

Roman Republican pre-denarius issues struck in Spain

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Many scholars and numismatic students have recognized the need of a die-study of the quadrigatus coinage as the only means to make progress in its understanding¹ and we share with them the very same belief. Such cumbersome task is now almost ending; the images of more than 3000 quadrigati have been collected and die-studied. This shows how the different series, now defined on the die-link basis, are or are not related; together with the way they appear in hoards, this also allows some educated guess on their mint areas.

The results will be published soon, however we would like to report here on two small groups² of quadrigati that result as completely isolated and separated from all the other ones. They can be suitably referred by the catalogue scheme provided by Le Gentilhomme³ (LG) as LG IV-B1, B3 (a single series, as it will be shown) and LG II-E. The former has an incuse or semi-incuse legend, while in the latter ROMA is in relief. In Fig. 1 the three specimens on which Le Gentilhomme based his catalogue entries are shown for clarity⁴.



Fig.1: The quadrigati emissions and the AR fractions (not to scale) discussed in this paper.

¹ For example: M. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage (RRC)*, Cambridge 1974 (1982 reprint), p. 103; R. Russo, *Numismatica Sottovoce*, Sept.2009.

² We thank Andrew Burnett for suggesting the separate publication of these two series and Pere Pau Ripolles for the help in finding some of the pieces published here.

³ P. Le Gentilhomme, *Les Quadrigati nummi et le dieu Janus, catalogue des Quadrigats de la Bibliothèque Nationale classés par variétés de style*, Revue Numismatique - 4^e série Tome 37, 1934, pp.26-36, 3 planches.

⁴ *RRC* classifies LG IV-B1 shown in Fig.1 as 31/1 (plate IV, 11, same Ailly 124 piece), LG IV-B3 as 28/3 (plate III, 9, same Ailly 129 piece) while LG II-E is not within the relief types on *RRC* plates.

Before adding any comment, we first list the full catalogues of the pieces gathered so far; the catalogs (Table 1, 2, 3) include a progressive catalogue number per series, the corresponding dies, identifiable by means of the plates, the reference, weight, die-axis, size and specific gravity (SG). Table 1 and 2 report the two quadrigati series, while Table 3 refers to two additional and enigmatic issue: *RRC* 28/5 and a drachm⁵ with a janiform head/oath-taking scene design, not reported in *RRC*. The reason for treating all these series together is their common Spanish origin, which comes immediately clear looking for the provenance of most of specimens of the catalogues, either from Spanish hoards or Spanish auctions or dealers (highlighted in bold). All the corresponding images are given in the plates, which give the corpus of these coinages to date.

The incuse series

For the incuse (or semi-incuse) quadrigati the find place of as much as five specimens is available: QI 3 from La Carència hoard⁶ (an archeological site inland, some 30 km West of Valencia), QI 12 and QI 17 from the Tivissa hoard⁷ (Castelet de Banyoles, inland between Tarragona and Ebre mouth).

Table 1: Quadrigati with Incuse legend

Cat.	Obv. die	Rev. die	Reference	W cg	Axis h	size mm	SG
QI 1	1	1	Aeternitas ⁸ (Vcoins, Sep. 2013)	600	8	19	8,75
QI 2	2	1	BNF 129 (Ailly)	570	12	24	
QI 3	2	2	La Carencia Hoard (Museo de Valencia, inv. 31858)	552	3	21	
QI 4	3	3	BNF 124 (Ailly)	667	5	20	9,65
QI 5	3	4	Tesorillo website⁹	627	8	21	
QI 6	3	5	Private Spanish Coll.	600	8	20	
QI 7	4	6	JesúsVico 135, 3077		10		
QI 8	5	7	BM 2002,0102.115	643	10		
QI 9	5	8	BM 2002,0102.116	614	3		
QI 10	6	9	Real Academia de la Historia¹⁰, 1	571	6	22	
QI 11	7	10	Münz Zentrum 76, 435	614	4	21	
QI 12	8	11	Aureo & Calicó 262, 100	613	5		
QI 13	9	12	Tivisa Hoard IV, 43 (Priv. Coll.)	510	10		
QI 14	9	13	Aureo & Calicó 263, 3011	625	4		
QI 15	9	14	BNF 125 (Ailly)	608	6	21	9,65
QI 16	10	14	La Palma (inv. 182, Noguera)		5		
QI 17	10	15	Tivisa Hoard IV, 42 (Priv. Coll.)	515	1		
QI 18	11	16	La Palma (inv. 146, Noguera)	770	8		

