI *Giulio della Torre come pater familias: autocelebrazione e convenzioni di genere nella medaglia di Beatrice Della Torre* in cui l'autrice descrive la medaglia che l'incisore realizzò per la figlia Beatrice in occasione delle sue nozze con Zeno Turchi avvenute nel 1523 analizzandone il contesto di realizzazione e gli spunti che il repertorio antico ha fornito all'artista nella composizione e nell'iconografia (54).

La figura di Sperandio Savelli medaglista è stata approfondita da un contributo di Marco SCANSANI (51); oltre a quest'ultimo, l'autore ha curato la voce *Savelli, Sperandio (Sperandio da Mantova)* nel *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (volume 90 (2017)); mentre quella del vicentino Valerio Belli è argomento dei contributi di Armando BERNARDELLI (31, 32, 33).

Molti contributi e opere a stampa hanno per argomento medaglisti contemporanei: Giancarlo ALTERI, per esempio, ha dedicato su *Historia Mundi* 5 uno studio-intervista al maestro Angelo Grilli, vincitore del premio *Numismatic Art Award for Excellence in medalllic Sculpture* dell'*American Numismatic Association* nel 2015, *Quando il metallo si fa letteratura: la pascoliana poetica del fanciullino e i putti di Angelo Grilli* (98); *Le fusioni di ricerca di Laura Cretara* sono presentate nella monografia di *Historia Mundi* 6 pubblicata nel 2017 (113): il contributo, che nasce da un'intervista della stessa artista, descrive un gruppo di fusioni nelle quali l'artista esprime le proprie emozioni e le tensioni del suo essere donna del suo tempo e al di sopra di ogni tempo come fossero pagine di un diario personale;

Bruno CALLEGHER ha pubblicato nel 2017 un volume dedicato al medaglista Giuseppe Grava (101); in esso, dopo una piacevole introduzione sul medaglista, la sua formazione e la sua produzione, sono descritte e illustrate 120 medaglie realizzate dal 2000 a tutto il 2016, suddivise in tre gruppi: senza distinzione di committenza e temi; commissionate dal “1° Club Frece Tricolori” di Pieve di Soligo; commissionate dall’associazione “Maestri dello Spiedo” di Pieve di Soligo, attiva dal 2006. L’anno successivo, 2018, è stata inaugurata la collana *Artisti Italiani Contemporanei* curata da Girolamo ZAMPIERI. Il primo volume è dedicato a *Roberto Cremesini, scultore e medaglista*; due contributi a firma di Giovanni GORINI (118) e Andrea SACCOCCI (122) delineano la figura di un artista poliedrico in grado di trarre ispirazione dalla tradizione classica pur con un linguaggio contemporaneo, a volte addirittura sperimentale.

Al bujese Pierino Monassi sono stati dedicati due studi nel 2018. Il primo a firma di Giancarlo ALTERI *Piero Monassi e il multiforme mondo delle sue medaglie* pubblicato su *Historia Mundi 7* in occasione della mostra a lui dedicata e organizzata presso la Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano dal 13 febbraio 2018 all’08 aprile 2018 (99) e il secondo a cura di Ascanio VATTOLO, *Piero Monassi. Medaglista Autore e Incisore* (125). Lo stesso autore l’anno precedente, 2017, aveva pubblicato uno studio su un altro incisore bujese *Sculture e medaglie di Enoe Pezzetta (1918-1995)* (124).

Nel 2018 è uscito il decimo volume della *Collana di Numismatica e Scienze Affini* a cura di Adriano SAVIO e Alessandro CAVAGNA, che sotto il titolo generico di *Saggi di Medaglistica* raccoglie principalmente, ma non solo, studi relativi a medaglie di XV e XVI secolo (5, 7, 13, 27, 32, 43, 45, 46, 49, 53, 59, 69).

Alcune pubblicazioni sono importanti perché portano alla conoscenza di studiosi e del pubblico di appassionati collezioni poco conosciute che possono fornire nuovi ambiti di ricerca; è il caso del volume di Adriano AMENDOLA, *Ritratti di bronzo. Il Medagliere Orsini dei Musei Capitolini di Roma (2017)* (3), di quello di Barbara BACCHELLI, *Collezione Mazzoccolo. Medaglie di Casa Savoia. La “Storia Metallica” e le Cartoline Postali connesse* (2018) (6) e del contributo di Giulia ZACCARIOTTO *La raccolta di medaglie di Gaetano Filangieri: ‘arti industriali’ e testimonianze storiche* (2020) (24). Il primo costituisce non solo il catalogo completo del Medagliere Orsini dei Musei Capitolini di Roma composto di medaglie, placchette e sigilli appartenuto agli Orsini, ma anche uno studio sulla storia di questa famiglia, sulle vicende storiche che l’hanno vista coinvolta e sulla genesi della collezione.

Il secondo presenta un nucleo di 91 medaglie, quello denominato *Storia metallica della Real Casa di Savoia* che fu donato all’Istituto Italiano di Numismatica dal senatore Enrico Mazzoccolo nel 1940. Insieme a questo nucleo viene illustrata anche una raccolta di cartoline postali che replicano, ricalcato in rilievo su una faccia, il ritratto di ciascuno dei personaggi presenti nelle medaglie.

Il terzo descrive la collezione di medaglie una volta appartenute a Gaetano Filangieri, principe di Satriano e duca di Taormina, e che oggi costituiscono parte del patrimonio del Museo Civico Gaetano Filangieri di Napoli. Anche se si tratta di pochi pezzi rimasti rispetto al nucleo originario trafugato dal 1990 (circa un centinaio) il lavoro di presentazione della collezione ha il merito di portare a conoscenza di tutti gli interessati dell’esistenza di questa ennesima raccolta poco nota.

Il volume *Napoleone e la sua famiglia: un’Europa da rivedere* a cura di Franca Maria VANNI raccoglie gli interventi della prima giornata di studio svolta nella Sala Sant’Angelo del Cassero di Castiglion Fiorentino (Arezzo) dedicata all’argomento. L’evento organizzato dal Museo Medagliere dell’Europa Napoleonica con sede a Castiglion Fiorentino e il volume che ne è seguito ha visto la collaborazione dei direttori di alcuni dei più importanti musei italiani, docenti universitari e studiosi della materia. Essi hanno sicuramente contribuito ad attirare l’attenzione nei confronti delle medaglie napoleoniche, che pur essendo troppo spesso trascurate, sono invece documenti importanti per la storia del periodo e per la galleria di personaggi che ci restituiscono. Nel volume sono descritte e illustrate le raccolte di medaglie napoleoniche di alcuni dei più importanti medaglieri italiani: il Museo Correr di Venezia, il Museo Bottacin di Padova, la Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano, il Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna. Gli interventi dei partecipanti sono stati raccolti nel volume degli Atti pubblicato su supporto informatico (75, 80, 81, 84, 85, 86, 88, 94, 95).

Nel 2015 e nel 2018 sono usciti il volume V (15) e VI (72) del *Corpus Numismaticum Omnium Romanorum Pontificum* conosciuto dagli esperti del settore come *CNORP*, a cura di Adolfo MODESTI. Il primo, che riprende articoli sulla materia che lo stesso autore ha pubblicato anni addietro, ha per argomento le medaglie papali di restituzione, anche se illustra, alla fine del volume, alcune serie metalliche commemorative moderne che non possono definirsi

stricto sensu medaglie di restituzione, e il secondo le medaglie papali dei pontefici Gregorio XV, Urbano VIII e Innocenzo X. Quest'ultimo segue l'impostazione dei volumi precedenti ed è sicuramente un ottimo repertorio fotografico per le medaglie pontificie, frutto di un intenso lavoro di ricerca dei vari pezzi, per la maggior parte delle quali vi è il riferimento puntuale ai rispettivi documenti d'archivio. Tuttavia, l'impostazione del volume crea non poca confusione tra colori i quali si approciano alla medaglistica pontificia per la prima volta. Sono infatti schedate, insieme alle medaglie papali propriamente dette, medaglie che sono state inserite solo per il fatto di recare nella legenda generalmente del rovescio il nome del pontefice ad indicarne la datazione, ma che non possono essere definite tali. Un esempio tra tutte è costituito da alcune medaglie di fondazione di chiese che al rovescio recano nella legenda un riferimento al papa sotto il cui pontificato la chiesa è stata costruita.

Nel 2021 è uscita l'opera postuma di Arnaldo TURRICCHIA *Le Medaglie dei Borbone. Duchi di Parma, Piacenza e Guastalla dal 1731 al 1801, Duchi di Parma, Piacenza e Stati annessi dal 1847 al 1859*. Anche questo volume è interessante e molto utile per il suo apparato fotografico e notevole è stato lo sforzo del suo autore che ha fornito la localizzazione delle medaglie nelle varie raccolte consultate. Unica nota stonata il fatto che accanto a puntuali riferimenti di fonti archivistiche coesistono riferimenti a materiali pubblicati online che non sono verificati e che non sono riconducibili ad un determinato autore (22).

Sebbene *Cronaca Numismatica* e *Panorama Numismatico* non siano riviste accademiche, non bisogna trascurare alcuni articoli di medaglistica in essi pubblicati, articoli, questi, che offrono spesso importanti notizie per gli studiosi della materia e gli appassionati. Questi articoli mostrano molto spesso uno studio preciso e abbastanza completo degli argomenti trattati, ma hanno anche il merito di presentare tali argomenti in modo discorsivo, con aneddoti e curiosità, e di far riflettere sul fatto che la medaglia è importante non solo in quanto opera d'arte o documento storico di un lontano passato, ma anche quando essa è documento del nostro passato più recente o legata al nostro presente.

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DEUTSCHLAND

Rainer Grund und Martin Heidemann

Im deutschen Schrifttum zur Medaillenkunst lassen sich im Berichtszeitraum zwei große thematische Schwerpunkte ausmachen, die zugleich im Fokus einer breiteren öffentlichen Aufmerksamkeit stehen und herausragenden historischen Jubiläen gewidmet sind. Es handelt sich zum einen um das 500-jährige Reformationsjubiläum, das 2017 begangen wurde, zum anderen um das Gedenken an den 100 Jahre zurückliegenden Ersten Weltkrieg (1914–1918). Beide Jubiläen haben einen beachtlichen Niederschlag sowohl in Ausstellungen mit Katalogpublikationen gefunden (5, 10, 24, 33, 53, 56, 73, 197, 200, 237, 239, 241, 276), als auch in Form von Einzelstudien (31, 38, 54, 62, 101, 105, 113, 124, 144, 165, 178, 185, 194, 208, 242, 247, 266, 268, 274), in denen bestimmte Themen oder Aspekte behandelt werden.

