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THE ROMANIZATION OF THE *AGER BRUTTIUS*
AND THE EVIDENCE OF COIN FINDS

PART I

1. Introduction

Rome's victory at the end of the second Punic war had momentous consequences for the *ager Bruttius*, the southernmost region of Italy known today as Calabria.¹ Through the destruction of Brettian strongholds, the confiscation of vast tracts of territory, and the foundation of Latin and Citizens' colonies, the Romans created the conditions for new patterns of settlement, and for new systems of land management, which deeply transformed its urban and rural landscape. After 203 B.C. only the Greek and Brettian populations that had remained loyal to Rome during the conflict maintained or regained a degree of political autonomy. Autonomous minting, however, was discontinued nearly everywhere within the region. The consensus of opinion among scholars is that most of the old mint-cities which had survived the onslaught of the Hannibalic conflict (such as *Consentia*, *Croton*, *Petelia* and *Locri Epizephyrii*) no longer struck coins.² Only *Rhegium's* mint is believed to have remained active in the 2nd century B.C.³

Given this scenario, what kind of currency circulated in the *ager Bruttius* after the Roman conquest? Although recent studies indicate that this region did not suffer long-term and widespread economic decline as a result of the second Punic war, the movement of coinage during the Romanization has not yet been systematically investigated.⁴ There is little doubt that the bulk of the coinage of Rome's main

¹ A preliminary report on this topic was presented by P. Visonà at the 91st General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1989: see the summary in *AJA* 94, 1990, p. 337.

² For the political status and the economic conditions of these cities after 203 B.C., see F. Costabile, *Dalle poleis ai municipia nel Bruzio romano*, in: S. Settis (ed.), *Storia della Calabria Antica. Età Italica e Romana* (Tarquinia 1994; henceforth: *Calabria Antica*), pp. 446–450, 456–457, and M. Paoletti, *Occupazione romana e storia delle città*, *ibid.*, pp. 508–514, 522–533.

³ M. H. Crawford, *Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic. Italy and the Mediterranean Economy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1985; henceforth: *CMRR*), p. 71. See also the remarks by F. Barello, *Le monete*, in: M. Barra Bagnasco (ed.), *Locri Epizefiri IV* (Torino 1992), pp. 344–345. There is no conclusive evidence that the coinage of *Rhegium* ended before 200 B.C., *pace* D. Castrizio, *Reggio Ellenistica* (Roma 1995), pp. 146–157.

⁴ For the Romanization of the *ager Bruttius* see the essays by Costabile (*supra*, n. 2), pp. 441–457; Paoletti (*supra*, n. 2) pp. 471–537; G. P. Givigliano, *Percorsi e strade*, in: *Calabria Antica*, pp. 283–293; A. B. Sangineto, *Per la ricostruzione del paesaggio agrario delle Calabrie romane*, *ibid.*, pp. 562–587; S. Segenni, *Economia e società in età romana: la documentazione epigrafica*, *ibid.*, pp. 655–664.

enemies – the Carthaginians and their Brettian allies – disappeared rapidly from circulation, and was either hoarded or captured and melted down. Moreover, relatively few of these coins were overstruck by the winners during or after the end of the war.⁵ Since most hoards buried in Calabria in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. consist of Roman Republican issues,⁶ it would seem that after 200 B.C. Roman currency quickly became dominant, as in other regions of Italy.⁷ But any inference based exclusively upon the hoard material may be misleading – particularly in the case of the *ager Bruttius*, where the archaeological record for Romanization is largely incomplete.⁸ In order to reconstruct more fully the pattern of monetary circulation reflected by these hoards, all the other categories of coin finds from the same period (i.e. single finds, stray finds, site finds) should also be taken into account. Our essay aims to shed new light on the process of Romanization through a study of the distribution of finds of 2nd and 1st century issues in Calabria (listed in the appendices), and an analysis of the numismatic data from the Italic settlement at contrada Mella (near Oppido Mamertina), which was continuously occupied from the 3rd to the 1st centuries B.C.⁹ The excavations conducted at contrada Mella between 1984 and 1996 have yielded one of the largest samples to date of stratified coins from any Hellenistic site in Calabria, and provide an unprecedented opportunity for a case study of the use of coinage during the Romanization of the region. An overview of the Calabrian finds of 2nd- and 1st-century issues is presented in part I; part II will be devoted to a discussion of the late Hellenistic coin finds from *Locri Epizephyrii*, and to a more detailed analysis of the data from contrada Mella.

⁵ For these overstriking see C. A. Hersh, Some Additional Roman Republican Overstrikes, ANSMN 32, 1987, p. 91 (Rome on Brettian AE); Castrizio (*supra*, n. 3), p. 150, nn. 65–66 (*Rhegium* on Brettian AE).

⁶ See Appendix A, *passim*; see M. Taliercio Mensitieri, Le emissioni monetarie della Calabria dall'età di Dionigi II a quella di Annibale, in: Calabria Antica, p. 434.

⁷ See A. Burnett, The Currency of Italy from the Hannibalic War to the Reign of Augustus, AIN 29, 1982, pp. 125–126, 131. K. Lomas, Rome and the Western Greeks 350 BC – AD 200. Conquest and acculturation in southern Italy (London/New York 1993), p. 90, follows Crawford's views in CMRR, p. 71.

⁸ See the remarks by E. Pozzi Paolini, Per lo studio della circolazione monetale in età greca nel territorio dell'odierna Calabria, Parola del Passato 29, nos. 154–155, 1974, p. 58; Paoletti (*supra*, n. 2), p. 472–474; and Sangineto (*supra*, n. 4), p. 586.

⁹ See P. Visonà, Gli scavi americani a contrada Mella (Oppido Mamertina), 1987–1991: risultati e prospettive, Klearchos 21, nos. 125–128, 1990 [1992], pp. 82–83. The coins found in the 1984, 1986, and 1987 excavations are discussed in: L. Costamagna – P. Visonà (eds.), Oppido Mamertina 1 (Roma 1996, forthcoming).

2. Finds of Roman Republican Coins

Roman Republican currency undoubtedly played a major role in local exchanges in the two centuries before the Empire. Even though isolated examples of Roman bronzes may have travelled southwards during or after the first Punic war,¹⁰ Roman bronze and silver coins began to arrive in Bruttium in quantity during the Hannibalic conflict. The first hoards containing Roman currency were interred soon after the Carthaginian invasion,¹¹ and the earliest Republican specimens from Calabrian site finds generally consist of issues minted in the last decades of the 3rd century B.C.¹² The volume of Republican currency in local circulation is likely to have increased steadily once the Romans began waging annual campaigns against Hannibal's power base (209 B.C.).¹³ This influx of bronze and silver coinage

¹⁰ A double litra (RRC 16/1a) was found in the 1990 excavations at Crotone (communication by E. A. Arslan); another example from the G. Oliverio excavations at Locri in 1954–1955 is in the collection of Reggio Calabria's Museo Archeologico Nazionale, which includes 5 unprovenanced Romano-Campanian bronzes (RRC 16/1a, 17/1a, 17/1b, 17/1g, 25/3) from the former Museo Civico's collection (nos. C 2242–2243, C 4152). An unidentified litra (RRC 17/1a) found at Locri in 1975 is illustrated in P. Attianese, *Calabria greca*, vol. II (S. Severina 1977), p. 190, no. 919; a similar specimen comes from the 1987 excavations at contrada Mella (see Visonà, *supra*, n. 9, p. 83). For a libral triens (RRC 18/3) found at Crotone in a stratigraphic context datable to the Hannibalic conflict, see C. Sabbione, in: *Atti Taranto* 15, 1976, p. 591. A libral as from Nicotera is listed as «booty acquired in the early years» of the second Punic war in CMRR, App. 16, p. 287.

¹¹ See IGCH, p. 302, no. 2029 (Campana); CMRR, p. 288 (esp. Montegiordano); E. A. Arslan, *Monetazione aurea ed argentea dei Brettii* (Milano 1989), p. 21, n. 4 (Sant'Eufemia Vetere). See also S. Piattelli, *Circolazione delle monete romano-campane di bronzo*, RIN 89, 1987, p. 18. An uncertain as found with a hoard of Greek silver coins (?) at Vibo Valentia is mentioned by P. Toraldo, *Hipponium – Scoperte elleniche*, *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 53, 1928, p. 240.