⁵ See also P. Garcia Bellído, *New coins of pre- and denarial system minted outside Italy*, in Proceedings of the XIV international numismatic congress, Glasgow 2009 (2011) pp. 676-685, where these two series are also discussed. Here the aim is quite different: to give the evidence of the available numismatic material. Furthermore, here we treat just the pre-denarius coinage.

⁶ P.P. Ripollès, E. Collado y C. Delegido, *Los hallazgos monetales y la plata en bruto de La Carència in "L'oppidum de la Carència de Torís i el seu territori"*, 2013, pp. 153-230.

⁷ L. Villaronga, *El tesoro IV de Tivissa*, Acta Numismatica 12, 1982.

⁸ Directly contacted, this Spanish seller referred that he bought this coin from France.

⁹ www.tesorillo.com/republica/anonima/anonima.htm, no.3; this coin was bought in 2003 from a Barcelona dealer.

¹⁰ Francisca Chaves Tristán: *Real Academia de la Historia: Monedas Romanas, I. Republica*, Madrid 2005.

Finally QI 16 and QI 18¹¹ are from La Palma¹² (Ebre mouth), which is the most important archeological site for this research, having delivered so far five specimens. Another six specimens are from Spanish sales or in Spanish collections, so in total 11 out of the 18 known pieces are related to Spain. This info should be complemented by the fact that not a single coin of such types is found in hoards outside Spain.

It is useful to make some comments on the design of these quadrigati, which is completely different from all the other known series. Two different engravers were probably involved in the production of the obverse dies of the incuse series. The obverse dies 1 to 8 have a cruder style and can be recognized by the hair between the two laurel wreaths, which are rendered by thin and wavy lines, (about) without any clear division between left and right head. Also the hair between the wreaths and the head are rendered by thin lines. The nose is quite sharp in most of the dies and the sideburns are small and just a continuation of the tiny dashes of the hair. The style of the dies from 9 to 11 is finer and closer to the prototype of other series. The left and right hair is clearly split in the middle, the hair is in locks clearly defined and separated, the sideburns are small but well separated and distinguished from the rest of the hair. These details can be seen in the enlargements of QI 5 (first style) and QI 16 (second style) shown in Fig.2.



Fig. 2: the two types of obverse styles in the incuse series.

On the reverses, the letters of ROMA are sometimes not even and not carefully engraved and/or positioned. All have in common a quadriga that is rendered at an angle to the observer; that gives a tilt to the horses, whose front hooves almost touch the legend tablet. It has to be noted that in association to QI 9 - QI 11, i.e. dies rev. 12 to rev. 15, the horses are also rendered in a better way; compare e.g. the last left legs (and in general all the back legs), which in the dies rev. 1 to rev. 11 are rendered by rigid and straight lines. Also the front legs are rendered with a marked downward curvature in the latest dies, while are more straight and naive in the earliest one. Victory right arm is always bent, as Le Gentilhomme correctly remarks. All the above and the absence of links between the two set of dies would point to a brake in the production of this earliest quadrigati. To be noted that the two LG types IV-B1 and IV-B3 (see Fig.1) are part of the same earliest emission, since they share the same features; just IV-B3 (QI 2) has bolder features.

¹¹ We would like to heartily thank dr Jaume Noguera Guillén for sharing all his data with us. In particular, I 16 and I 18 are published here for the first time and provide much more solid ground to the matter in discussion.

¹² J. Noguera, *La Palma – Nova Classis. A Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Encampment During the Second Punic War in Iberia*, Madrid *Mittelunger* 53 (2012), pp. 262-288 and J. Noguera Guillen, E. Ble Gimeno, P. Valdes Matias, *La segona guerra punica al nord-est d'Iberia: una revisio necessaria*. Societat Catalana d'arqueologia, Barcelona (2013, 124 pp.).