Das Reformationsjubiläum bot Anlass zur 2015 erfolgten Herausgabe eines von K.-P. BROZATUS (5) bearbeiteten Bestandskatalogs der reformationsgeschichtlichen Münz- und Medaillensammlung der Stiftung Luthergedenkstätten in Sachsen-Anhalt zu Wittenberg. Der aus zwei Teilbänden bestehende und in die Bereiche Personen- und Ereignismedaillen gegliederte Katalog umfasst über 1700 ausführlich beschriebene und in ihrem reformations- und landesgeschichtlichen Kontext erläuterte Münzen und Medaillen aus einem Zeitraum von fast fünf Jahrhunderten als Ergebnis jahrzehntelanger Forschungen des Bearbeiters.

Noch umfangreicher ist der vier Jahre später von D. HÖLSCHER (33) als Band 2 bearbeitete Katalog der „*Reformatio in nummis*“, der die bedeutende Privatsammlung von Rainer Opitz (†) zur Geschichte der Reformation und des Protestantismus in sechs Teilbänden präsentiert. Mit 4716 Katalognummern wurden über 5000 Münzen und Medaillen ausführlich erfasst und abgebildet. Diese in ihrer ungeheuren Materialfülle wichtige, inzwischen versteigerte Sammlung bleibt durch die Publikation dokumentiert. Beide Bände der „*Reformatio in nummis*“ werden künftig als Standard- und Zitierwerk heranzuziehen sein.

Eine 2014 schon mit Objekten aus der Sammlung Opitz bestückte Sonderausstellung mit dem Titel „*Reformatio in nummis*“ auf der Wartburg bei Eisenach begleitete ein von E. DOERK herausgegebener Katalog (56), der Beiträge von G. DETHLEFS (53), S. RHEIN (113) und U. DRÄGER (185) enthält.

Mit dem Lutherbild über die Jahrhunderte befasste sich die von K. EHLING (10) in der Staatlichen Münzsammlung München kuratierte Ausstellung „*Luther imagines 17*“, zu der ein Begleitbuch erschienen ist. Aufgezeigt wurde hier, wie jedes Zeitalter sein eigenes Lutherbild hervorbringt vom gefeierten „Propheten“ und „Lichtbringer“ im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert bis zum Vorbild für das Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert und zur nationalistischen Vereinnahmung im Ersten Weltkrieg. In einer Studie im *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte (JNG)* geht G. DETHLEFS (54) auf die Lichtmetaphorik als den nachhaltigsten Beitrag der Numismatik zur Ikonographie der Reformation ein.

Die große mediale Aufmerksamkeit zum Jubiläumsgedenken des Ersten Weltkriegs fand ihren Niederschlag in zahlreichen Ausstellungen, die in ihren Fragestellungen bzw. gezeigten Objekten auch die Gegenwart reflektierten. Hervorzuheben sind zwei große Ausstellungen zum Thema in München und Berlin mit jeweils opulent ausgestatteten Katalogen. Unter dem Titel „*Europas Verderben 1914–1918*“ präsentierte die Staatliche Münzsammlung München deutsche und österreichische Medaillen auf den Ersten Weltkrieg (237). Mit mehr als 430 Exponaten wurden in 24 Themenfeldern verschiedene Aspekte des Krieges und der Propaganda beleuchtet, von siegreichen Schlachten und „Helden“ bis hin zum Grauen des Krieges und der Not der Zivilbevölkerung. Einen einleitenden Essay verfasste M. WESCHE (276).

Unter dem Titel der auf die Befreiungskriege zurückgehenden und im Ersten Weltkrieg wiederbelebten Parole „*Gold gab ich für Eisen*“ zeigte das Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin ab März 2014 eine einjährige Ausstellung. Der Katalog (239) enthält Beiträge von E. BANNICKE, A. BERTHOLD, K. DAHMEN, E. HARPER, W. STEGUWEIT und B. WEISSER. Zum Thema werden verschiedene Facetten der Rezeption anhand des eigenen reichen

Medaillenbestandes behandelt und durch eine Medaillenedition Berliner Künstler zum 100-jährigen Jubiläum ergänzt.

Im Kontext mit anderen Bildmedien war die Weltkriegsmedaille Gegenstand von Katalogpublikationen bzw. Begleitbüchern zu Ausstellungen in Ingolstadt (200) und Münster (241).

Einen weiteren Schwerpunkt im Berichtszeitraum bilden Publikationen, die bestimmten Regionen, Landschaften oder Städten gewidmet sind (6, 14, 15, 16, 17, 26, 27, 29, 36, 39, 43, 72, 84, 94, 108, 118, 135, 160, 161, 173, 176, 235, 245, 252, 257). Im Fokus stehen dabei in der Regel die Geschichts- oder Ereignismedaillen. Bei dem von D. FISCHER und H. MAUÉ (15) verfassten Korpus der „*Medaillen und Schaumünzen auf Ereignisse in der Reichsstadt Nürnberg 1521-1806*“ handelt es sich um eine erste systematische Bestandserfassung für diesen Zeitraum, die das Standardwerk von H.-J. ERLANGER zu den „*Nürnberger Medaillen 1806-1981*“ ergänzt. Der chronologisch angelegte Katalog umfasst 341 Objektnummern auf über 150 historische Ereignisse. Neben dynastisch-politischen Ereignissen wie Kaiserbesuchen und Fürstentagen fanden die Jubiläen und Jahrestage von Vereinigungen, Schießwettbewerbe oder die Errichtung von Bauwerken ihren Niederschlag in der „metallinen Chronik“ der Medaille.

Als Gemeinschaftswerk verschiedener Autoren, die herausragende Ereignisse und Medaillen der Stadtgeschichte erörtern und beschreiben, erweist sich die von R. WIECHMANN und J. GROLLE (135) herausgegebene Publikation über die Hamburger Medaillen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts.

300 Jahre Geschichte des Landes Baden bis zur Schaffung des Großherzogtums unter Napoleon 1806 ist das Thema von J. ZEITZ (43), der damit das Ergebnis jahrelanger Forschungsarbeit vorlegt. Der alphabetisch nach Ortschaften und Herrschaften geordnete Katalog der Medaillen enthält in einem Anhang auch die Wallfahrts- und Bruderschaftsmedaillen der Region am Oberrhein. In seinem vierbändigen Werk hat der Sammler M. LEIBFRIED (23) deutsche und europäische Fürstenpaare auf Münzen und Medaillen aus einem Zeitraum vom Beginn des Dreißigjährigen Krieges bis 2013 mit 1886 Katalognummern zusammengetragen. Der letzte Band beinhaltet Auktionsergebnisse, Nachträge und Stammtafeln.

15. bis 18. Jahrhundert (Renaissance und Barock)

Die weitere wissenschaftliche Beschäftigung mit der frühneuzeitlichen Renaissancemedaille im Anschluss an die ab 2013 gemeinsam von den Münzkabinetten München, Dresden und Wien organisierte Ausstellung „*Wettstreit in Erz*“ fand ihren Niederschlag in einem von M. HIRSCH, W. CUPPERI und U. PFISTERER 2014 veranstalteten internationalen Kolloquium in München. Der drei Jahre später erschienene Tagungsband „*Die andere Seite. Funktionen und Wissensformen der frühen Medaille*“ (75) unternimmt den Versuch, die Bildgattung in einem größeren Funktions- und Wissenskontext zu beleuchten. Beiträge steuerten u.a. M. HIRSCH (76), S. FITZNER (61), T. FRIED (68), H. MAUÉ (91), M. MÜLLER (97), U. PFISTERER (109) und W. STEGUWEIT (123) bei.

Untersuchungen zu Bedeutung und Einfluss der Antike auf die Medaillen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts unternahmen U. NIGGEMANN (98), S. D. VOLZ (130) und M. MATZKE (88). S. D. VOLZ (130) ging in ihrer Dissertation dem höfischen Ursprung der neuen Kunstgattung in Italien nach, indem sie die Porträtmedaillen Francescos II. da Carrara Novello von 1390 als anregende Vorläufer der späteren Medaillen Pisanellos näher analysierte.

Dem mit Fälschung, Nachahmung und Neuschöpfung komplexen Thema der „Paduaner“, in denen sich nicht zuletzt die Antikenbegeisterung des 16. Jahrhunderts spiegelt, widmete das Historische Museum Basel eine von M. MATZKE (88) konzipierte Ausstellung. Die in der Schriftenreihe der Numismatischen Gesellschaft Speyer e.V. erschienene Begleitpublikation enthält Beiträge verschiedener Autoren. Der umfangreiche Katalog mit insgesamt 419 beschriebenen Objekten dokumentiert den auf den historischen Sammlungen von L. D. de Rochefort und B. Amerbach beruhenden Bestand des Baseler Museums.

Den propagandistischen Einsatz der Medaille im Barock unter Ludwig XIV. und den „Kampf der Bilder“ bzw. „Medaillenkrieg“ zwischen dem Sonnenkönig und seinen europäischen Kontrahenten thematisiert H. ZIEGLER (138) in einem Aufsatz. In der *Festschrift für Wolfgang Hahn zum 70. Geburtstag* ist W. SZAIVERT (127) mit einem Beitrag vertreten, in dem anhand zeitgenössischer Literatur dort erwähnte Medaillen zu den 1690 erfolgten Krönungen der Kaisergattin Eleonore von der Pfalz zur Kaiserin und ihres Sohnes Erzherzog Joseph zum römischen Kaiser und einige Aspekte der Medaillenproduktion dieser Zeit untersucht werden. T. FRIED (66) erforschte in der überarbeiteten Fassung seiner 2013 vorgelegten Habilitationsschrift die repräsentative Funktion der Münz- und Medaillenprägung der mecklenburgischen Herzöge, die Rolle von Münzen und Medaillen als Kommunikationsmittel ihrer Herrschaft und zur Vergegenwärtigung ihrer Macht.