¹² See E. Greco, *Monete dall'abitato antico presso Marcellina (Laos)*, AIIN 23–24, 1976–1977, p. 64; R. Cantilena in: E. Greco – S. Luppino – A. Schnapp, *Laos I. Scavi a Marcellina 1973–1985* (Taranto 1989), p. 77, no. 74; H. Tréziny *et al.*, *Kaulonia 1. Sondages sur la fortification nord (1982–1985)* (Naples 1989), no. 535; CMRR, App. 16, pp. 287–290. For Locri see the remarks by F. Barello, *Economia, coniazioni e circolazione monetale a Locri Epizephyrii (Bruttium)*, in: T. Hackens – G. Moucharte (eds.), *Proceedings of the XIth International Numismatic Congress*, vol. II (Louvain-la-Neuve 1993), p. 60. The few finds of quadrigati from Calabria are also to be associated with the Hannibalic war: see CMRR, App. 16, pp. 287, 290; single examples are also known from Locri (P. Orsi excavations, 1908; in Reggio Calabria's Museo Archeologico Nazionale) and contrada Mella (stray find before 1984).

¹³ See CMRR, App. 16, pp. 288–289; see J. F. Lazenby, *Hannibal's War* (Warminster 1978), pp. 173–176, 179, 184–185, 190–192, 215. The opinion by M. Taliercio Mensitieri that «durante la II guerra punica la presenza della moneta romana nel Bruttium è estremamente esigua e in gran parte rappresentata da serie residue, come emerge dalla fisionomia dei ripostigli occultati in questo periodo» fails to take into account the evidence from site finds: see *ead.*, *Aspetti e problemi della monetazione del koinón dei Brettii*, in: G. De Sensi Sestito (ed.), *I Brettii*. Tomo I. Cultura, lingua e documentazione storico-archeologica, *Atti del 1° corso seminariale – Rossano*, 20–26 Febbraio 1992 (Soveria Mannelli 1995), p. 144, n. 118.

continued long after Bruttium came under Roman control. A glance at the distribution of finds of Republican currency minted c. 200–27 B.C. shows that hoards are concentrated in the territories of *Thurii-Copia*, Crotone, Strongoli and Vibo Valentia, whereas both site finds and stray finds are scattered fairly uniformly along the Ionian coast from Rocca Imperiale to Locri (*Fig. 5*). Fewer finds are attested on the Tyrrhenian littoral, and are concentrated in the alluvial plains of the Savuto, Mesima, and Petrace rivers (Appendix A, nos. 18–21, 23, 27–28, 34). In contrast, very scant finds of Republican coins are known from the mountainous interior of Calabria, and exclusively from sites located on major river valleys with direct access to the seacoast, such as the Lao, Coscile, Crati, and Neto river systems (Appendix A, nos. 2, 5, 13, 15–16). But this information is based on old reports, and will need to be verified in light of recent fieldwork.¹⁴

Since substantial numbers of Roman colonists were settled in the areas which have yielded some of the largest hoards of Republican currency (the territories of *Thurii-Copia*, Crotone and Vibo Valentia), there may be a distinct correlation between colonization and the diffusion of Roman coinage within the region. It is also noteworthy that nearly all the Calabrian hoards of Roman currency interred between c. 200 and 27 B.C. contain denarii (Appendix A, nos. 8–12, 25, 29), whereas site and stray finds consist predominantly of bronze coins. One reason for this discrepancy may be that most hoards represent the liquid capital of wealthy Roman landowners. The fact that at least four of them (Appendix A, nos. 8–10, 25) were buried in connection with major disturbances between 91 and 45 B.C. lends some support to this interpretation.¹⁵ But even though hoards were mostly of silver coins, there is no doubt that both silver and bronze currency circulated widely, in the countryside as well as in the urban settlements. The numerous finds of plated denarii at contrada Mella, Nicotera, Locri, *Scolacium* and Torre Mordillo further suggest that forgers took advantage of a commercial economy in which the use of silver currency was relatively common. Current research indicates that the

¹⁴ See Paoletti (*supra* n. 2), pp. 471–538; see also G. F. La Torre (ed.), *Nuove Testimonianze di Archeologia Calabrese. Greci, Indigeni e Romani nell'Alto Tirreno Cosentino* (Roma 1995), *passim*. For other possible finds of Roman bronze currency of the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. see V. Di Cicco, *Antichità della provincia di Cosenza. Cariati*, *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 25, 1900, p. 605; P. Orsi, *Monteleone Calabro – Nuove scoperte*, *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 46, 1921, p. 477.

¹⁵ No detailed information is available as yet about the hoard of 169 denarii found in 1925 at Cirò Marina (not listed in RRCH): see M. A. Mastelloni, in: *Atti Taranto* 23, 1984, p. 404, n. 18. The hoard of silverware interred near Palmi in the early 1st century B.C. has also been convincingly interpreted as the property of a wealthy landowner: see P. G. Guzzo, *Argenteria da Palmi in ripostiglio del I sec. a. C.*, in: *Atti MGrecia* 18–19, 1977–1979, esp. pp. 207–208. The tantalizing possibility that denarii minted in southern Italy in the 2nd century B.C. are contained in Calabrian hoards has been argued by C. Generoso, *Il problema del rafforzamento ponderale del denario romano nella seconda metà del II sec. a. C. attraverso l'esame statistico*, in: T. Hackens – G. Moucharte (eds.) (*supra*, n. 12), pp. 129–132. Surprisingly, relatively few finds of victoriati are known from Calabria; in contrast, see A. Travaglini, *La Puglia in età repubblicana. Atti del I convegno di studi sulla Puglia romana, Mesagne 20–22 Marzo 1986* (Galatina 1988), pp. 68–70.

villa economy introduced in Bruttium in the late 2nd and in the 1st centuries B.C. (particularly in the *ager Thurinus* and in the *ager Vibonensis*) must also have been partly monetized.¹⁶ On the whole, the combined evidence of hoards and other finds attests to an uninterrupted flow of Roman coinage across the region until the end of the Republic. At the macro-economic level, neither the Social war, nor subsequent episodes of violence in the 1st century B.C. would seem to have adversely impacted the money supply, as the composition of the hoards buried in this period clearly shows. At the micro-economic level, the wide distribution of semuncial bronzes (*Fig. 1*) struck during the Social War (see Appendix A, nos. 6, 8, 17, 19, 26, 31, 37) suggests that certain disturbances may in fact have contributed to the arrival of newly minted issues through the deployment of troops and/or the movements of individuals. Likewise, the presence of Sextus Pompey's Sicilian asses at coastal sites on the Tyrrhenian and Ionian littoral such as Vibo Valentia, Locri, *Scolacium* and Crotone (nos. 39, 8, 14, 30) may be related to the events of the civil war of 42–36 B.C., in which Bruttium was directly involved.¹⁷ These and earlier Republican bronzes apparently remained in circulation in some locales until the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.¹⁸

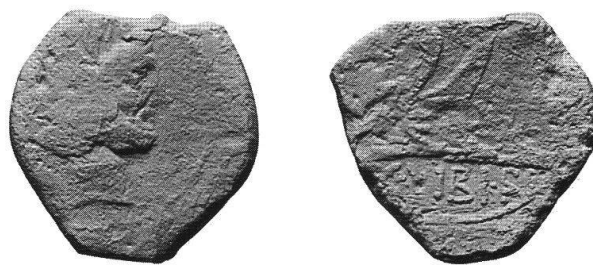


Fig. 1: Semuncial as of C. Vibius Pansa.

¹⁶ At least 3 villas have yielded late Republican coins: see Sangineto (*supra*, n. 4), pp. 570–575, nos. 52, 82, 108. See also the important remarks by S. L. Dyson, Community and Society in Roman Italy (Baltimore/London 1992), pp. 167–168. The evidence from Calabria supports Ch. Howgego's argument that the use of coined money was not restricted to cities: see Ch. Howgego, The Supply and Use of Money in the Roman World 200 B.C. to A.D. 300, JRS 82, 1992, pp. 20–22, 30.

¹⁷ See F. Costabile, Salvidieno Rufo e la Legio X Fretensis nella guerra navale fra Ottaviano e Sesto Pompeo (42–36 a. C.), Rivista Storica Calabrese, n.s. 6, nos. 1–4, 1985, pp. 357–362. A denarius of Sextus Pompey, believed to be a forgery, was found with four other alleged forgeries of late Republican coins in the environs of Sersale (NE of Catanzaro): see M. Ruggiero, Degli scavi di antichità nelle province di terraferma dell'antico regno di Napoli dal 1743 al 1876 (Napoli 1888), p. 593. No Calabrian finds of Sextus Pompey's Sicilian issues are listed in the major study by J. De Rose Evans, The Sicilian Coinage of Sextus Pompey (Crawford 511), ANSMN 32, 1987, pp. 97–157 (her map on p. 125, Fig. 14, is incorrect). See however the list given by R. Martini, Monetazione bronzea romana tardo-repubblicana, vol. II. Sextus Pompeius, Le emissioni hispaniche del tipo CN·MAG, le serie di Eppius e gli «assi» siciliani (Glaux. Serie speciale I) (Milano 1995; henceforth: Martini, Sextus Pompeius), pp. 198–199, n. 394 and p. 215, nos. III.53–58, 60.