As one can readily see, this series is still quite under-represented; in fact we count 7 and 15 singletons for obverse and reverse, which corresponds to a very poor Coverage¹³ of 63% and 21% for obverse and reverse respectively. This indicates that the dies that produced this series were likely much more.

The relief series

Completely other pictures holds true for the relief series, whose Coverage is 100%, as can be seen by the corpus of Table 2. In fact we have here 17 specimens produced by just three obverses and four reverses and no singleton. All the dies have been apparently produced by the same engraver and their design is pretty homogeneous. Just obv. 3 has a larger head, however this obverse is die linked via QR 13 and QR 14 to obv. 2 whose design dominates this series. This is illustrated in the enlargements of Fig. 3.



Fig. 3: Two obverse styles of the relief series.

The relief series is therefore much smaller: actual counting is 3/4 O/R dies compared to 11/16 dies of the incuse series; its die homogeneity indicates it was produced at one stroke. Also for this series, its design is fully original and does not have any comparison with other quadrigati. The janiform head has an elusive but sharp nose, the reverse depicts a small and naive quadriga scene with a disproportionately large Jupiter. The legend is in relief and the frame are two parallel lines (top and bottom); only rev. 4 shows two vertically tilted sides (in rev. 1 just one on the right).

Table 2: Quadrigati with Relief legend

Cat.	Obv. die	Rev. die	Reference	W cg	Axis h	size mm	SG
QH 1	1	1	Antonio Hinojosa coll.	355	2	23	
QR 1	1	1	Aureo & Calicó 243, 2	650	7	20	
QR 2	1	1	Aureo Sep. 95, 94	602			
QR 3	1	1	Aureo & Calicó 248, 2081	631	12	20	
QR 4	1	1	eBay Spain (Sertorius, Oct. 2014)	630			
QR 5	1	2	BNF Ailly 116	640	4	22	9,55
QR 6	1	2	La Palma (inv. 13, Noguera)	620	4	20	
QR 7	1	2	La Palma (inv. 55, Noguera)	590	4	20	
QR 8	1	2	Aureo Dec. 2005, 4011	615	2		
QR 9	1	2	eBay Spain Jul. 2014 (from Pr. Coll. Sevilla province)	560	9	22	9,35
QR 10	2	2	SNR Milano 163	541	3	20	

¹³ Warren W. Esty: *The geometric model for estimating the number of dies*, in "Quantifying Monetary Supplies in Greco-Roman Times," edited by de Callatay, 2011.

QR 11	2	2	Priv. Spanish coll. (Imperio-Numismático.com)	550	3	
QR 12	2	3	Real Academia de la Historia, 2	611	5	20
QR 13	2	4	Aureo Dec. 2004, 6	610	12	
QR 14	3	4	Noble 62, 2202 (ex Seaby's, Mar. 1974)	614		
QR 15	3	3	Hervera Jan. 2004, 116			
QR 16	3	3	Jesús Vico 129, 83		5	21
QR 17	3	3	Ibercoins 7, 2022	607	4	

For this series the hoard evidence is less pronounced and comes from the two pieces from La Palma site, which also provides us the two better preserved specimens known, both from the same dies; however the Spanish relationship is strongly attested by the 11 pieces from Spanish sales or collections.

It is worth noting and discussing the specimen QH 1 (see Plate 2 at bottom), which is a cut specimen weighing 3,55g (a 6g original piece can be safely estimated) in Antonio Hinojosa Pereja¹⁴ collection. This coin is particular in the fact that it shows a relief legend with the same features of the previously discussed ones (large letters, similar frame, overall similar to rev. 3 of the relief series, see specimen QR 14), but its obverse clearly belongs to the second style of the incuse series: compare e.g. with obv. 10 (see QI 16) and look at the neck truncation with a hint of V shape. Possibly this was another emission, a tiny transitional series between the two main incuse and relief ones previously discussed.

*The diobol*¹⁵

The recent find of the specimen Dr 3 from La Palma is the only known piece of the rare and enigmatic series *RRC* 28/5 with known provenance. A highly added value is the fact that in the same sites also four specimens of the incuse and relief quadrigati have been found.