Dynastisch und sammlungsgeschichtlich gleichermaßen orientiert sind die Studien von M. OHM (102, 104, 107) und L. GROSS (107) zur Münz- und Medaillensammlung des Württembergischen Landesmuseums in Stuttgart und von U. WALLENSTEIN (131, 132) zu Gnadepfennigen der Sachsen-Ernestinischen Herzöge des 18. Jahrhunderts im Münzkabinett Gotha. W. LESCHHORN (25) legte einen Bestandskatalog der Sammlung des Herzog-Anton Ulrich-Museums in Braunschweig mit ca. 1200 abgebildeten, beschriebenen und kommentierten Medaillen des 15. bis 19. Jahrhunderts vor. A. KLARE (79) beleuchtet in einem Beitrag König Friedrich II. von Preußen im Spiegel zeitgenössischer Medaillen, die als Auftragswerke des Herrschers seine Reformen sowie Wirtschaft, Wissenschaft und Kunst fördernde Maßnahmen dokumentieren. Von G. MUES (†) und M. OLDING (96) erschienen die ersten beiden Bände des mehrbändig angelegten Katalogwerks zu den preußischen Königen des Hauses Hohenzollern 1786 bis 1870 und deren Familien. Die auf Sammler zielenden Kataloge umfassen die Prägungen auf König Friedrich Wilhelm II. (1786–1797) und König Friedrich Wilhelm III. (1797–1840). In seinen neuen Standardwerken erfasste M. MEHL (94, 95) die Münzen und Medaillen von Merseburg von den Anfängen bis 1738 sowie des Bistums Naumburg-Zeitz und des späteren Herzogtums Sachsen-Zeitz. Neben den ausführlichen Objektbeschreibungen sind auch geschichtliche Angaben zu den geistlichen und weltlichen Herrschern enthalten.

Zum Thema Papstmedaillen, ihrer Funktion, Ikonografie und Bedeutung als Quellengattung sei auf die Arbeit von K. EHLING und J. ERNESTI (11, 195) und den von M. BURIONI und M. HIRSCH (6) herausgegebenen Katalog der Staatlichen Münzsammlung München hingewiesen. EHLING und ERNESTI (11) beleuchten die propagandistische Funktion der Medaillen anhand einer Auswahl von 50 Exemplaren zu Ereignissen der Zeit vom frühen 15. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der offiziellen Jahresmedaillen. Die Stadt Rom als Zentrum der päpstlichen Macht, ihre Architektur und die seit der Antike weiterentwickelten Formen der Präsentation nimmt der von BURIONI und HIRSCH (6) herausgegebene Katalog ins Visier. Er ist als begleitende Publikation zu einer Ausstellung der Staatlichen Münzsammlung München erschienen.

Das Thema *Krieg und Frieden* wurde in Studien und Aufsätzen von D. GERSTL (70) zum Geschehen des Dreißigjährigen Krieges in Regensburg bzw. von M. OHM (106) zu den gleichzeitigen Ereignissen im deutschen Südwesten sowie von G. DETHLEFS (55) in Bezug auf den Westfälischen Frieden behandelt. E. HAUSMANN (74) beleuchtete die Friedensschlüsse in der Zeit der Koalitionskriege. R. GRUND (72) befasste sich mit Medaillen und Gedenkmünzen auf die 1620 erfolgte Unterwerfung und Übernahme der Oberlausitz durch Kursachsen.

Dem 2014 mit Ausstellungen begangenen 200-jährigen Jubiläum des Endes des Spanischen Erbfolgekrieges (1700–1714) sind die Bearbeitungen und Ausführungen zu den Friedensschlüssen von Utrecht, Rastatt und Baden von M. OHM (100, 103) und der Katalog einer Privatsammlung von M. SENK (122) zu verdanken. Studien zu bestimmten Medaillen stammen von H. MAUÉ (92) bezüglich Christian Wermuths Medaille auf die verlustreiche Schlacht bei Höchstädt 1704 und von L.-G. SCHIER (115) auf die in der Oberlausitz verorteten Schlachten von Hochkirch im Siebenjährigen Krieg (1758) und Bautzen (1813) zur Zeit der Befreiungskriege. Den zeitgenössischen Medaillen zum Frieden von Oliva (1660) im 2. Nordischen Krieg, der u.a. die Souveränität des Herzogtums Preußen sicherte, widmete M. NORTH (99) einen Beitrag in einem Sammelband.

Einen weiteren Schwerpunkt bilden monographische Untersuchungen zu Leben und Werk einzelner Künstler-Medaillere, Münzmeister und Graveure.

P. M. ARNOLD (44) widmete sich dem spätgotischen, am Übergang zur Renaissance stehenden süddeutschen Bildhauer und Bildschnitzer Hans Leinberger (um 1470/1480–1531) und der Medaillenkunst, wobei die Medaille auf Johannes Stabius, Dichter und Hofhistoriograph Kaiser Maximilians im Mittelpunkt steht. L.-G. SCHIER (114) legte eine Studie zu 85 Familienschaumünzen des Bautzener Zinngießers Edmann vor, die auf den bis 1939 unternommenen Forschungen von W. HAUPT aufbaut und diese fortführt. Dem aus dem Werkstattkreis um Lucas Cranach hervorgegangenen Medailleur, Holzschneider und Kupferstecher Frantz Friderich (ca. 1520–1584/85), der an mehreren deutschen Fürstenhöfen wirkte, widmete M. CIESLICKI (50) einen längeren Aufsatz in den *Beiträgen zur brandenburgisch/preußischen Numismatik*.

Auf einer 2010 abgeschlossenen Dissertation beruht die 2014 erschienene Publikation von U. B. THIEL (129) zum Bildhauer und Medaillenschneider Dietrich Schro und seiner Werkstatt in Mainz (1542/44–1572/73). Neben großformatigen Werken wie Grabdenkmälern, Skulpturen und Wappentafeln beschreibt und analysiert die Autorin auch das Medaillenwerk. Ausgehend von den gesicherten Werken mit der Gruppe der signierten Porträtmedaillen der gräflichen

Familie zu Solms (1544/46) macht sie auch stilkritisch gestützte Zuschreibungen hinsichtlich Medaillen von Kurfürst Ottheinrich von der Pfalz und dessen Umfeld.

Zu den Ergebnissen medaillenkundlicher Forschungen gehört die von M. SCHÖDER (120) in Dresden abgeschlossene Dissertation über den Leipziger Barockmedailleur Albrecht Krieger (1663–1726). Es ist das Verdienst des Autors, diesen meist im Schatten von Heinrich Paul Großkurt und Christian Wermuth stehenden Künstler und sein Werk stärker ins Licht gerückt zu haben. Mit einem umfangreichen *Suvre* von mehr als 230 ihm bisher zugewiesenen Medaillen gehört Krieger zu den produktivsten Medailleuren seiner Zeit. Archivalische Studien von D. BRUHN, D. GROSCH, M. ROLFS und A. SCHMIDT (40) förderten die Namen und Arbeiten einiger bislang wenig bekannter Südhüringer Medailleure zu Tage.

Für den Bereich der Rechenpfennige, die aufgrund ihres Stempelschnitts und ihrer vielfältig gewählten Bildmotive auch Parallelen zur Medaillenkunst aufweisen, ist das in Deutsch und Englisch verfasste Werk von F. GROENENDIJK und R. A. LEVINSON (71) über die Nürnberger Rechenpfennige der Familien Lauffer mit zwei Gruppen verwandter Meister, die die Rechenpfennigherstellung für gut ein Jahrhundert dominierten, anzuzeigen. Es handelt sich dabei um die Fortsetzung des von F. STALZER bearbeiteten und 1989 von der Staatlichen Münzsammlung München veröffentlichten ersten Bandes, der die früheste Periode der Meister dieser Zunft von 1550 bis 1635 berücksichtigt. Der vorliegende Band umfasst nun die etwa von 1554 bis 1712 herausgegebenen Rechenpfennige, die von den beiden Zweigen der Familie Lauffer bekannt sind.

19. Jahrhundert

Einen Schwerpunkt bilden Untersuchungen zu einzelnen Medaillen und Medaillengruppen, bei denen auch Stilphänomene wie Klassizismus oder Historismus und Themen wie z. B. Industrialisierung (153) berührt werden.

Das aktuelle Reformationsjubiläum boten DRÄGER (143) und EHLING (144) Anlass zur Rückschau auf die Medaillen zur 300-jährigen Reformationsfeier von 1817 und die Rolle Goethes.

Preußische Staatsmedaillen, ihre Entstehung und die Verleihungsmodalitäten waren Gegenstand der auf Auswertung archivalischer Quellen beruhenden Studien von L. TEWES und E. BANNICKE (140, 142). In dem Zusammenhang befassten sie sich auch mit dem Bildhauer Max Landsberg (1850–1906) als einem ihrer Schöpfer. W. HANSEN (147) ging in einem Aufsatz der Frage nach dem „Medaillenkünstler“ Adolph Menzel (1815–1905) nach, eine allgemein meist wenig bekannte Facette des bereits zu Lebzeiten durch Medaillen (u.a. von Werner Begas und Gustav Eberlein) geehrten bedeutenden Berliner Malers und Zeichners. Als die Veröffentlichung eines auf dem FIDEM-Kongress in Ottawa 2018 gehaltenen Vortrags erweist sich die Studie von R. GRUND (146) zu Angelica Bellonata Facius (1806–1887). Die Tochter des Stempelschneiders Friedrich Wilhelm Facius (1764–1843), die von Goethe und dem Großherzog Karl August von Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach protegiert und gefördert wurde, zählt zu den wenigen Künstlerinnen im Medaillenfach aus Weimars klassischer Zeit. Für das auf Schriften von L. FREDE aufbauende Verzeichnis der Werke wurden erstmals auch im Münzkabinett Dresden aufbewahrte Quellen ausgewertet.

Zu den Initiativen im universitären Bereich gehört die von S. KRMNICEK (150, 151) geleitete Bearbeitung der Medaillen und Plaketten auf den bedeutenden Altphilologen und Historiker Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903). Damit liegt der Bestand der Sammlung des Instituts für klassische Archäologie der Universität Tübingen katalogisiert vor.