¹⁸ For Locri see Barello (*supra*, n. 3), p. 345; *id.* (*supra*, n. 12), p. 60, and Appendix A, no. 14; for *Scolacium* see Appendix A, no. 30.

3. Finds of Bronze Coins of Copia and Valentia

Despite the increasingly widespread use of Roman coinage after 200 B.C., the pattern of monetary circulation in Bruttium during the Romanization did not become homogenized. If anything, it became more complex. In addition to Roman currency, the circulating medium included the bronze coinages minted by the colonies of *Copia* and *Valentia* for an undetermined period of time after their foundation in 193 and 192 B.C. respectively.¹⁹ The fact that both coinages were struck on a standard close to semuncial clearly did not prevent them from circulating alongside heavier Roman bronzes bearing identical value marks. Their denominations range from the «as» to the «sextans», and from the «as» to the «semuncia» respectively, and total output must have been considerable, since 18 groups of issues are known for *Copia*, and 21 for *Valentia*.²⁰ *Copia*'s bronzes seem to have been used primarily on the north-eastern coast of Calabria, whereas those of *Valentia* circulated both in southern Calabria and at least as far as Crotone and Strongoli (Fig. 5 and Appendix, B–C).²¹ Although neither series of issues can be closely dated, there is good evidence that specimens from both mints remained current until the end of the Republican period and until the beginning of the Empire.²² Thus, *Copia* and *Valentia* contributed to increase the supply of money available for small scale transactions within the region.



Fig. 2: Coins of *Valentia*, «as» and «semis».

¹⁹ E. T. Salmon, *Colonization under the Republic* (Ithaca 1970), pp. 99–100; Paolletti (*supra*, n. 2), pp. 486–489, 533–536.

²⁰ See T. Caruso, *La monetazione di Copia Lucaniae*, in: *Nona Miscellanea Greca e Romana* [Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica, fasc. 35], 1984, pp. 117–150; M. Taliercio Mensitieri, *La monetazione di Valentia* (Roma 1989), pp. 17–44, and A. Burnett's review in *NC* 151, 1991, p. 238.

²¹ Coins of *Valentia* also travelled to Apulia and across the Adriatic: see A. Travaglini, *Inventario dei Rinvenimenti Monetali del Salento* (Roma 1982), p. 87, no. 111; S. L. Cesano, *Monetazione e circolazione sul suolo dell'antica Albania*, ? 7, 1932, p. 67, nos. 19–21; S. Benton, *Excavations in Ithaca, III*, *Brit. School at Athens* 39, 1938–1939, p. 49, no. 16; G. Gorini, *Monete greche ellenistiche dall'Istria*, *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria* 94, 1994, p. 106.

²² Coins of *Copia* have been found in late Republican contexts at Sibari: see Caruso (*supra*, n. 20) pp. 127–128, n. 35. A small hoard of asses and possibly 1 other as of *Valentia* from contrada Mella come from a destruction stratum of the early 1st century B.C.: see L. Costamagna – P. Visonà (eds.) (*supra*, n. 9), nos. 951–953, 954; 1 semis of *Valentia* (C 1996–6) has been found in the matrix of a beaten earth floor inside a Roman building, in association with sigillata pottery and glass of the 1st century A.D.

4. Finds of Bronze Coins of Rhegium

Rhegium is the third city which struck a local coinage in bronze after 200 B.C. Its minting tradition was centuries old, and lasted uninterruptedly at least until the second Punic war. Yet, the dating of the final phase of *Rhegium*'s minting activity is controversial.²³ Although it is not possible to fully address this problem in our study, attention nonetheless ought to be called to the following points:

a) The sheer quantity of bronze coins, notably *pentonkia*, minted by *Rhegium* must have been important. The metrological,²⁴ technical, and stylistic affinities between *Rhegium*'s *pentonkia* (SNG ANS 745–752; *Fig. 3, 1–2*) and those of the Mamertini (Särström series XI–XIV; *Fig. 3, 3–4*),²⁵ lead us to posit that they were minted concurrently. At present, most scholars date these coins to the period of the second Punic war, in which both *Rhegium* and the Mamertini played a significant role as Roman allies.²⁶ *Rhegium*'s issue with Heads of Apollo and Artemis/Tripod, oooo (SNG ANS 743–744) and the heavy *pentonkia* with Heads of Dioscuri/Hermes (SNG ANS 753–755) have also been attributed to the same period, but they are earlier than the SNG ANS 745–752 *pentonkia*. Moreover, it must be emphasized that a thorough analysis of the hoards containing these coin types has not yet been undertaken.²⁷ Lastly – and this is perhaps the most serious problem – it should be noted that the majority of the hoards usually referred to by scholars are old finds, many of which have been dispersed and whose original composition remains questionable.²⁸ This further underscores the importance of the numismatic data

²³ See *supra*, n. 3.

²⁴ «The weight standards of the Mamertini and Rhegium are local, not Roman» as M. H. Crawford has pointed out: see CMRR, p. 110, n. 15.

²⁵ This was already suggested by M. Särström, *A Study in the Coinage of the Mamertines* (Lund 1940), p. 32.

²⁶ See CMRR, pp. 110–111, Table 4; p. 113, Fig. 37; Castrizio (*supra*, n. 3), pp. 146, 151–153.

²⁷ See most recently Castrizio (*supra*, n. 3), pp. 156–157, who generally follows P. Marchetti, *Histoire économique et monétaire de la deuxième guerre punique* (Bruxelles 1978), pp. 494–500. For a basic list of coin hoards see CMRR, pp. 110–111, Table 4; 306–307, App. 36–37.

²⁸ See *e. g.* the following hoards: RRCH, p. 59, no. 68, Aidone 1908, and IGCH, p. 340, no. 2239, Aidone 1909 (according to CMRR, p. 306, App. 36, these hoards comprise a single assemblage, and several coins do not belong to it); IGCH, p. 340, no. 2242, Montagna di Marzo 1929 (most of this assemblage was dispersed during World War II, and the possibility that it represented two different hoards is rejected in CMRR, p. 306, App. 36, *contra* Marchetti [*supra*, n. 27], p. 489, n. 97 and *id.*, RBN 117, 1971, p. 88, n. 201). Often unknown are also the circumstances under which even the least controversial hoards have been found. Moreover, one wonders whether certain hoards have been acquired in their entirety. See *e. g.* RRCH, p. 75, no. 127, Biancavilla, a «hoard» which was found on an unknown date, and was acquired from private individuals («Gruppo di bronzi da Biancavilla, acquistati agli eredi Spampinato», see G. V. Gentili, AIIN 2, 1955, p. 197); IGCH, pp. 340–341, no. 2246, San Marco d'Alunzio: a pot hoard that could be recorded «..., prima che venisse smembrato, ...» (see E. Fabbricotti, AIIN 15, 1968, p. 83), and whose date of discovery is also unknown.

from the Oppido Mamertina excavations, which suggest that both *Rhegium*'s and the Mamertini's *pentonkia* circulated continuously throughout the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C.²⁹



Fig. 3: *Pentonkia* of *Rhegium* (nos. 1–2) and the Mamertini (nos. 3–4).

b) *Rhegium*'s mint also struck bronze coins on a lighter weight standard (SNG ANS 756–785 and 789–792; Fig. 4) including several denominations identified by the value marks Π, ΙΙΙΙ and ΙΙΙ.³⁰ For metrological reasons, there is no doubt that these pieces are later than the SNG ANS 745–752 *pentonkia*. Their heterogeneous styles, and the existence of both overstriking and barbarous imitations,

²⁹ For the years 1987–1988 and 1990–1994, 1996, the relevant contexts which have yielded *pentonkia* are the following: habitation layer, 2nd century B.C. (2 *Rhegium*: L. Costamagna – P. Visonà [eds.] [*supra*, n. 9], nos. 974–975); habitation layer, late 2nd / early 1st centuries B.C. (2 Mamertini: *ibid.*, nos. 995–996); habitation layer, late 2nd / early 1st centuries B.C. (2 Mamertini: *ibid.*, no. 983); charcoaly soil, 2nd century B.C. (4 Mamertini, 1990–20, 21, 33, 34); sealed habitation layer, 2nd / early 1st centuries B.C. (7 Mamertini, 1990–24, 25, 26, 30, 31, 41, 42; 1 *Rhegium*, 1990–32; 1 *Rhegium* or Mamertini, 1990–40); habitation layer, 2nd / early 1st centuries B.C. (1 *Rhegium*, 1992–29); debris layer, 1st century B.C. (1 Mamertini, 1993–7); debris layer / roof collapse, 1st century B.C. ? (8 Mamertini, 1988–6; 1990–7, 8; 1992, 12, 36, 37, 38, 39); matrix of beaten earth floor, 1st century A.D. (1 Mamertini, 1996–5). Several of these *pentonkia* are very worn.