Table 3: Diobols and Drachms

Cat.	Obv. die	Rev. die	Reference	W cg	Axis h	size mm
Di 1	1	1	NAC 72, 405 (<i>ex-NYS II, 177</i>)	102	10	12
Di 2	2	1	NAC 54 ,149 (<i>ex-NAC 27, 206</i>)	100	10	12
Di 3	2	1	La Palma (inv. 282, Noguera)	82	3	
Di 4	3	1	CNG 68, 1336	100	6	
Di 5	3	1	Vico 119, 564		7	
Di 6	3	1	Schweizerische Kreditanstalt 2, 375	76	12	
Di 7	4	1	Napoli, Santangelo 1540	96	6	
Di 8	5	1	Gorny & Mosch 175, 191	103	8	
Di 9	6	1	Aureo Dec. 2000, 3	92	6	
Di 10	7	1	Ars Antiqua 2, 149	90	9	

¹⁴ We thank dr. Hinojosa for the image of the coin and all information that follows. The coin was found in the big Carthaginian camp near the little village of Las Infantas. The camp was on the important way from Obulco (Porcuna) to Castulo (Linares, both in Jaén province) and most likely to be dated at the last period in Spain for Carthaginians, when the Punic armies moved to the Baetica (actual Andalucía) and were finally defeated at Baecula (close to Linares) in 208 BC by the young Scipio. The site is very close to Jaén (about 10 km North), at the right side of the highway from Jaen to Madrid; there thousands of bronze coins (mainly Punic) were found from 1998 to date.

¹⁵ This small silver fraction was first named *litra* by ancient scholars, however often without great conviction. As the unique specimen known to M.H. Crawford (Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic, 1985) weighed about one tenth of a Quadrigatus, he depicted it presumably as a silver As, an opinion shared by R. Witschonke (description of NAC 61, lot 101 and footnote X, above). On the other hand, A. Burnett (The Romano-Campanian silver, Atti del X convegno del CISN, Napoli Giugno 1993, 1998) suggested that the coin could be a twelfth or Obol like the fractional coin of the first issue (*RRC* 13/2, which Crawford calls "litra").

Di 11	8 ?	1	NAC 61, 101	82	2	12
Dr 1	1	1	Real Academia de la Historia, 2bis¹⁶	306	8	
Dr 2	2	2	Cerro Colorado hoard	299	8	

The complete corpus of this AR fraction is given in Table 3. *RRC* list this type as 28/5 on the basis of the only known pieces at that time: Santangelo 1520, in Naples, 0.96g, which Crawford calls a silver litra. It remained unique until Di 6 appeared at auction in 1984. Five others were apparently from a recent find, all exhibiting similar characteristics and appearing at auction over the years 1999-2006: Di 1, Di 9, Di 10, Di 2 and Di 4.

In the description of NAC 61, lot 101¹⁷, R. Russo and R. Witshonke refer to Di 6 as "supposedly coming from Spain", and to the others appeared later in trade "all presumably with the same origin". The piece Di 5 recently sold by Jesús Vico reinforces the Spanish framework, but only the La Palma find Di 3 brings the necessary solid ground for attributing this series to a Spanish mint.

The die study of the pieces brings a striking result: seven (eight)¹⁸ obverse dies are coupled with just one reverse. This is completely unprecedented in all the die comparisons performed so far on the early Roman Republican series and hard to explain. Usually the reverse die is the one that breaks earlier and the number of reverses is said to exceed by 20% the obverses in *RRC*. This is not always the case in the series die-counted so far, but holds true as a general indication. Therefore it is possible then that the Janiform head was indeed a reverse punch die for this series, and/or that the very small size of the die was not properly managed by the mint personnel.