Einer besonderen Gruppe von Medaillen, den Schulpreismedaillen, die an Schüler und Studierende als Anerkennung für hervorragende Leistungen vergeben wurden, widmeten A. RAFF (155) und L. G. SCHIER (157) ihre Aufmerksamkeit. Ersterer konzentrierte sich dabei auf die Prägungen der Stuttgarter Münze für Stuttgart und den schwäbisch-württembergischen Raum. Neben den Kassenrechnungen der Stuttgarter Münze wurden die erhaltenen Stempel in der Stempelsammlung berücksichtigt. L. G. SCHIER befasste sich im Zuge seiner Studien zur Oberlausitzer Numismatik mit den Prämienmedaillen der Gymnasien zu Bautzen und Görlitz.

20. Jahrhundert bis Gegenwart

Den zahlenmäßig größten Teil der Arbeiten zur Medaillenkunst in Deutschland nehmen Artikel, Studien, Kataloge bzw. katalogartige Zusammenstellungen zu Medaillen des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts ein. Die thematischen Studien und Untersuchungen reichen von Archäologie (18), Automobil (230), Bergbau- und Montanwesen (9, 221), Buchdruck (166), Luftfahrt (19, 20) bis zu entlegeneren Gebieten wie Radio- und Rundfunk (222), Stenografie (258), Schlaraffia (201) sowie Spott und Krisen (12, 13, 196).

Bezüglich einer der namhaften Hersteller von Gelegenheitsmedaillen, der 1861 gegründeten Stuttgarter

Metallwarenfabrik Wilhelm Mayer & Franz Wilhelm, konnte B. KAISER seine 2011 begonnene Aufarbeitung zu Geschichte und Produktion mit weiteren thematisch gegliederten Bänden fortsetzen (226 bis 233).

Zu den glücklichen Umständen gehören die Publikationen großer Spezial- und Privatsammlungen. Als großzügige Schenkung fand die mehr als 4000 Münzen und Medaillen umfassende Sammlung von Gerd-Henrich STORK (41) zum Thema Geowissenschaften in geschlossener Form Eingang in das Niedersächsische Landesmuseum zu Hannover. Der in der Reihe „*Naturhistorica*“ der Naturhistorischen Gesellschaft Hannover erschienene Katalog geht durch das interdisziplinäre Zusammenwirken der Fachressorts von Numismatik, Geowissenschaften, Paläontologie und Biologie über einen reinen Sammlungskatalog hinaus.

Mehr als 2000 numismatische Objekte zum Thema Luft- und Raumfahrt vom ersten Ballonaufstieg der Brüder Montgolfier 1783 bis zum Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs hauptsächlich aus dem deutschen Sprachraum und Frankreich zählt die in über 40 Jahren zusammengetragene Sammlung MICHAEL JOOS (20). Seit 2019 wird sie in Teilen im Münzhandel versteigert.

Einen wichtigen Beitrag zu „*Academia in nummis*“ lieferten U. DRÄGER und D. WEBER (187) mit dem Begleitband zur Ausstellung „*Mit besonderem Dank – Hallesche Medaillenkunst für die Leopoldina*“, Nationale Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Halle (Saale). Er enthält Medaillen von bedeutenden Bildhauern der Kunsthochschule Burg Giebichenstein auf verdiente deutsche Wissenschaftler und Mitglieder der Akademie. Den Ehrenmedaillen einer der ältesten noch existierenden (seit 1779) Gelehrtenvereinigungen Europas, der Oberlausitzischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Görlitz widmeten S. MENZEL und U. SCHUBERT (152) einen umfassenden Beitrag.

Aus Anlass des 25-jährigen Jubiläums der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Medaillenkunst e.V. erschien 2016 ein von W. STEGUWEIT konzipierter Jubiläumsband (265) mit Beiträgen von M. HIRSCH, A. F. SCHWARZBACH, B. GÖBEL, B. WEISSER, R. GRUND und G. DETHLEFS. Die etablierte Reihe „*Die Kunstmedaille in Deutschland*“ wurde um Band 29 zum Medaillenwerk des süddeutschen Bildhauers Friedrich Brenner (170) erweitert. Zusammen mit der Stadt Suhl organisierte die Medaillengesellschaft die in Publikationen (180 bis 182) dokumentierten Verleihungen des Deutschen Medailleurpreises „Johann Veit Döll“ in den Jahren 2014, 2016 und 2018.

Dem komplexen Spannungsfeld von Kunst, Macht und Geld, dem vor allem der Künstler als Produzent ausgesetzt ist, ging eine 2016 vom Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin initiierte Ausstellung nach, zu der ein von A. KÜTER und B. WEISSER (244) bearbeiteter Begleitband herausgegeben wurde. Vorgestellt wurde unter anderem eine neue Medaillenedition zum Ausstellungsthema „*Muse macht Moneten*“, an der sich mehr als 30 Künstler mit ihren Werken beteiligten.

Einen Einblick in das aktuelle zeitgenössische Schaffen deutscher Künstler geben die katalogartig zusammengestellten Länderbeiträge (211, 213, 217) zu den Biennalen der internationalen Medaillengesellschaft FIDEM von Sofia 2014, Gent und Namur 2016 sowie Ottawa 2018. Sie stammen wie die vorab im *Numismatischen Nachrichtenblatt (NNB)* verfassten Artikel (210, 212, 216) vom deutschen FIDEM-Delegierten R. GRUND, einem der Autoren dieser bibliografischen Übersicht.

Für künstlermonographische Arbeiten boten oft hohe Geburtsjubiläen Anlass für Einzelausstellungen mit Begleitkatalogen. Zu erwähnen sind der Bildhauer und Medailleur Friedrich Brenner (geb. 1939) mit Ausstellungen in der Staatlichen Münzsammlung München (170) und im Maximilianmuseum Augsburg (198, 199) oder die für ihre einfühlsamen Tierdarstellungen bekannte Bildhauerin Heide Dobberkau (geb. 1929, gest. 2021), deren 90. Geburtstag durch einen von W. STEGUWEIT und J. EBERHARDT (267) erstellten Katalog und eine Ausstellung im Berliner Bodemuseum gewürdigt wurde. Auch die Kataloge zum Werk der Bildhauerin Sonja SEIBOLD (259) und zu dem 2017 mit dem Hilde-Broër-Preis für Medaillenkunst ausgezeichneten Klaus Kowalski (240, 243) sind in diesem Zusammenhang zu nennen.

Bernd Göbel (geb. 1942), dem renommierten Vertreter der halleschen Bildhauerschule, ist ein Band (206) zu seinem aktuellen Medaillenschaffen der Jahre 2012 bis 2017 gewidmet, der ein früher erschienenes Werkverzeichnis der Medaillen fortführt. In einem einleitenden Essay würdigt U. DRÄGER das Schaffen des Künstlers. Persönliche Erinnerungen und Erfahrungen vor dem Hintergrund des politisch-gesellschaftlichen Wandels und der künstlerischen Auseinandersetzungen enthält Göbels 2017 erschienene Autobiographie (207). Die Untersuchung von D. PÖSCHL (248) greift über das Medaillenschaffen hinaus und geht am Beispiel des Bildhauers Bernd Göbel der Frage nach der Wahrnehmung von individuellen Freiräumen und Gestaltungsmöglichkeiten von Künstlern in der DDR nach.

Auf die Initiative der Sächsischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft e.V. geht die Fortsetzung des 2012 erschienenen Werksverzeichnis des Dresdner Medailleurs Peter-Götz Güttler zurück. Die Publikation (254) dokumentiert neben den 2012 bis 2018 entstandenen Medaillenarbeiten (bearbeitet von M. HEIDEMANN) abrundend zugleich das weniger bekannte architektonische, graphische, malerische und plastische Werk.

Neuere Forschungsergebnisse zum *Suvre* von Friedrich Wilhelm Hörnlein (1873–1945), des letzten Medailleurs der sächsischen Staatsmünze in Muldenhütten, fanden ihren Niederschlag in einem von P. ARNOLD und S. STEIN (164) erstellten Nachtrag zum 1992 erschienenen Werkverzeichnis. Eine umfangreiche monographische Würdigung des Künstlers erfolgte in dem von U. BECKER herausgegebenen Band (218) durch H.-G. HARTMANN (†).

An Zitierwerken sind darüber hinaus die von B. KAISER im Zuge seiner Forschungen zur Stuttgarter Prägefirma Mayer & Wilhelm erstellten Bände (229, 234) zu David Fahrner (zusammen mit H. J. SCHNURR) und Heinrich Zimmermann sowie der von K. THIEME (†) erarbeitete Katalog (270) zum Leipziger Bildhauer und Medailleur Bruno Eyer mann anzuzeigen. Unter weiteren, auf einzelne Bildhauer und Medailleure bezogenen Publikationen sei der Katalog (271) zu Skulpturen, Medaillen und Plastik der Hallenser Künstlerin Heidi Wagner-Kerkhof hervorgehoben.

Rechtzeitig zum Jubiläumsjahr des bedeutenden Komponisten Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827), anlässlich des 250. Geburtstags 2020, konnte die Numismatische Gesellschaft seiner Geburtsstadt Bonner Münzfreunde e.V. durch den ehemaligen Leiter des Stadtarchivs M. v. REY (34) eine Zusammenstellung von Medaillen unter Berücksichtigung der Sammlung des Bonner Beethovenhauses vorlegen. Auf 300 Seiten werden insgesamt 217 Medaillen, Münzen und Plaketten zu Person und Werk, von den ersten Medaillen aus Beethovens Todesjahr 1827 bis zur 10-Euro-Münze auf das Jubiläum 2020 beschrieben. Der Katalog ist in der noch jungen Reihe der Vereinigung „Bonner Numismatische Studien“ als Band 3 erschienen.