³⁰ These denominations are listed here without a more specific identification, pending a detailed study of *Rhegium*'s late coinage system. An attempt at a reconstruction of the chronological and metrological sequence of *Rhegium*'s late issues has recently been made by Castrizio (*supra*, n. 3), pp. 146–163; see P. Marchetti (*supra*, n. 27), p. 494–497. See also H. Pfeiler, *Die Münzprägung der Brettier*, JNG 14, 1964, pp. 40–41. For a brief discussion of the problems with dating *Rhegium*'s last issues, see also Barelli (*supra*, n. 3), pp. 344–345, n. 61.

suggest that they were probably minted over a long period of time.³¹ However, evidence for a more precise dating is still lacking.³² Three large hoards that ought to have contained issues struck on the reduced standard (Appendix D, no. 10) either are incomplete, or have been dispersed. A fourth assemblage, the Motta San Giovanni hoard (Appendix D, no. 7), a portion of which is preserved in Reggio Calabria's Museo Archeologico Nazionale, also contained a worn and fragmented Roman uncial as, which cannot in any case by itself «prove» that *Rhegium's* minting activity ceased after 200 B.C.³³



Fig. 4: Coins of *Rhegium*, coins of reduced standard.

c) A glance at the distribution of finds of *Rhegium's* issues (Fig. 5) reveals that these bronzes circulated over the entire territory of present-day Calabria, and are concentrated in the environs of Reggio. Unlike the coins of *Copia* and *Valentia*, those of *Rhegium* travelled more widely outside the boundaries of the *ager Bruttius*,³⁴ and

³¹ See M. Torbágyi (ed.), SNG Hungary Budapest Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Vol. I. Hispania – Sicilia, Part 2. Calabria – Bruttium (Milano 1992), no. 638, and H. A. Troxell (ed.), SNG ANS, Part 3, Bruttium – Sicily I: Abacaenum – Eryx, nos. 765, 783-785.

³² F. Barelló kindly informs us that the contexts of the tombs from Casignana and Locri (Appendix D, nos. 2, 4) may suggest that these coins circulated at least until the 1st century A.D.

³³ Since Republican asses circulated for a very long time (often until the 1st century A.D.), it is methodologically fallacious to use the specimen in the Motta San Giovanni hoard to establish the interment date of this assemblage. At most, the presence of this coin in the hoard can provide a *terminus post quem* for its burial (but never a *terminus ad quem*: cf. Castrizio [supra, n. 3], p. 157). The wear of this as indicates that it must have circulated for some time before the hoard was buried (wear 2 to 3 in the index provided in Bulletin ITMS 2, 1995, Supplément. Usure et corrosion. Tables de référence pour la détermination de trouvailles monétaires, pp. 10-11). The coin is broken in two irregular fragments of different size; there is no evidence that it was fractured intentionally.

³⁴ For Rome and Latium, see S. Frey-Kupper, Roma – Monete dal Tevere. I rinvenimenti greci, Boll. di Numismatica 25, 1995 (in print), nos. 11-15 (1 SNG ANS 734-735, 1 SNG ANS 741, 1 II SNG ANS 756-760, 1 III SNG ANS 772-774 and 1 III SNG ANS 776-785); F. Panvini Rosati, Monete della stipe di Vicarello nel Museo Nazionale Romano, RendPontAcc 1967-1968, p. 74; B. W. Frier, Roman Coins from the River Liri, NC 10, 1970, p. 93. For northern Italy, the Adriatic region, the Balkans, and the Aegean area, see G. Gorini, La collezione numismatica. I Musei di Aquileia. Antichità Altoadriatiche 24, 1984, p. 291; Cesano (supra, n. 21), p. 67, nos. 23-25 and p. 84. CMRR, p. 322, App. 50, no. 6 (Hvar); CMRR, p. 308, App. 38 (Eretria, Corinth, Delos; with further bibliography); J. H. Kroll, The Greek Coins. The Athenian Agora XXVI, (Princeton 1993), p. 171, no. 420. A specimen similar to SNG ANS 768-775 has also been found at Bavay in northern France, see M. Bar, Monnaies Grecques et assimilées trouvées en Belgique. Travaux du Cercle d'études numismatiques 11 (Bruxelles 1991), p. 159.

their pattern of circulation in Italy and in the Mediterranean is comparable to that of Mamertine bronzes. But as far as the diffusion of specific types is concerned, it would be premature to draw any inferences from the data which are currently available, particularly since the majority of the Calabrian finds in our inventory (8 out of 14) are represented by single specimens (see Appendix D, nos. 1–2, 5–6, 8, 11–12, 14). A larger data bank based upon finds from different sites with comparable archaeological records would undoubtedly produce a more reliable picture of type distribution. For the time being, our evidence suggests that *Rhegium*'s bronzes struck on the reduced standard circulated extensively across the region, and comprise over 50% of the issues of this mint found at *Locri Epizephyrii* (Appendix D, no. 4).³⁵ In contrast, very few examples of these coins have thus far been found at contrada Mella (Oppido Mamertina), where *Rhegium*'s *pentonkia* similar to SNG ANS 745–752 are predominant (Appendix D, no. 9).³⁶ The abundance of *pentonkia* of *Rhegium* (19 specimens) at this site is possibly explained by the exceptional composition of the coin finds, which include an unusually large number of Mamertine *pentonkia*. The latter comprise nearly 17.5% of all the coin finds, and their overall percentage increases to 32% if only the coins minted between 220–50 B.C. are taken into account (228 specimens). On the whole, the 92 *pentonkia* of *Rhegium* and of the Mamertini correspond to 40% of the coins from contrada Mella found between 1984 and 1996, whereas Roman Republican issues comprise only 23% of the totality of coin finds. These coins must have remained in circulation at least until the beginning of the Empire.

5. Conclusions

Part I of this essay has been focused on the analysis of the numismatic finds consisting of Roman coins or of bronze issues minted in the *ager Bruttius* under Roman rule. What has emerged from our study is that, after the second Punic war, Roman currency represents an important, but by no means an exclusive component of the circulating medium. The distribution of coin finds attests to what may be called a «mixed» or «hybrid» pattern of circulation. A considerable role in it was also played by the coins minted by the colonies of *Copia* and *Valentia*, and by the city of *Rhegium*. Part II will examine another important and hitherto largely ignored component of the coinage circulating within the region in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C.: the «residual» Greek coins minted in southern Italy and Sicily before the Roman conquest.

³⁵ 14 out of 18 (+ 1 ?) bronzes of *Rhegium* (without counting the coins in the Scaglione and Polito collections).

³⁶ Finds to date include 19 *pentonkia* similar to SNG ANS 745–752 and only 8 bronzes struck on the reduced standard out of 32 coins of *Rhegium*.

A different situation prevailed in Sicily: Whereas in Bruttium a large number of mints stopped issuing coins after the second Punic war,³⁷ in Sicily almost every city continued – or began anew³⁸ – to strike coins bearing the *ethnikon* of its citizens. Their coin types are varied and numerous. Several mints remained active in the 1st century B.C., and many of them continued to function until the Imperial era.³⁹ But even if the production of local coinage in Bruttium lasted for a shorter period of time, and despite the fact that it was a more modest phenomenon, the composition of the circulating medium was no less complex. For instance, the stratigraphic evidence from the excavations at contrada Mella suggests that the *pentonkia* of *Rhegium* and of the Mamertini, which have generally been dated to the second Punic war period, circulated at least until the 1st century B.C.⁴⁰ One suspects that even more significant data will emerge from a publication of the coin finds from such sites as Crotone, Strongoli, and Vibo Valentia, which are being systematically investigated.⁴¹ A reconstruction of the monetary history of Calabria in the late

³⁷ For the situation of Italy in general, see the remarks by Burnett (*supra*, n. 7), p. 128: «Despite the problem of identifying the post war coinages, and of dating them, there seem to be no more than about a dozen Italian communities which may have issued bronzes during the period in question.» For the complex function of local coinage under Roman rule, see Ch. Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins* (London/New York 1995), pp. 56–61.