The drachm

To complete the panorama of the Spanish Roman Republican pre-denarius coinage¹⁹ it must be mentioned the drachm, known in just two specimens so far, listed at the end of Table 3. Until the publication in 2007 of Dr 2²⁰ the only known specimen was Dr 1 at the Real Academia in Madrid; not having the latter any specific provenance, it has been mostly overlooked until the discovery of Dr 2. The coin seems to be a drachm because both pieces are very close to 3 grams; its types are the same of the gold issues 28/1-2: laureate janiform masculine head at obverse and oath-taking scene at reverse. Unfortunately the conditions of the Cerro Colorado hoard is not optimal for die comparison, mainly due to a double strike at obverse, which is also otherwise damaged. The reverse has also some problems of delaminations and loss of details.

The Madrid specimen is overall better preserved, but comparing the dies is not 100% in this case. Considering however the same die axis of the two pieces and the huge amount of details that match, we're inclined to state these are the product of the same pair of dies.

¹⁶ Donation of Jesús Vico at around 2003; the coin was part of a collection in Sevilla (private communication by Jesús Vico).

¹⁷ Also in R. Russo, A. De Falco, *The RBW collection of Roman Republican coins, 2014*, no. 74.

¹⁸ D 11 is in a preservation condition hard to be used for die comparison; it seems a new die, but it could also be one of the other seven.

¹⁹ For later coinage into the denarius system, especially for victoriati, it is first needed to perform a full die study of that coinage, which is planned for later.

²⁰ S. Bravo Jiménez, M. Vila Oblitas, R. Dorado Cantero, A. Soto Iborra, *El tesoro de Cerro Colorado. La Segunda Guerra Púnica en la costa occidental malagueña*, Proceedings of XIII Congreso Nacional de Numismática (Cádiz, 22-24 octubre de 2007), pp. 97-110. I thank dr. Bravo Jiménez for kindly provide us the high quality hoard images. The coin is now preserved at the Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Malaga.

A detail that has never been underlined so far, to the best of our knowledge, is the exactly same design of the Janiform head of this drachm compared to *RRC 28/5*. One can point out, for example, the same, asymmetric way of rendering the head, the same rendering of the sideburns and the laurel leaves always quite sharp and slightly limp.

Instead there is no stylistic connection between the two fractions, which most probably are contemporary and produced at the same mint, with the quadrigati, which were probably struck in different times and occasions.

The metrology of the Spanish pre-denarius coinage

A little bit more of insight can be gained by investigating the physical parameters of these coins, which are plotted for a better visualization in Fig. 4.

It clearly appears that the die axis of the Spanish Roman Republican pre-denarius coinage has no preferential orientation, which is random. The sample is too small to assign any significance to crowding in the interval 1-6h of the quadrigati.