Im Bereich der Porzellanmedaillen gibt es Veröffentlichungen zu traditionsreichen Herstellerfirmen. Erstmals wurden von C. und CHR. BEYER (4) die Medaillenausgaben der Königlich Preußischen Porzellanmanufaktur (KPM) zu Berlin in einem Katalog erfasst, der 2019 in 2. Auflage herausgegeben wurde. In Zusammenarbeit mit dem Freundeskreis keramischer Münzen und Medaillen konnten K.-H. und S. WEIGELT (273) Band 11 der Medaillen aus Meissener Porzellan aus dem Zeitraum von 2001 bis 2008 vorlegen. Den Medaillen der weniger bekannten aber nicht weniger traditionsreichen, von 1790 bis 2018 bestehenden thüringischen Manufaktur Weimar Porzellan aus Blankenhain ist ein 2016 erschienener Katalog (249) gewidmet. Das keramische Medaillenschaffen des Weimarer Architekten Hubert Schiefelbein (geb. 1930) steht im Mittelpunkt der Arbeit von H. HUSCHKA (224).

Tragbare Medaillen, Ehrenzeichen, Orden

Studien und Untersuchungen zu tragbaren Medaillen, Ehrenzeichen und Orden besitzen in der vierteljährlich erscheinenden Zeitschrift *Orden und Ehrenzeichen* ein nach 20 Jahren etabliertes Fachorgan. Einige Beispiele mit wissenschaftlicher Qualität sind in den bibliografischen Überblick aufgenommen.

Dem Thema Lebensrettungsmedaillen war 2017 eine gemeinsam vom Schloss- und Kulturbetrieb Altenburg und der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Ordenskunde e.V. ausgerichtete Ausstellung im Residenzschloss Altenburg gewidmet, zu der O. WITTENBERG (284) ein Begleitheft verfasst hat. Derselbe Autor befasste sich zudem in einem speziellen Aufsatz (283) mit der preußischen Rettungsmedaille von 1933, die in diesem Jahr als Ehrenzeichen noch in zwei Versionen zur Verleihung kam. Einzelstudien legten ferner L. ADLER (277) zur Rettungsmedaille des Großherzogtums Hessen (1849–1918) und P. LICHTBLAU (281) zu den Rettungsmedaillen des Fürstentums, später Freistaats Schaumburg-Lippe vor.

Der bei Sammlern für seine DDR-Spezialkataloge bekannte F. BARTEL (278) legte drei Bände des Katalogs der Auszeichnungen und Abzeichen der DDR vor, die den Jugendorganisationen FDJ und der Pionierorganisation „Ernst Thälmann“ (2015) sowie den Sportgemeinschaften und -organisationen und ihren Meisterschaften (2016, 2017) gewidmet sind.

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SWITZERLAND – SUISSE

Gilles Perret

Malgré un nouveau président entièrement acquis à la cause de la médaille, les organes de la Société suisse de numismatique ne livrent que rarement des publications d'importance sur ce sujet. L'étude de la médaille suisse continue heureusement d'avancer par petites touches grâce aux découvertes et au travail d'une poignée de ses défenseurs qui ont rédigé la moitié des contributions citées ci-après. Cependant, à l'initiative de quelques membres suisses de la FIDEM, les Journées numismatiques suisses (JNS) de 2015 ont été dédiées à ce thème et accompagnées d'un concours d'artistes et d'une courte exposition (84-85). Les présentations du président de la Fédération, invité en Suisse pour l'occasion, et de la déléguée pour la Suisse ainsi que l'atelier de création ont été suivis avec beaucoup d'intérêt par les numismates de notre pays qui ont réalisé tout l'intérêt de ces rencontres entre artistes, chercheurs, fabricants et collectionneurs qui font toute l'originalité de la FIDEM. Plusieurs conférences ont ensuite fait l'objet, par leurs auteurs, de publications détaillées qui abordent des aspects de notre matériel et des champs d'étude très différents : iconographie, politique, économie, olympisme, etc. (7, 9, 42, 63 et 69).

Pour les corpus, ERNI a publié celui des Fêtes fédérales de chant (59). Outre l'étude présentée lors des JNS (63), le Centre d'études olympiques nous livre les descriptions assez complètes des médailles des différents jeux (56-58, disponibles en ligne). L'ouvrage sur les médailles de tir a déjà fait l'objet d'une réédition augmentée de 400 entrées (68) et quelques articles amènent de nouvelles informations sur ce matériel déjà bien publié. Signalons en outre deux travaux réalisés à l'étranger : SERFAS a établi celui des médailles frappées pour nos universités (70) et KAISER poursuit la publication des productions de la firme allemande Mayer & Wilhelm avec un catalogue des médailles consacrées aux hommes célèbres dont quelques Suisses (62). Nous ne pouvons qu'espérer vivement que cette série encourage nos chercheurs à publier systématiquement les frappes de nos grands médailleurs dont la production et certaines archives sont maintenant disponibles (86).

EISLER poursuit l'étude du rôle, à la fois politique et économique, de la médaille sur la construction progressive de l'image de qualité que vont acquérir les productions suisses, en particulier dans le domaine de l'horlogerie (6-8). Parmi les études plus ponctuelles, on peut observer que l'étude des médailles permet la redécouverte de sports oubliés comme les courses entre véhicules terrestres et aériens (19-21). A ce propos, la comparaison des frappes réalisées dans notre pays permet d'appréhender particulièrement bien les différences de style et d'approche artistique entre les trois cultures qui se rencontrent en Suisse : l'allemande, la française et l'italienne. Trois études s'intéressent à l'iconographie des villes (18, 67, 69). Sur le plan technique, Ramseyer détaille le fonctionnement du tour à réduire qui a profondément modifié la pratique des graveurs (39).

Grâce aux contributions de DOSWALD (3-5), les médailles religieuses sont de plus en plus souvent étudiées séparément du matériel numismatique dans les publications archéologiques. Elles peuvent ainsi servir à mieux comprendre certaines pratiques religieuses des époques médiévales et modernes.

Pour ce qui concerne la création contemporaine, les sùvres suisses ne sont plus disponibles sur le site du Musée de Neuchâtel depuis que la FIDEM a mis en ligne sur son propre site une base de données qui contient déjà les sùvres présentées aux congrès depuis 2004 (50). NIEDERMANN établit un premier catalogue des médailles d'un de nos plus importants graveurs du XX^e siècle (49) et remarque un artiste contemporain peu connu (47). Le catalogue des médailles du très populaire Hans Erni est maintenant aussi disponible en ligne (41).

Deux grandes expositions (90, 94) ont rendu hommage aux médailles de la Renaissance, soulignant ainsi l'importance des collections suisses pour l'étude et la mise en valeur de ce matériel des origines. Celles-ci ont du reste fait l'objet de publications détaillées (91, 93). Le décès de Michael MATZKE a malheureusement fait perdre à la médaille l'un de ses meilleurs connaisseurs et plus valeureux défenseur (80, cf. aussi ses écrits dans la section *Italy*).

Enfin, les commémorations de la Première Guerre mondiale ont suscité un certain nombre d'articles sur la

phaléristique et nous en avons donc fait un chapitre spécifique. En Suisse, ce domaine se limite généralement à nos ressortissants qui ont accédés à des ordres étrangers. Il convient donc de souligner les articles consacrés à une médaille allemande qui célèbre la tradition humanitaire de la Suisse (73, 79) ainsi que ces esquisses réalisées pour imaginer la forme que pourrait prendre des ordres civils suisses (77) !

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ÖSTERREICH

Heinz Winter

EMMERIG legte eine unkommentierte Bibliographie zur Münz- und Geldgeschichte Österreichs in Mittelalter und Neuzeit für die Jahre von 2008 bis 2013 vor (1). Diese stellt eine wesentliche Erweiterung eines Beitrages dieses Autors im *Survey of Numismatic Research 2008–2013* (Taormina, 2015, S. 328–332) dar. Beide Bibliographien führen auch Beiträge zur Medaille an. Derselbe stellte die Publikationen von Wolfgang Hahn (geboren 1945), zuletzt Vorstand des Instituts für Numismatik (und Geldgeschichte) der Universität Wien, für die Jahre von 1969 bis 2014 zusammen (3). Des Weiteren verfasste er ein Verzeichnis der Schriften des oberösterreichischen Landesnumismatikers Bernhard Prokisch (geboren 1957) für 1979 bis 2014 (2). Besonders Letzterem werden zahlreiche Arbeiten zu Medaillen und verwandten Objekten verdankt.

2019 jährte sich der Todestag Maximilians I. (Kaiser 1508–1519) zum fünfhundertsten Mal. Dieses Ereignis wurde von Ausstellungen, Symposien und Publikationen begleitet. Hall in Tirol als Sitz dessen Hauptmünzstätte war Heimat einer allein der Numismatik gewidmeten Schau. Die von WINTER kuratierte Ausstellung und die von diesem verfasste Begleitpublikation (11) betteten die Prägung Maximilians in die Blütezeit dieser Münzstätte ein. Anzuschließen ist ein Überblick zu den Schaumünzen und Medaillen Maximilians von WINTER (10). Derselbe stellte diese Objektgruppen als Mittel der Propaganda und der Repräsentation heraus (12). RIZZOLLI legte unter anderem die Gründe für die Ausprägung der Haller *Reiterguldiner* von 1508/1509 dar (6). Offenbar nahm Maximilian damit auf seine Feindschaft zu Italien, vor allem zum Dogen von Venedig, Bezug. WINTER beschäftigte sich mit dem Beginn der Medaille in Österreich (13). Dabei hatten die Produkte der Münzstätte Hall in Tirol unter Maximilian einen wesentlichen Anteil an der Akzeptanz dieses Mediums. RIZZOLLI und PIGOZZO gingen auf das Ende des Veroneser Währungsraumes 1516 ein (7). Die Autoren bezogen die Haller Schaumünzen in die Betrachtung mit ein. Mit Bergbau und Wirtschaft – auch in Hinblick auf Münzstätten und Geldumlauf – setzten sich PIZZININI (4), RIZZOLLI (5), RÖSSNER (8) sowie SCHMITZ-VON LEDEBUR und WINTER (9) auseinander. GÖBL und WINTER beschäftigten sich mit der *Dedikationsmedaille* der Stadt Nürnberg für Karl V. aus 1521 (14). Abgesehen von der Prägetechnik ist das Wappenprogramm eines ihrer herausragenden Merkmale. Unter Einbeziehung von zeitgenössischen Quellen gelang den Autoren eine Neuinterpretation für zehn der insgesamt 27 Wappen.