³⁸ In western Sicily the minting activity of local towns was preceded by a transitional phase (in the first half of the 2nd century B.C.) during which Rome organized the production of *aes* coins: see S. Frey-Kupper, *Zur frühen Münzprägung Siziliens unter römischer Herrschaft: der Hort von Campobello di Licata*, SNR 71, 1992, pp. 149–178. The names of more than twenty magistrates are known; the legends on their coins are similar to those found on Roman mint issues. See M. Bahrfeldt, *Die römisch-sicilischen Münzen aus der Zeit der Republik*, SNR 12, 1904, pp. 331–407. Such a direct intervention by Rome in local affairs is not attested in Bruttium.

³⁹ A. Burnett – M. Amandry – P. P. Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, Vol. I. *From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius* (44 BC – AD 69) (London/Paris 1992), pp. 165–180; R. Martini, *Monetazione provinciale romana I. Sicilia* (Glaux 5) (Milano 1991); M. H. Crawford, *Sicily*, in: A. M. Burnett – M. H. Crawford (ed.), *The Coinage of the Roman World in the Late Republic. Proceedings of a Colloquium held at the British Museum in September 1985*. BAR International Series 326 (Oxford 1987), pp. 43–51. For the patterns of circulation in Sicily, see S. Frey-Kupper, *La circolazione monetaria a Monte Iato dall'inizio della dominazione romana fino all'età tiberiana*, in: *Giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima* (Gibellina, 19–22 Settembre 1991). Atti (Pisa – Gibellina 1992), pp. 281–297; *ead.*, *Germanicus und Drusus auf einer Münze von Panormos*, SM 41, 1991, pp. 90–97. The statement by R. J. A. Wilson, *Sicily under the Roman Empire. The Archaeology of a Roman Province, 36 BC – AD 535* (Warminster 1990), pp. 29–30, that «... the Roman *denarius* [...] was the most commonly circulating coinage, ...» in Sicily in the late Hellenistic period should not be taken literally.

⁴⁰ This remark supports M. H. Crawford's impression that «the bronze issues of the allies and enemies of Rome during the Second Punic War functioned as a part of the circulating medium at any rate for a long time to a greater extent than the evidence suggests at first sight» (CMRR, pp. 70–71).

⁴¹ We are grateful to Ermanno A. Arslan for generously allowing us to consult his extensive files on Calabrian site finds, and for his many insightful comments on the monetary circulation in Bruttium during the Romanization. Further thanks are due to Federico Barello for his numerous suggestions and for his collaboration.

Hellenistic period can only be based upon a comparative study of the coin evidence from independently dated archaeological contexts.

Résumé

La présente contribution est consacrée à la circulation monétaire en Calabre sous domination romaine. On s'accorde généralement à affirmer que la plupart des vieux ateliers tels que *Cosentia*, *Croton*, *Petelia* et *Locres* ont fermé leurs portes après la fin de la deuxième guerre punique et que les monnaies émises par les ennemis principaux de Rome, les Carthaginois et leurs alliés, les *Brettioi*, ont rapidement disparu de la circulation; *Rhegium* seule aurait continué à frapper monnaie. Cependant, aucune étude systématique sur le numéraire en circulation pendant la romanisation de l'*ager Bruttius* n'a encore été entreprise jusqu'à présent.

Dans la première partie de cet essai (Part I), les auteurs recensent les trouvailles (isolées, de sites, de tombes ou de trésors) découvertes en Calabre, qui contiennent des monnaies romaines ou des pièces en *aes* produites sous domination romaine dans cette même région. L'analyse montre que la monnaie romaine constitue un élément important mais pas exclusif dans la circulation monétaire après la fin de la deuxième guerre punique. La répartition des trouvailles monétaires reflète l'image d'une circulation de caractère «mixte». Les monnaies émises par les colonies de *Copia* et *Valentia* ainsi que par la ville de *Rhegium*, jouent un rôle non négligeable. En plus, l'évidence stratigraphique du site de Oppido Mamertina suggère que les *pentonkia* de *Rhegium* et des Mamertins, généralement attribués à l'époque de la deuxième guerre punique, ont continué à circuler jusqu'au I^{er} siècle av. J.-Chr.

Dans une seconde partie de cette contribution (Part II), les monnaies de Contrada Mella (Oppido Mamertina) seront présentées d'une façon plus détaillée. Les réflexions sur ce site, dont la vie a continué bien au-delà de la deuxième guerre punique, seront complétées par un aperçu sur la situation de *Locri Epizephyrii*. Partant de l'étude de ces deux exemples, nous essayerons d'approfondir quelques aspects de la romanisation de l'*ager Bruttius*.

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Appendix

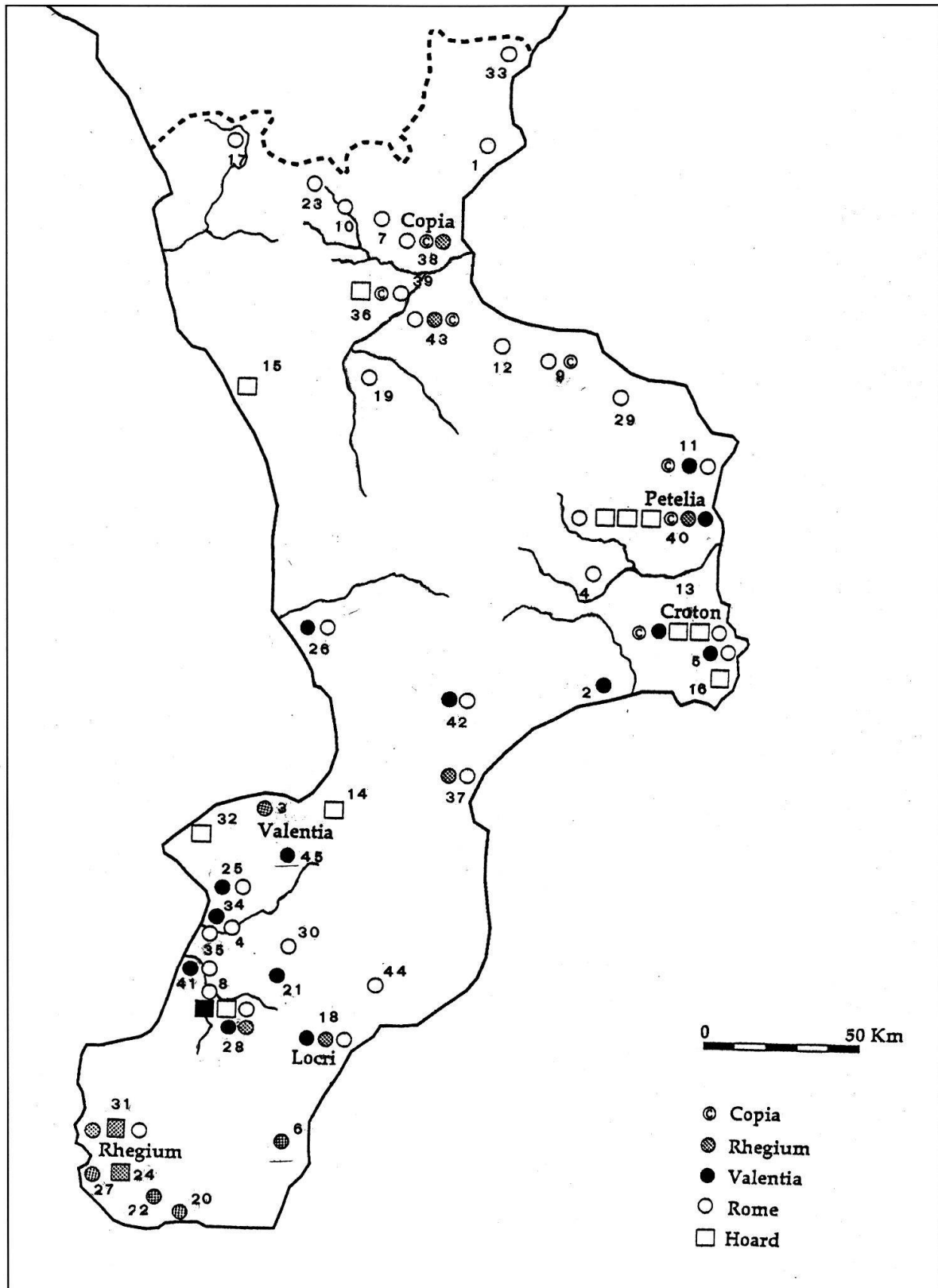


Fig. 5: Monetary circulation in the *ager Bruttius*, 2nd – 1st centuries B.C.