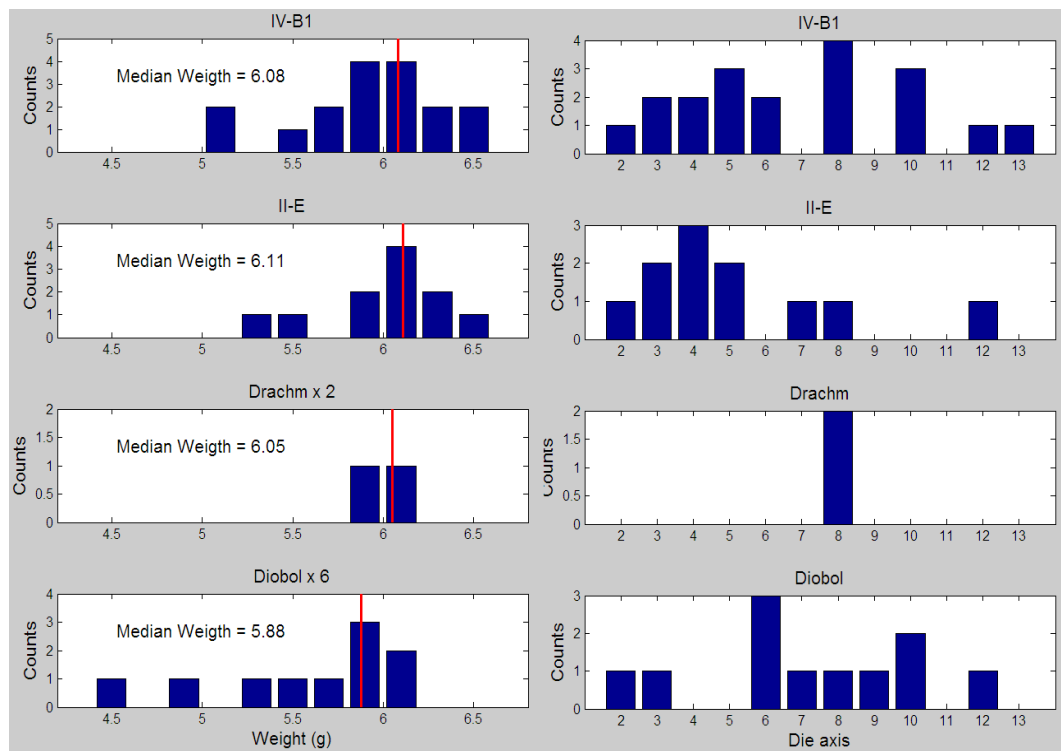


Fig. 4: Histograms of the weight (left, normalized to didrachm) and die axis of the Spanish series.

The weight histograms are quite enlightening. First of all the quadrigati seems to have a reduced weight standard compared to the incuse Italian series (around 6.6g). Moreover there is almost no difference between incuse and relief series, the latter looking just a bit higher weighed (6.11 vs. 6.08g).

Regarding the quality of the silver, very little can be said, but we can comment on the available SG measures, mainly from the pieces at the BNF. Not a single result is above 10 (which would mean decent silver); instead we have two incuse pieces at 9.65 and one as low as 8.73; for the relief series one at 9.35 and one at 9.55. Overall we can say that the two coinages show quite similar and

debased silver quality, as it also appears from the visual inspections of the coins. No SG results for the fractions are available, but the general appearance of the silver is quite similar to the quadrigati. In summary we can say that the Spanish silver coinage was produced by adding bronze or copper to silver, which looks quite reasonable thinking at the shortage of resources that the two Scipiones had to face.

Last but not least, the weight histograms could help in finding a better guess of what *RRC* 28/5 is. The weight histograms the quadrigatus has been elected as the reference denomination. Therefore the drachms have been multiplied by 2, but what to do with *RRC* 28/5? It can be seen that multiplying the weights by 6 gives a quite good fit with the distributions of the other denominations; the median weight is 5.88g (actually 0.98g), compared to 6.08, 6.11 and 6.05 for the didrachms and drachm respectively. Therefore this is presumably a diobol, i.e. 1/6 of didrachm or 1/3 of a drachm. Within the denarius system this would be called a sestertius, i.e. 1 scruple of silver for a denarius based on 4 scruples. However this fraction belongs to the didrachm system and should be more properly called a diobol. Such denomination is never encountered in the Roman Republican coinage; we have just the obol²¹, which occurs only one time with *RRC* 13/2 and it is known in only three specimens.

Mints and Dates

It is worth to give first some historical background before providing some proposals of places and periods for these coinages. Our main source for the war in Spain is Livy. Cneus Cornelius Scipio, brother and legate of the consul of 218, Publius Cornelio Scipio, in late 218BC was sent to Spain (XXI 60-61), the crucial Punic military base and resource-centre for the war. The purpose was twofold: to control the Carthaginians and to maintain and reinforce the relationships with the local tribes. He sailed to Emporion with about 50 quinqueremes and later moved SW, where he took control of the region North of the Ebre river. Cnaeus campaign in 217 was quite successful, winning command of the sea²² and conducting extensive and successful coastal raids (including against Carthago Nova itself) during the spring before his brother Publius arrived, pro cos., at Tarraco with reinforcements: 20 warships, 8000 troops and a large quantity of supplies brought by a great number of freighters (XXII, 19-22). Tarraco became the base for the Romans; it was modified and fortified for that purpose (Pliny N.H III, 21) from the very beginning of the Spanish war. Nothing particularly relevant occurred in the following years, when they kept the control on the left side of the Ebre. The command of the two Scipios was reconfirmed year after year; in 215 they won the battle of Hibera (the actual Tortosa, 20 km inland from the Ebre mouth), the first real important Roman victory of the war. It redirected to Spain (12000 infantry, 1500 cavalry, 25 elephants and 60 war-ships) the big reinforcements of ready to join Hannibal in Italy. Also P. Scipio asked for help in that occasion (XXIII 48, 4), since he wanted to profit of the victory, trying to attract to his side the tribes at the right of the Ebre; but Rome, who was suffering harsh times, could send just *vestimenta frumentum Hispaniensi exercitu* (XXIII 48, 12), additionally with money borrowed from privates.