Zu Erzherzögen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts sind mehrere Arbeiten von WINTER erschienen. Besonders ist eine Studie zu den Medaillen auf den Tiroler Landesfürsten Ferdinand II. (1529–1595), des Sohnes Kaiser Ferdinands I., und dessen Familie hervorzuheben (17). Diese sind wenig bekannt, selten und kaum einzuordnen, zumal Signaturen fehlen. Als Medailleure werden Joachim Deschler (um 1500/1505 – nach September 1571), Leone Leoni (um 1509–1590), Alexander Colin (1527/1529–1612) und Giovanni Pietro de Pomis (1565–1633) vorgeschlagen. Eine Studie beschäftigte sich mit der Münz- und Medaillenprägung der Tiroler Landesfürsten Leopold V. (1586–1632), Ferdinand Karl (1628–1662) und Sigismund Franz (1630–1665) (18). In weiteren Arbeiten wurden die Medaillen auf Leopold Wilhelm (1614–1662), eines Sohnes Kaiser Ferdinands II., vorgestellt (15, 16).

Für Medaillen um 1690, das Jahr der Krönung Josephs (I.) zum römischen König, ist ein Beitrag von SZAIVERT zu nennen (22). TELESKO beschäftigte sich mit der Ikonographie der Kriege gegen die Osmanen des 17. und des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts aus der Sicht der Numismatik (23). Anzuschließen ist eine Studie von OHM, welche Medaillen auf Friedensschlüsse der Zeit Kaiser Karls VI. (regierte 1711–1740) in das Zentrum der Betrachtung rückte (21). Die ausgewählten Stücke stellen den Frieden *ex negativo* – als Abwesenheit von Krieg und Gewalt – dar. Anhand von *Emigrantenmedaillen* widmete sich ERKER dem Schicksal Salzburger Protestanten in den 1730er-Jahren (19, 20). Ein Beitrag von TELESKO behandelt die Bedeutung der Medaille im Medienkanon der frühen Neuzeit (24). Demnach wirkte die Medaille bis in die Druckgrafik und modifizierte den Charakter von in Kupferstichen und Radierungen wiedergegebenen historischen Ereignissen.

Der Geburtstag Maria Theresias (regierte 1740–1780) jährte sich 2017 zum dreihundertsten Mal. Die Erforschung ihrer Medaille findet einen Schwerpunkt am Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien. Der Herrscherin und ihren Medaillen wurde hier im Jubiläumsjahr unter anderem mit einer Ausstellung und einer Begleitpublikation erinnert. In dieser für das Publikum gedachten Veröffentlichung sind FABIANKOWITSCH, HAMMER, HERTEL, LINSBOTH, TELESKO und WINTER mit Beiträgen vertreten (26, 27; 34; 35; 37; 38; 41, 42). Weitere Arbeiten von FABIANKOWITSCH nahmen auf die Medaillenproduktion in Wien, der Hauptmünzstätte des Reiches, Bezug (28, 31). Ein Artikel setzte die Entwicklung des Münzporträts in das Zentrum der Betrachtung (32). Eine weitere Studie widmete sich dem Medaillenporträt (29). Die auf die Münzen gesetzten Porträts blieben auch für die Medaille nicht ohne Einfluss, durch die größere Zahl der beteiligten Künstler ist bei der Medaille jedoch ein umfangreicheres Spektrum an Portättypen festzustellen.

FABIANKOWITSCH beschäftigte sich auch mit der Vermittlung von politischen Inhalten anhand von Münzen und Medaillen (26, 27, 30, 31). Die Autorin widmete in all ihren Arbeiten zeitgenössischen Akten breiten Raum (dazu vor allem 25). TELESKO ging auf die ungarischen Krönungsmedaillen ein (39). Mit Medien dieser Zeit, darunter Druckgraphik und Medaillen, setzte sich eine Arbeit von TELESKO, HERTEL und LINSBOTH auseinander (40). Eine Studie von WINTER behandelte die habsburgisch-lothringischen Medaillen im Vergleich mit jenen von europäischen Nachbarn (43). Es zeigte sich, dass die Ikonographie – abgesehen von aktuellen Sujets – allgemein der Kunst des 18. Jahrhunderts entnommen wurde. Die zum Teil auffallenden Parallelen waren durch jene Künstler bedingt, welche in verschiedenen Ländern tätig waren. Die Medaillen entsprechen somit nicht immer den Intentionen der Prägeherren. FISKA beschäftigte sich mit Konzeption, inhaltlichen Zielsetzung und philologischen Ausrichtung der 1782 in Wien erschienenen „Schau- und Denkmünzen, welche unter der glorwürdigen Regierung der Kaiserin Königin Maria Theresia geprägt worden sind.“ (33). Bestreben der angeblich von Erzherzogin Maria Anna (1738–1789) in deutscher und französischer Sprache verfassten Publikation war, das Ansehen der Herrscherin für die Nachwelt zu bewahren. Der genannte Beitrag von HAMMER (34) sowie eine Studie von KONEČNÝ (36) stellten schließlich den Bergbau sowie die entsprechenden Medaillen in das Zentrum der Betrachtung. Zeitlich an Maria Theresia anzuschließen ist eine Medaille auf Josef II., die zusammen mit einem zugehörigen Werbeblatt von BECKERS vorgelegt wurde (44). Letzteres ermöglichte die Benennung des Medailleurs – Johann Christian Reich (1740–1814) – sowie eine Neuinterpretation des Prägeanlasses.

Wenig Beachtung fand bislang die Medaille auf Kaiser Ferdinand I. (regierte 1835–1848, gestorben 1875), des Onkels und Vorgängers Franz Josefs auf dem Kaiserthron. Hier hat in den letzten Jahren ein Umdenken stattgefunden. Die Aktenläufe und Produktionsschritte für dessen aus der Wiener Münzstätte stammenden Medaillen wurden am Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien bearbeitet. Für 2021 ist die Publikation der Ergebnisse nebst der Vorlage des Bestandskataloges von MAYR geplant. Grundlage ist die Dissertation derselben, die sich der Medaillenproduktion am Hauptmünzamt in Wien in kunsthistorischem und historischem Kontext widmet (47, 48). Ein Teilaspekt der Dissertation, die offizielle Medaillenproduktion, wird in Auswahl auch gesondert publiziert (49). Die Medaillen und Auswurfprägungen anlässlich dessen Krönung zum jüngeren König von Ungarn im Jahre 1830 stellten SOLTÉSZ und TÓTH in das Zentrum der Betrachtung (50). Eine Publikation von MAYR beleuchtete die Rolle des Wiener Münz- und Antikensabinetts, aus dem das heutige Kunsthistorische Museum hervorging, bei der Konzeption von Medaillen zur Zeit Ferdinands (46). Eine weitere Arbeit dieser Autorin stellte Preismedaillen der Innerösterreichischen Industrie- und Gewerbeausstellungen im Vormärz in das Zentrum des Interesses (45). Diese Leistungsschauen wurden von 1838 bis 1847 abgehalten und von Medaillen als höchste Form der Anerkennung begleitet. RIEDER wird eine Zusammenstellung der Medaillen der „Niederösterreichischen Landesschießen“ verdankt (52). Diese fallen vornehmlich in die Zeit Kaiser Franz Josefs (regierte 1848–1916) und tragen häufig dessen Porträt. Zu den Medaillen des Ersten Weltkrieges (1914–1918) ist – ungeachtet des hundertjährigen Jubiläums des Kriegsendes – lediglich eine Studie von PROKISCH zu nennen (51). Der Schwerpunkt der Forschung lag für dieses Gebiet vornehmlich in den Händen der deutschen Kollegen.

Besonderes Augenmerk wurde im Berichtszeitraum Auswurfprägungen geschenkt. Für die Feierlichkeiten anlässlich der endgültigen Bestattung Kaiser Friedrichs III. (regierte 1452–1493) in der Domkirche St. Stephan in Wien im Jahre 1513 fertigte man auf Anweisung seines Sohnes und Nachfolgers Maximilian I. in Hall in Tirol Auswurfprägungen an. Durch eine kleine Öffnung in der Wandung des Grabes konnten 2013 erstmals Aufnahmen im Inneren des Grabmonumentes angefertigt werden. Diese geben einen Einblick in die einzige

ungestörte Kaiserbestattung des Mittelalters. Es war überraschend, dass die zwar seltenen, aber dennoch gut bekannten Auswurfprägungen bei dieser Untersuchung nachgewiesen werden konnten (57). Im Berichtszeitraum wurde die Forschung an den habsburgisch bzw. habsburgisch-lothringischen Auswurfprägungen und Medaillen für Krönungen vorangetrieben. Diese wurden von PÁLFFY, SOLTÉSZ und TÓTH in einer monographischen Studie (56) und einer Begleitpublikation zu einer Ausstellung (55) behandelt. HOLČÍK, LUKOVÁ und FRANCOVÁ beschäftigten sich mit den Krönungsfeierlichkeiten in Bratislava/Preßburg und gingen auf die anlässlich dieser Feierlichkeiten angefertigten Medaillen und Auswurfprägungen ein (54). Auch die an anderen Stellen genannten Artikel von FABIANKOWITSCH (26), TELESKO (39), SOLTÉSZ und TÓTH (50) sowie PROKISCH (73) und SPECHT (75) (die beiden letzteren für religiöse Anlässe) bezogen entsprechende Prägungen mit ein. FRÜHWALD legte in einer dritten Auflage eines für Sammler konzipierten Buches eine bebilderte Aufstellung der Münzen und Medaillen des Kaisertums Österreich von 1806 bis 1918 sowie deren aktuellen Marktpreise vor (53). Die Auflage wurde um Krönungsmedaillen und -jetone bzw. Prägungen anlässlich von Huldigungen erweitert.

Ein unebildeter, unkommentierter Katalog einer Privatsammlung von HAUSER beschäftigte sich mit dessen eigenen, umfassenden Sammlung von Medaillen, Plaketten und Jetons, die in Österreich ab 1918 ausgegeben wurden (58). Behandelt wurden solche von Staat, Bundesländern und Gemeinden. Fraglich bleibt, wie mit diesem zwar unebildertem jedoch wichtigen Material – zahlreiche Inedita werden angeführt – von Seiten der Forschung umzugehen ist.