1. Amendolara
2. Botricello
3. Briatico
4. Caccuri
5. Capo Colonne
6. Casignana
7. Cassano Ionio
8. Castellace
9. Castiglione di Paludi
10. Castrovillari
11. Cirò Marina
12. Corigliano Calabro
13. Crotone
14. Filogaso
15. Fuscaldo
16. Isola di Capo Rizzuto
17. Laino Borgo
18. Locri
19. Luzzi
20. Melito Porto Salvo
21. Molochio
22. Montebello Ionico
23. Morano
24. Motta S. Giovanni
25. Nicotera
26. Nocera Tirinese
27. Occhio di Pellaro
28. Oppido Mamertina
29. Pietrapaola
30. Polistena
31. Reggio Calabria
32. Ricadi
33. Rocca Imperiale
34. Rosarno
35. S. Ferdinando di Rosarno
36. S. Lorenzo del Vallo
37. *Scolacium*
38. Sibari
39. Spezzano Albanese
40. Strongoli
41. Taureana
42. Tiriolo
43. Torre Mordillo
44. Valle del Torbido
45. Vibo Valentia

A. Finds of Roman Republican currency (2nd – 1st centuries B.C.)

1. Amendolara, contrada Cropana.
V. Laviola, *Necropoli e città preelleniche, elleniche e romane di Amendolara* (Cosenza 1971), pp. 51–52 (unattributable denarius).
2. Caccuri.
N. Catanuto, *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 56, 1931, p. 658 (as, 2nd century B.C.).
3. Capo Colonne.
Attianese, *Calabria greca*, vol. III (Santa Severina 1980), pp. 379–383 (quadrans, RRC 251/3), 386 (victoriatus, RRC 162/1a).
4. Cassano Ionio.
V. Saletta, *Storia di Cassano Ionio* (Roma 1966), p. 121 (AE of J. Caesar found in 1841).
5. Castrovillari, contrada S. Domenica.
N. Corcia, *Storia delle due Sicilie dall'antichità più remota al 1789*, III (Napoli 1847), p. 169 (coins from J. Caesar to Probus found in 1840).
6. Cirò Marina.
Attianese, *Calabria greca*, vol. III, pp. 431 (denarius, RRC 197/1), 432 (denarius RRC 375/2, uncial as, semuncial as RRC 340/4).
7. Corigliano Calabro, environs.
G. Procopio, *AIIN* 2, 1955, p. 192 (denarius similar to RRC 324/1).
8. Crotone.
M. A. Mastelloni, in: *Atti Taranto* 23, 1984, p. 405, n. 21 (as, RRC 479/1); *RRCH*, p. 116, no. 383 (hoard of denarii). Semuncial semis and halved as of Sextus Pompey (RRC 479/1) found in 1988 and 1986 excavations, communication by E. A. Arslan; cf. also Martini, *Sextus Pompeius*, p. 198, n. 394 who mentions 2 asses, one of them halved. Martini, *Sextus Pompeius*, p. 198, n. 394 lists further an as from P. Orsi's excavations at Crotone (P. Orsi, *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 1911, p. 95). For an as of Eppius (RRC 478/1) in a private collection (provenience from Crotone uncertain), cf. Martini, *Sextus Pompeius*, p. 118, no. 153.
9. Crotone, località Cantorato.
RRCH, p. 103, no. 301; M. A. Mastelloni, *AIIN* 30, 1983, pp. 227–231 (hoard of denarii).
10. Filogaso.
RRCH, p. 89, no. 209 (hoard of denarii).
11. Fuscaldo.
RRCH, p. 92, no. 225 (hoard of denarii).
12. Isola di Capo Rizzuto.
RRCH, p. 88, no. 201 (hoard of denarii).

13. Laino Borgo.
E. Galli, *Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia 1929* (Roma 1930), p. 183 («serie di assi romani ridotti e di sottomultipli relativi»).
14. Locri.
Casa Marafioti, Università di Torino 1995 excavations.
Locri, Antiquario.
M. Rubinich, *Il santuario di casa Marafioti: i nuovi scavi*, in *I Greci in Occidente, Santuari della Magna Grecia in Calabria* (Napoli 1996), p. 67, no. 1,18 (RRC 208/1, plated? denarius).
Università di Torino 1969–1991 excavations.
Locri, Antiquario.
F. Barello, *Le monete*, in: M. Barra Bagnasco, *Locri Epizefiri IV. Lo scavo di Marasà Sud. Il sacello tardo arcaico e la «casa dei leoni»* (Firenze 1992), p. 355, no. 37 (RRC 38/7); M. Barra Bagnasco, *Lo scavo*, in *Locri Epizefiri II. Gli isolati I2 e I3 dell'area di Centocamere* (Firenze 1989), p. 25, n. 75 (RRC 41/1 ?); 27, n. 83 (RRC 56/5, halved as of Sextus Pompey RRC 479/1, mentioned by Martini, *Sextus Pompeius*, p. 198, n. 394).
Excavations by P. Orsi, P. Arias, G. Oliverio.
Reggio Calabria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, medagliere.
Unpublished silver and bronze specimens from P. Orsi's 1908 excavations (RRC nos. 244/1, 353/1, 422/1, all plated), P. Arias' 1940–1941 excavations (RRC 237/1, 479/1), G. Oliverio's excavations in 1952–1953 (RRC 291/1) and 1955–1956 (RRC 479/1); several uncial asses (some halved) in the collection of Reggio Calabria's Museo Archeologico Nazionale. See Barello, *Economia, coniazioni e circolazione monetale*, p. 63 (halved sub-uncial as, halved as of Sextus Pompey); G. Guzzetta – I. Lofaro, *Il tesoro di Zeus ed il tesoro di Persefone: rinvenimenti monetali dal santuario del vallone Mannella*, in: F. Costabile (ed.), *Polis ed Olympieion a Locri Epizefiri* (Soveria Mannelli 1992), pp. 197, nos. 36–37 (asses of Sextus Pompey): these coins are listed in Martini, *Sextus Pompeius*, p. 133, no. 358; p. 137, no. 439; p. 198, n. 394. From the territory of Locri (the coins in question most probably represent local finds):
Collezione Polito; Locri, Antiquario (a portion of 182 pieces).
Barello, *Economia, coniazioni, e circolazione monetale a Locri Epizephyrii (Bruttium)*, in: T. Hackens – G. Moucharte, *Proceedings of the XIth International Numismatic Congress*, vol. II, p. 60 and personal communication by the author (RRC 38/7, 119/5, 343/1b, 343/2a, 3 post-sextantal asses and 1 as of Sextus Pompey RRC 479/1).
15. Luzzi, environs.
G. Marchese, *Tebe Lucana, Val di Crati e l'odierna Luzzi* (Napoli 1957), p. 146 (AR or AE, RRC 217); cf. B. Cappelli, *Bruttium* 4, no. 7, 30 Giugno 1925, p. ii.
16. Morano.
B. Cappelli, *Bruttium* 6, no. 10, 30 Ottobre 1927, p. ii (late Republican AR).

17. Nicotera.
M. A. Mastelloni, *Bollettino di Numismatica* 12, 1989, p. 232, nos. 3, 5 (quinarius and denarius, RRC 214/1b, 345/2); p. 239, no. 132 (semuncial semis); p. 241, no. 149 (semuncial as, RRC 350A/3b); p. 245, no. 193 (plated denarius, RRC 237). Cf. P. Visonà, *Annotazioni Numismatiche* 4, no. 13, 1994, p. 266.
18. Nocera Tirinese, località Piano della Tirena.
P. Orsi, *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 41, 1916, pp. 352, 360, n. 1 (asses); Procopio, *AIIN* 2, 1955, p. 168 (denarius, RRC 422/1).
19. Oppido Mamertina, contrada Mella.
From excavations in 1984–1994, 1996: 7 denarii, 6 of which plated (RRC 206/1, 244/1, 254/1, 259/1, 317/3, 326/1, 1 unattributable) and 44 Republican AE (including 2 uncial asses found together with 2 *pentonkia* of the Mamertini in 1987, 2 semuncial asses as RRC 342/7, 1 unattributable semuncial as).
20. Oppido Mamertina, frazione Castellace.
Denarius (RRC 387/1) in the collection of Reggio Calabria's Museo Archeologico Nazionale (access. 9 October 1957).
21. Pietrapaola.
Fasti Archeologici, 1958, no. 2370 (Republican AE in tombs of 2nd – 1st centuries B.C.). Cf. P. G. Guzzo, *Il territorio dei Bruttii*, in A. Giardina – A. Schiavone (eds.), *Società romana e produzione schiavistica. L'Italia: insediamenti e forme economiche* (Bari 1981), p. 131, no. 130.
22. Polistena.
Procopio, *AIIN* 2, 1955, p. 168 (quinarius similar to RRC 340/2).
23. Reggio Calabria.
E. Galli, *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 67, 1942, p. 172 («semisse [...] di peso ridotto»); M. A. Mastelloni, *Bollettino di Numismatica* 4 Suppl., 1987, pp. 97–98 (hoard of 300 denarii, not listed in RRCH). For an as of Sextus Pompey (RRC 479/1) in a private collection (provenience from Reggio Calabria uncertain), cf. Martini, *Sextus Pompeius*, p. 168, no. 829; p. 198, no. 394.
24. Reggio Calabria.
Galli, *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 67, 1942, p. 172; Mastelloni, *Bollettino di Numismatica* 4 Suppl., 1987, pp. 97–98 (hoard of denarii).
25. Ricadi, frazione S. Domenica.
RRCH, p. 97, no. 256; Mastelloni, *AIIN* 30, 1983, pp. 217–227 (hoard of denarii).
26. Rocca Imperiale, environs.
L. Quilici, *Forma Italiae Regio III.1 Siris – Heraclea* (Roma 1967), pp. 24–25, n. 14 (semuncial sextans, late Republican [plated ?] denarius).

27. Rosarno.
Procopio, AIIN 2, 1955, p. 192 (AE of Octavian, RRC 535/1); M. Paoletti – S. Settis (eds.), *Medma e il suo territorio* (Bari 1981), p. 139 (quinarius, RRC 345/2).
28. S. Ferdinando di Rosarno, località Granatara.
Procopio, AIIN 5–6, 1958–1959, p. 280 (uncial as).
29. S. Lorenzo del Vallo.
RRCH, p. 86, no. 183 (hoard of denarii).
30. *Scolacium*.
E. A. Arslan, *La moneta*, in: R. Spadea (ed.), *Da Skyllition a Scolacium* (Roma 1989), p. 190. Site finds from 211–210 to 43–42 B.C. include 2 denarii (RRC 313, plated; RRC 367/2), 1 quinarius of Mark Anthony (RRC 489/5), 2 asses and 1 quadrans (RRC 177/1, 183/1, 201/5), 1 halved victoriatus (RRC 44/1) and 2 halved asses, and 2 asses (one halved) of Sextus Pompey (RRC 479/1): these coins are also listed in Martini, *Sextus Pompeius*, p. 140 no. 522 (halved); p. 164, no. 758; p. 198, n. 394. Cf. L. Grimaldi, *Studi Archeologici sulla Calabria Ultra Seconda* (Napoli 1845), p. 38.
31. Sibari.
From excavations: U. Zanolli-Bianco, *Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia IV*, 1961, p. 54, no. 1. pl. XIX,1, also listed by Martini, *Sextus Pompeius*, p. 143, n. 543. AA. VV., *Sibari I*, *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 94, 1969, Suppl. I, pp. 39, 118–119 (semuncial as, RRC 342/7e or 7f); AA. VV., *Sibari III*, *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 97, 1972, Suppl., pp. 60 (as, RRC 178/1), 207, 212, 224, 238, 339 (uncial AE), 204 (halved as of Sextus Pompey; also mentioned by Martini, *Sextus Pompeius*, p. 198, n. 394); cf. Guzzo, AIIN 18–19, 1971–1972, pp. 323–324; AA. VV., *Sibari V*, *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 42–43, 1988–1989, p. 126, n. 8, listed in Martini, *Sextus Pompeius*, p. 173, no. 925.
32. Sibari, environs.
From excavations of a late Republican villa: E. Galli, *Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia 1928* (Roma 1929), pp. 96–97 (3 AE including a semis, RRC 226/2).
33. Spezzano Albanese, environs.
Cappelli, *Brutium* 6, no. 10, 30 Ottobre 1927, p. iii; *Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia 1928* (Roma 1929), p. 124 (AE from Sulla to Hadrian from villa at «Grotta del Malconsiglio»).
34. Strongoli, environs.
Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità 6, 1881, pp. 67–68, p. 97 (several denarii); Attianese, *Calabria greca*, vol. III, pp. 457 (bronze hoard), 467 (denarius, RRC 322/1), 470, 472 (2 denarii, RRC 322/1), 475 (4 denarii, RRC 241/1, 269/1, 289/1, 410/7b), 476 (denarius as RRC 162/2 ?); RRCH, p. 86, no. 183 (hoard of denarii and bronze); IGCH, p. 306, no. 2058 (a hoard including

denarii ?). M. A. Mastelloni believes that RRCH, p. 86, no. 183 and IGCH, p. 306, no. 2058 should not be treated as hoards: see *ead.* in: *Crotone e la sua storia tra IV e III sec. a. C.* (Napoli 1993), p. 200.

35. Taureana, località S. Fantino.
Procopio, *AIIN* 5–6, 1958–1959, p. 280 (as).
36. Tiriolo.
S. Ferri, *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 52, 1927, p. 340 (as, RRC 193/1).
37. Torre Mordillo.
O. C. Colburn, *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 102, 1977, pp. 522–523, 526 (plated denarius, RRC 342/3b; semuncial as similar to RRC 344/4b).
38. Valle del Torbido.
R. Fuda, *Rivista Storica Calabrese* 6, nos. 1–4, 1985, p. 190, pl. 6, 1 (uncial as).
39. Vibo Valentia.
Martini, *Sextus Pompeius*, p. 198, n. 394 (as of Sextus Pompey, RRC 479/1; communication to R. Martini by E. A. Arslan).

B. Finds of Copia AE

1. Castiglione di Paludi.
Caruso, *La monetazione di Copia Lucaniae*, p. 128, n. 35 (2 semisses, 2 trientes, quadrans, sextans).
2. Cirò Marina, località «Taverna».
Attianese, *Calabria greca*, vol. III, p. 427, p. 526, no. 1292a (quadrans).
3. Crotone.
Attianese, *Calabria greca*, vol. III, pp. 44–45, p. 50 (as); p. 377, p. 525 (quadrans).
4. Sibari.
Attianese, *Calabria greca*, vol. III, pp. 127–128, n. 35 (2 quadrantes, 2 sextantes).
5. Spezzano Albanese.
Attianese, *Calabria greca*, vol. III, pp. 44–45, 50 (triens).
6. Strongoli.
Attianese, *Calabria greca*, vol. III, p. 45 (as), p. 49 (semis), p. 525, no. 1289a (as).
7. Torre Mordillo.
Attianese, *Calabria greca*, vol. III, pp. 44–45, p. 51, no. 1294 (sextans); p. 525, no. 1290a (semis).

C. Finds of Valentia AE

1. Botricello.
Attianese, *Calabria greca*, vol. II, p. 56 (as).
2. Capo Colonne.
Attianese, *Calabria greca*, vol. II, p. 57, pp. 60–63 (2 semisses, 2 quadrantes);
id., *Calabria greca*, vol. III, p. 386 (semis).
3. Cirò Marina.
Attianese, *Calabria greca*, II, pp. 62–63 (2 quadrantes).
4. Crotone.
Attianese, *Calabria greca*, II, pp. 58–60 (3 semisses).
5. Locri.
Taliercio Mensitieri, *La monetazione di Valentia*, p. 35 (sextans).
6. Molochio.
G. B. Mustica, *Greci ed Italici nel Matauro Marro* (Polistena 1982), p. 3,
n. 2 (triens).
7. Nicotera.
Taliercio Mensitieri, *La monetazione di Valentia*, p. 35; Mastelloni, *Bollettino di Numismatica* 12, 1989, p. 232, no. 2 (sextans).
8. Nocera Tirinese, località Piano della Tirena.
Quadrans found in excavations in 1984 (communication by E. A. Arslan).
9. Oppido Mamertina, contrada Mella.
The excavations in 1984–1988, 1990, 1992–1994, 1996 yielded 7 asses,
8 semisses, 6 quadrantes.
10. Rosarno.
Paoletti – Settis (eds.), *Medma e il suo territorio*, p. 139 («coins of Valentia»).
11. Strongoli.
Attianese, *Calabria greca*, vol. II, pp. 57–59 (as, 2 semisses), pp. 61, 64 (triens,
sextans); III, p. 473 (semis of uncertain provenience).
12. Taureana.
A. De Salvo, *Notizie storiche e topografiche intorno Metauria e Tauriana*
(Napoli 1886), p. 121 («very few coins» of Valentia).
13. Tiriolo.
Ferri, *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 52, 1927, p. 341 (2 coins including a
semis: cf. Taliercio Mensitieri, *La monetazione di Valentia*, p. 35).
14. Vibo Valentia.
Taliercio Mensitieri, *La monetazione di Valentia*, p. 34 («six coins», now in the
Vibo Valentia Museum).