Zu nennen sind Arbeiten zu einzelnen Medailleuren, deren Bedeutung auch als Vorstufen zu umfassenderen Arbeiten zu einzelnen Perioden nicht zu überschätzen ist. Hervorzuheben ist eine Studie von MAYR über das Verhältnis des Kunsthistorikers Rudolf Eitelberger von Edelberg (1817–1885) zu Joseph Daniel Böhm (1794–1865) (64). Eine Monographie von BENE stellte die Medaillen von Carl Radnitzky (1818–1901) zusammen (59). Zu bemängeln ist, dass die Mehrzahl der Inventarnummern des Kunsthistorischen Museums nicht korrekt wiedergegeben ist. HORNER legte in einer ungedruckten Masterarbeit eine Studie über den Bildhauer und Medailleur Josef Tautenhayn den Älteren (1837–1911) vor (62). DÜREN ging auf die „Affaire Marschall“ ein (60). Gemeint sind die Vorgänge um die Bestellung Rudolf Marschalls (1873–1967) als Professor für Medailleurkunst an die k. k. Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien nach dem unfreiwilligen Rücktritt von Tautenhayn dem Älteren. WAGNER verfasste eine Zusammenstellung von Abzeichen und Medaillen, welche der Bildhauer und Medailleur Karl Perl (1876–1965), selbst ein Schlaraffe, für verschiedene Schlaraffenreysche schuf (67). FRÖSCHL beschäftigte sich in einer ungedruckten Diplomarbeit mit dem Bildhauer und Medailleur Edwin Grienuer (1893–1964) (61). Hervorzuheben ist eine Reihe von Artikeln von STREBL über Rudolf Schmidt (1894–1980) (65, 66). Hier sind die biographischen Angaben von Bedeutung, zumal es sich bei der Autorin um die Nichte des Künstlers handelt. Abschließend sei eine Arbeit von MAYR genannt, welche die Rolle des Porträtmedaillons als Form des Gelehrtendenkmals anhand von entsprechenden Arbeiten der Bildhauer Kaspar von Zumbusch (1830–1915) und Arnold Hartig (1878–1972) beleuchtet (63).

EMMERIG ging auf die Sitte der Grundsteinlegungen ein und verzeichnete die Münzen und Medaillen aus Grundstein- und Turmknopffunden aus Österreich (68). Religiöse Medaillen, auch aus Fundkomplexen, wurden von PREISINGER (69, 70), PROKISCH (71, 72) und SPECHT (75) vorgelegt. PROKISCH beschäftigte sich mit den Medaillen und Abzeichen des 23. Internationalen Eucharistischen Kongresses in Wien 1912, der unter dem Protektorat Kaiser Franz Josefs stand (73). Anlässlich dieses kirchlichen Großereignisses wurden zehntausende Medaillen und Abzeichen ausgegeben. Diese Arbeit ist als Beispielgebend für die Vorlage entsprechenden Materials zu bezeichnen. SPECHT stellte eine bislang unbekannt Suite von Miniaturmedaillen aus der Zeit des Wiener Kongresses vor (76). Auf das weite Feld der Ballspenden machte SCHWAB-TRAU aufmerksam (74). Bei den medaillenartigen Arbeiten dieser Gattung trat vor allem der Medailleur Anton Scharff (1845–1903) hervor. STROHMEIER, WÖGENSTEIN und WÖGENSTEIN listeten die österreichischen Gewerkschaftsabzeichen auf (77).

Eine von HASSMANN und WINTER verfasste Monographie zum Wiener Münzkabinett im 18. Jahrhundert stellt die Geschichte dieser Institution vor (79). Die Darstellung basiert auf umfangreichem, bislang unbekanntem oder unbeachteten Quellenmaterial, das für weite Strecken der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts zudem von HASSMANN monographisch aufgearbeitet wurde (78). Viele kirchliche Einrichtungen haben eine lange Tradition beim Sammeln, Erforschen und Ausstellen von Münzen und Medaillen, nicht zuletzt in ihren Kunst- und Wunderkammern. Sie waren daneben immer wieder Anlaufstelle für die Entdecker von Schatzfunden. Ihrer Bedeutung steht eine nur geringe

Beschäftigung mit der Geschichte dieser Sammlungen gegenüber. Wertvoll ist deshalb ein Beitrag von MAYER, der sich der Münzsammlung des Benediktinerstiftes Göttweig vor allem unter Abt Gottfried Bessel (1672–1749) widmete (80, 81). Der Sammler und Mäzen Karl Adolf Bachofen von Echt (1830–1922), welcher sich unter anderem der Förderung der Medaillenkunst verschrieb, steht im Zentrum einer ungedruckten Dissertation von PACHER (82). Abschließend ist eine Monographie von PROKISCH zu nennen, welche die Sammlung von Bergbaugeprägten des Karl Ritter von Ernst (1833–1911) zum Inhalt hatte (83).

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POLAND

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During the period in question, research on medallic art was conducted very intensively in Poland. The activities of both amateur collectors and researchers as well as employees of scientific institutions should be noted here.

Works on religious medals, scapulars (badges of religious orders), pilgrim and votive plaques are included in the circle of “sacred” numismatics. These are mainly publications of archaeological excavations, sometimes with a broader historical and artistic background (6, 46, 106, 118, 153, 193, 198, 199, 279, 298, 299, 333, 345, 359), but also works describing sacred medals through the prism of their role and significance in the Christian world, as well as history and symbolism (111, 114, 152, 182, 212, 217–219, 234–236, 281, 336, 337, 342, 353, 360).

Research on Renaissance medals (284–290, 343, 346), as well as the influence of ancient and medieval patterns on Polish medallic art in the early modern period, brought valuable results (15, 16, 45). The many works devoted to the iconography of medals related to the reigns of John III Sobieski and the Vasa dynasty in Poland (237–276 and 71–74, monumental catalogs of gold medals and coins) should be particularly emphasized here. Intensive research was also carried out on medals of rulers of Poland from the Wettin dynasty (330–331) and medals from the reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski (325, 328, 329). The research on the modern period also includes studies on the iconography of Gdańsk medals (69, 70, 76).

A significant part of the works of the period in question are the publications of collections (or parts of them) of the most significant public institutions, such as the Royal Castle in Warsaw, the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław (22–28, 42), the National Museum in Poznań (99), the National Museum in Szczecin (117), the National Museum in Wrocław (129, 132), the Museum of the Polish Army in Warsaw (232, 233) and the Museum of Sport and Tourism in Warsaw (19, 20). Smaller museums also presented their collections, especially the Museum of the Kujawy and Dobrzyń Region in Włocławek (21), the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków (29), the Museum of Warsaw (294, 295), the Museum in Chorzów (51, 52), the Museum of the Silesian Piasts in Brzeg (86, 332), the Museum of the City of Łódź (104, 105), the Museum of Independence in Warsaw (143–148), the Museum in Tarnowskie Góry (182), the Mazovian Museum in Płock (334) and the Museum of the Polish Sulfur Industry in Tarnobrzeg (349). The publication of the monumental catalog of medals from the collection of the Lviv National Gallery of Art (43) should also be mentioned.

As in the previous period, catalogs of private collections were also published, especially of the numismatic items devoted to John Paul II (3–5, 357).

Another group of publications consists of monographic works or exhibition catalogs devoted to Polish medalists. In particular, a review of the works of Barbara Lis-Romańczuk (33), Jerzy Nowakowski (14), Wojciech Przedwojewski (103), Stanisław Szukalski (115), Józef and Teodor Kawecki (133–136), Rudolf Mękicki (141), Jacek Dworski (151), Piotr Solecki (175), Szymon Wypych (202), Małgorzata Kot (94), Zygmunt Wujek (113), Jerzy Jarnuszkiewicz (121), Janina Stefanowicz-Schmidt (280) and Konstanty Laszczka (341). Worth mentioning is also the monograph devoted to Polish medallists active in the period 1946–2000 (301).

An important group are also the thematic catalogs of medals of cities and communes (41, 125, 184, 194, 278), of secular and ecclesiastic rulers (32, 85, 110, 116), medals with images of prominent figures (177, 178, 207, 216, 306), medals of agricultural and industrial exhibitions (99), philatelic medals (302), medals of numismatic societies (109) and other organizations (124).

During this period took also place the first conference in a series devoted to medallic art. The published materials from the conference contain interesting works with a wide spectrum of chronology (291). The organizers have already announced the next editions.

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CZECH REPUBLIC AND SLOVAK REPUBLIC

Martin Foukal

At present, large public collections of medals are being published, including the collections of the National Museum in Prague, the Museum of Art in Olomouc and the Archdiocesan Museum in Kroměříž. The Czech Numismatic Society, celebrating its 100 years of its existence in 2019, also published a catalogue of its medals (1).

In recent years, several well-known Czech medallists have passed away. We may remember Ladislav Kozák (d. 2007), Josef Hvozdenký (d. 2009), Lumír Šindelář (d. 2010), Jiří Harcub (d. 2013) and Oldřich Tlustoš (d. 2019). The most important Czech medallists are now Otakar Dušek, Vladimír Oppl, Michal Vitanovský and Karel Zeman, the younger ones including Jan Hásek, Jakub Orava, Mária Filová or Asamat Baltaev. There are also amateur medallists like Petr Soušek or Jaroslav Jelínek. (Translation by Petr Huňar)

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HUNGARY

Pallag Márta

Several Hungarian publications of this period commemorated important historical anniversaries, such as the centenary of the Great War. In October 2014, the Hungarian Numismatic Society in cooperation with the City Archives of Székesfehérvár organized an international numismatic conference with the title “War and Coinage” (1). In 2015, there was the 190th anniversary of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and a numismatic conference was held at the headquarters of the Hungarian Numismatic Society (9, 54, 55).

A catalogue presenting numismatic memories of the Hungarian coronations was published on the 100th anniversary of the last Hungarian coronation. The project was led by the “The Holy Crown Research Team” of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The publication of the research group presents the coronation medals and jettons? tokens issued for the Hungarian coronations between 1508 and 1916, with nearly a thousand colour illustrations (58, 59). There were also exhibitions with bilingual catalogues (20, 21, 22).

In addition to articles, three monographs were published, on Carl Radnitzky by BENE (8), on Ede Telcs by BARANYAI (2) and on Béni Ferenczy by TÓTH (66).