D. Finds of Rhegium AE

1. Briatico – Mandaradoni.
M. Ruggiero, *Degli scavi di antichità nelle provincie di terraferma dell'antico regno di Napoli dal 1743 al 1876*, Naples 1888, p. 599 (1 IIII, SNG ANS 776–785).
2. Casignana. Palazzi, 1994.
F. Barello, *Dialettica tra moneta straniera e moneta locale a Locri Epizefirii*, in G. Gorini (ed.), *Forme di contatto tra moneta locale e moneta straniera nel mondo antico* (Atti del convegno, Aosta 13–14/10/1995, in stampa), (1 II, SNG ANS 756–760, from tomb 27). For preliminary data on this site which was frequented from the 1st to the 4th centuries A.D., see F. Barello – M. Cardosa, *Casignana Palazzi*, *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Moyen âge, Temps modernes* 103, 1991, pp. 669–687. (Communication by F. Barello.)
3. Capo Colonne. Quota Cimino, 1966.
Attianese, Calabria greca, vol. III, p. 66, no. 4 (1 II, SNG ANS 745–749), no. 5 (1 IIII, SNG ANS, 768–775 or 776–785).
4. Locri :
Casa Marafioti, Università di Torino 1992 excavations.
Locri, Antiquario.
1 IIII, SNG ANS 768–775. (Communication by F. Barello.)
Centocamere – Marasà Sud, Università di Torino 1976–1991 excavations.
Locri, Antiquario.
Barello, *Le monete*, in: M. Barra Bagnasco, *Locri Epizefiri IV. Lo scavo di Marasà Sud. Il sacello tardo arcaico e la «casa dei leoni»*, p. 355, no. 378 (1 IIII, SNG ANS 778–785; from a tomb of the early Empire); *id.*, *Economia, coniazioni, e circolazione monetale a Locri Epizephyrii (Bruttium)*, in: T. Hackens – G. Moucharte, *Proceedings of the XIth International Numismatic Congress*, vol. II, p. 63 (4 IIII: SNG ANS 761–762, 766–767, 768–775 and 778–785).
Excavations by P. Orsi, G. Oliverio, and Università di Torino in 1969–1975.
Reggio Calabria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, medagliere.
E. Pozzi Paolini, *La moneta a Locri*, in: D. Musti (ed.), *Le tavole di Locri. Atti del colloquio sugli aspetti politici, economici, culturali e linguistici dei testi dell'archivio locrese*, Napoli 26–27 aprile 1977 (Roma 1979), pp. 163–164, no. 822–836 and p. 169 (at least 13 AE from excavations by P. Orsi, G. Oliverio, and at Centocamere in 1969–1972. 2 II, SNG ANS 745–749 and 1 coin of the same type, but uncertain; 1 II, SNG ANS 756–760 uncertain; 5 IIII: 1 SNG ANS 763 and 4 SNG ANS 766–767; 4 III, SNG ANS 786–788; 1 XII, SNG ANS 798–799).
From the territory of Locri (the coins in question represent most probably local finds):
Collezione Scaglione; Locri, Antiquario (out of 216 pieces).
1 II, SNG ANS 745–749; 1 IIII, SNG ANS 763–764; 1 IIII, SNG ANS 772–774; 10 (+ 1 ?) IIII, SNG ANS 776–785. (Communication by F. Barello.)
Collezione Scaglione; Casa Scaglione (out of 313 pieces).

- R. Fuda, Osservazioni sulla collezione numismatica Scaglione e sulla monetazione di Locri Epizefiri, *Klarchos* 22, 1980, p. 80, nos. 68–78, 87–94 (19 AE: 9 SNG ANS 729–733; 2 SNG ANS 736–737; 1 Π, SNG ANS 745–747; 1 Π, SNG ANS 756–760; 5 IIII, SNG ANS 778–785; 1 III SNG ANS 789–792). Collezione Polito; Locri, Antiquario (out of 182 pieces).
1 IIII, SNG ANS 768–775; 1 IIII, SNG ANS 776–785. (Communication by F. Barello.)
5. Melito Porto Salvo, 1955.
Reggio Calabria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (ex Museo Civico collection).
Mastelloni, *Bollettino di Numismatica* 4 Suppl., 1987, p. 91, n. 43 (1 III, SNG ANS 761–762).
 6. Montebello Ionico, 1940.
Reggio Calabria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.
G. Procopio, Il riordinamento del medagliere nel Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Reggio Calabria, *AIIN* 2, 1955, p. 168 (1 IIII, SNG ANS 768–775).
 7. Motta S. Giovanni, 1950.
Reggio Calabria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (55 AE out of 113; the remainder to landowner and finder).
G. Procopio, Ripostigli del Museo di Reggio di Calabria, *AIIN* 1. 1954, pp. 58–59, no. 1–113; *RRCH*, p. 63, no. 80; *IGCH*, pp. 299–300, no. 2013; Mastelloni, *Bollettino di Numismatica* 4 Suppl., 1987, pp. 93–94, no. 3. Cf. also the remarks in the text, *supra*, n. 32.
Pot hoard (list according to Procopio):
31 Π, SNG ANS 756–760;
9 IIII, SNG ANS 761–762;
22 IIII, SNG ANS 763–765;
46 IIII, SNG ANS 766–767 and 768–775;
2 III, SNG ANS 789–792;
1 as, Roman Republic, broken;
2 illegible corroded, coins.
 8. Occhio di Pellaro, 1975.
G. Foti, Attività della Soprintendenza alle antichità della Calabria nel 1975, *Klarchos* 17, 1975, p. 185 (1 IIII, SNG ANS 766–767; from a tomb).
 9. Oppido Mamertina, contrada Mella 1984–1988, 1990, 1992–1994, 1996.
31 AE, site and stray finds: 3 SNG ANS 729–735; 1 SNG ANS 738; 1 ○○○○, SNG ANS 743–744; 17 Π, SNG ANS 745–749; 2 Π, SNG ANS 750–752; 4 Π, SNG ANS 756–760; 3 III, SNG ANS 789–792; 1 IIII, SNG ANS 766–778; further 1 SNG ANS 629–735 out of a hoard where the type is combined with 7 AE of Locri.
 10. Reggio Calabria, since 1876.
Mastelloni, *Bollettino di Numismatica* 4 Suppl., 1987, p. 91, n. 43 (with bibliography; stray finds of various provenience: i. e. 1 ○○○○, SNG ANS 743–744; 1 Π, SNG ANS 750–752; 2 IIII, SNG ANS 768–775; 1 XII, SNG

ANS 798–799; pp. 92–97, no. 2, 4–5 (3 hoards: from Collina del Salvatore, 1876, dispersed; S. Caterina, 1876, dispersed, ended up in part in the collection of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale of Reggio Calabria; Piazza Mezzacapo, 1920). See also A. Engel, *Mélanges de Numismatique* 3, 1882, p. 435 (probably the same pot hoard found on the Collina del Salvatore in 1876 = IGCH, p. 300, no. 2017).

11. *Scolacium*, 1966–1988.
Arslan, *La moneta*, p. 189 (1 IIII, SNG ANS 766–767).
12. *Sibari*, 1972.
Guzzo, *AIIN* 18–19, 1971–1972, p. 321, no. 28 (1 IIII, SNG ANS 768–775 or 776–785).
13. *Strongoli*:
Vigna du Principe, 1967.
Attianese, *Calabria greca*, vol. III, p. 67, no. 6 (1 SNG ANS 729–735).
Vigna du Principe, 1973.
Attianese, *Calabria greca*, vol. III, p. 198, no. 1521 (1 oooo, SNG ANS 743–744).
Palazzine, 1967.
Attianese, *Calabria greca*, vol. III, p. 67, no. 7 (1 SNG ANS 736–740).
Torrazzo, 1968.
Attianese, *Calabria greca*, vol. III, p. 67, no. 8 (1 oooo, SNG ANS 743–744).
14. *Torre Mordillo*, 1974.
Attianese, *Calabria greca*, vol. III, p. 212, no. 1548 (1 IIII, SNG ANS 778–785).