Most of the articles were published in the journals of the Hungarian Numismatic Society, *Numizmatikai Közlöny (NK)*, and the Hungarian Medal collectors’ Society, *Az Érem*. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were represented by two publications of PALLAG dealing with the medals of Ferdinand I (24, 27). Eighteenth-century medals were discussed by ENZSÖL (11). There were numerous articles dealing with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, several of them discussing the medallic art of Lajos Berán (18, 19, 37, 43, 44, 45, 52).

The traditional Biennial of Medall Art in Sopron was held in 2015, 2017, and 2019. The medallist Sándor Tóth (1933–2019) and the numismatists Imre Enzsöl, György, V. Székely and Pál Török passed away. Török has had an obituary (61).

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CROATIA

Ivan Mirnik

Much had been going on in the field of medallic art in Croatia since the last *Survey*, but many projects were brought to a standstill, not only by the pandemic but by the strong earthquake which on March 22, 2020 seriously damaged Zagreb, Sisak and Petrinja and the museums and galleries in these cities.

Let us start with the recent publications of the material found in archaeological contexts, including the beautiful crosses and medals of saints that had been excavated under the Dubrovnik Episcopal Centre in the 1980s (41, 44). Medals connected with the Republic of Dubrovnik and the city of Dubrovnik have also been published (1, 32–33)

Historical medals were discussed by several writers. Giulio Clovio, the Renaissance miniaturist, was portrayed on a contemporary and several more recent medals and on a medallion (44a). Domenico DUCA wrote about the medal made in 1600 for the procurator of the silver sarcophagus containing the relics of St. Simeon in Zadar (8). The 1566 Ottoman siege of Szigeth in Hungary, defended by Nicholas IV of Zrin was also commemorated by a later medal, struck on the 450th anniversary (58). Following medals have also been published: a “Schraubmedaille” containing coloured pictures of Empress Maria Theresia, Emperor Francis I, Baron von der Trenck (60); the 1866 naval battle at Vis (Lissa; 57); August Šenoa (d. 1881), the novelist and numismatist (55); medals commemorating the silver wedding of Count Rudolf Erdödy and Luisa Drasche von Wartinberg, 1906 (59) and the World War One (12, 26, 50–52, 56).

The most active author of our days, dealing with medals, is without any doubt Tatijana Garelić of the recently renamed National Museum of Modern Art in Zagreb (the former Modern Gallery). She is active not only as the FIDEM delegate for Croatia (15, 17, 21), but keeps bringing out of the depositaries hitherto unseen material, once assembled by Dragutin Mandl (9–30). What FIDEM is for the universal world of the medal, the Ivo Kerdić triennial exhibitions (*Memorijal Ive Kerdića. Triennale hrvatskog medaljerstva i male plastike*) are for Croatia (65–66, 75). Their spiritus movens is Daniel Zec of Osijek.

The works of several Croatian medallists and sculptors of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were presented: in alphabetical order, Ivan Antolčić (43), Kruno Bošnjak (62), Robert Frangeš-Mihanović (13, 15), Karlo Gross (69), Robert Jean Ivanović (22), Želimir Janeš (20), Hinko Juhn (25, 29), Ivo Kerdić (35–37, 39), Maja Landau Nejašmić (34), Damir Mataušić (30, 61), Dalibor Parać (11, 18, 19), Vanja Radauš (40, 63), Rudolf Spiegler (14) and Rudolf Valdec (9).

Damir Mataušić (30, 61), teaching medal-making and small sculpture at the Zagreb Academy of Fine Arts, exhibited many of his works. There was an exhibition at the Zagreb museum for the blind (Typhological Museum) (61) and a retrospective at the Modern Gallery (30), where one could admire his medals, chains and church equipment.

Medals of other countries were also published on several occasions (10), including Italian medals with portraits of the Blessed Pope Paul VI from the collection of the late Cardinal Franjo Šeper (31), and various medals from the Magjer collection (23–24). The Insignia of the University of Zagreb were presented in a new monograph (42)

There were also publications of the orders and decorations of several states, including the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (49, 50), Bosnia and Herzegovina (4), Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania (48), France (53), Italy (47), Macedonia (3) and Rijeka (Fiume) under Italian rule (52). Badges and medals struck for various societies were published by Branko BEŠTAK (2–5), B. BEŠTAK AND M. ŠARINIĆ (6–7) and Boris PRISTER (47–53).

Editions of the Croatian National Bank, struck at the Zagreb Mint, can be studied in two books (45–46).

Last but not least, let us mention achievement of Lady Aurelia Young in reviving the memory of her father Oscar Nemon, the most famous sculptor and medallist of Croatia, who was born in Osijek and lived his last years in Oxford (64). His career was also studied by Daniel ZEC of Osijek in several books and articles (65, 67, 70–74). Zec is also editing a manuscript dealing with the theory of the medallic art written by Bogdan Mesinger (b. 1930).

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UNITED STATES AND CANADA

Peter van Alfen

Considerable debate has emerged in recent years over whether the 1776 Continental Dollars should be considered patterns for currency or medals: GOLDSTEIN AND MCCARTHY (31–32), KLEEGER (43), and ROCK (82). The Comitia Americana series of medals struck from 1776 onwards memorializing pivotal moments in the American Revolutionary War continued to receive serious study by ADAMS (2), FAGALY AND LOPEZ (26), and SHOLLEY (87), including a monograph by JONES (40). The Libertas Americana medal designed by Benjamin Franklin and first struck in 1782 received extensive study by MARGOLIS (53) in his monograph, as well as by LOPEZ (50–51) and SEIGERMAN (85). Other Colonial and early Federal period medals were the focus of studies by ADAMS AND MUSANTE (3), BROTHERS (9, 11), CASEY (15), LOPEZ (50), MARGOLIS (53), MCDOWELL (57), MUSANTE (65, 70), RAAB (74), and WATERSON (101). Several of the “Betts medals”, named after the early catalogue by C. Wyllys Betts covering medals with a sometimes only indirect connection to early North American history, received the attention of LUPA (52) and MCDOWELL (58–60).

Nineteenth century medals, particularly a number of the so-called Peace Medals, those struck under the Federal Government and awarded to Native American tribal leaders, were examined by BROTHERS (12), LIECHTY (45), LOPEZ (49), and MILLER AND GIANOTTI (63). Only ROBINSON’S (81) paper considered US Civil War-period medals. CHEEK (16–20) wrote on various nineteenth-century Canadian medals.

The centennial of the First World War elicited contributions on early twentieth century US medals associated with the war by PHAGAN AND VAN ALFEN (73, 93), and WATERSON (102). The state of late twentieth and early twenty-first century medallic art in the US has been reviewed by DAUB AND MAZZE (24), KROOP (44), MAZZE (54) and STEVENS-SOLLMAN (89). ALEXANDER’S (4) monograph provides a listing and study of the dozens of medals associated with New York University’s controversial early twentieth century Hall of Fame of Great Americans. The American Numismatic Society’s contribution to medallic art in the US was the subject of a number of works including a monograph on the medals commissioned by the Society by MILLER (64), a review of its important J. Sanford Saltus Award for Achievement in Medallic Art by VAN ALFEN (94, 95), and the ANS’s purchase of the archives of the Medallic Art Company, the largest private mint in the US until its demise in 2016, by WARTENBERG (106). WACKS (100) has provided a complete overview to date of the on-going medallic series of the Jewish American Hall of Fame.

Studies of individual artists and engravers and their work included those on Augustin Dupré by BROTHERS (11) and MARGOLIS (53); on Charles Cushing Wright by LIPSON (47), MUSANTE (66–69), and WATERSON (101); on father and son William and Charles Barber by FROST (27) and GALGUERA (28); on Augustus Saint Gaudens by GOLDSTEIN (30); on father and son Adolph and Robert Weinmann by BROTHERS (10, 13); on husband and wife James Earle and Laura Gardin Fraser by OLSZAK (72); on Victor David Brenner by MCMAHON (61) and REZAK (79); on R. Tait McKenzie by BERRY (8) and RUBY (83); on Adam Pietz by HILL (33); on Leonda Finke by MAZZE (55) and REZAK (77); on Joel Iskowitz by GAROFALO (29); and Eugene Daub by ALT (5). JOHNSON’S (39) catalogue provides a concise overview of hundreds of US and Canadian medallic artists and engravers.

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OCEANIA

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A principal source of published information on Australian numismatics has been the *Journal of the Numismatic Association of Australia (JNAA)* published by the Association, while that for New Zealand is the *New Zealand Numismatic Journal* published by the Royal Numismatic Society of New Zealand. These two journals contain some meritorious articles on subjects outside the scope of this Survey, in particular papers on ancient numismatics and other topics. In addition, there are various State numismatic society publications, the more important of which are the *Victorian Numismatic Journal (VNJ)*, which replaced the *Australian Numismatist* and is a joint publication of the Numismatic Association of Victoria, the Geelong Numismatic Society, the Melbourne Numismatic Society and the Morwell Numismatic Society, the *Journal (and Report) of the Australian Numismatic Society* (Sydney), the *Australian Numismatic Society Queensland Branch News Bulletin* and the *Queensland Numismatic Society Monthly Magazine*. Another source, but for general articles, is the *Australasian Coin & Banknote Magazine (CAB)*.

The interest in medals in Australia and New Zealand continues to be strong, and as might be expected, by and large the writers concentrate on the medals of their own country. In the period of this Survey there has been an intensive study of agricultural medals, which is reflected in the publications listed below. Furthermore, as foreshadowed in the last Survey, a major publication in this area by ARMSTRONG AND CARLISLE (34) has appeared, covering agricultural show medals in Australia up to 1922.

While most references are given to the usual printed copy, there is a trend to publish on-line. With the growing expense of producing hard copy, coupled with a change in world order due to COVID-19, the move to virtual conferences and on-line publication can only accelerate.

The articles on medals have been split into three sections, the first on medallists, then one on medals, medalets and medallions for each of Australia and New Zealand. Across the Tasman, an excellent source of information on New Zealand historical medals which has run into a second edition covering the period 1941 – 2014, by MACMASTER AND PURDY (95), building on the foundation work by Leon Morel.

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