²¹ See also n. 11.

²² Of particular relevance the naval victory at the Ebre estuary; see also the paper in n.9, where the topic is treated in more details.

They also attacked the Carthaginians beyond the Ebre and in 212 they took Saguntum (XXIV 42, 9-11); however soon after the Carthaginians could have as much as three armies in Spain, which resulted in the complete Roman defeat with the deaths of the two Scipiones in 211 (XXV, 34-36).

What comes after is not relevant to the present study, focused on the pre-denarial issues in Spain, since 211BC is in fact the *terminus post quem* for the start of the denarius system according to M. Crawford²³. From the above summary one can immediately set the *termina post et ante quem* for those issue: 217-211 BC. However one can dare a little bit more and try to relate the coinages to main events.

In particular, it is tempting to relate the largest incuse emission to the time after the battle of Himera, when the Senate could not satisfy all Scipio requests. The treasure in Rome was empty and it was not possible to send silver to Spain; Cn. Scipio, knowing that, anticipated the Senate denial by announcing he would have arranged on its own²⁴ for the *pecuniam in stipendium*, which might be regarded as closely related to the coinages in discussions. Therefore late 215-14 could be a possible date for the incuse quadrigati, imitating the contemporary incuse quadrigatus coinage circulating in Italy at the time²⁵.

After this first issue, the way was open for the other ones. In fact there are no record of silver sent to Spain, so the Scipiones could have felt the need to produce the second, smaller issue of relief quadrigati in 213-12, for example.

The reason why the fractions were produced is a bit more difficult to tell. It is possible that the two fraction emissions were meant for donatives to local tribes, in the period 215-212 when there was the stronger efforts to gain alliances with the local populations. The fractions could have been a way to provide the smaller denominations really sought after there; this is confirmed by the plenty of cut Roman Republican coins found in Spain²⁶ (one of those is e.g. H 1 or Table 2).

It is also tempting to relate the tiny emission (only one die) of drachms to the conquest of Saguntum; probably that was militarily a not so huge achievement, but likely had quite a psychological and image impact which could have been reinforced by the emission of this drachm, that celebrates a *foedus* between allies as it was for the gold emission *RRC 28/1-2* (dated 217-16, which sets a *terminus post quem* for this issue). This would also match with the much SW provenances of the two know specimens, while the quadrigati are dominantly from NE of Spain (both hoards of Tivissa/La Palma and the many pieces sold by Aureo and Hervera in Barcelona).

As for the mint places, for the quadrigati it seems natural to think to Tarraco, the base of the Roman operations in Spain since the beginnings and where the Romans had most of their winter quarters. For the fractions it is even more difficult to say; it could be Tarraco, but for the drachms it would be

²³ The *consensus* on this date, also for the scholars supporting his "middle chronology", is not *omnium* and an 2-3 earlier start is nowadays proposed by several students. This does not change much the discussion here, because the initially slow start of the denarius system could have not reached Spain before at least the arrival of the African.

²⁴ *Quod ad stipendium attineat, si aerarium inops sit, se aliquam rationem inituros quomodo ab Hispanis sumatur.*

²⁵ As noted by Thomsen in *Early Roman Coinage*, Nationalmuseet, Kopenhagen 1957-1961, V.2, p. 310, regarding the Syracuse hoard (*RRCH* 62).

²⁶ See e.g. P. P. Ripolles, *The X4 Hoard (Spain): Unveiling the Presence of Greek Coinages during the Second Punic War*, *Israel Numismatic Research* 3/2008, pp. 51-64; also in the Cerro Colorado hoard (see n. 17) there are cut pieces.

more fitting our framework a souther mint (at or around Saguntum), maybe even a military mint that might be responsible also of the productions of the diobols²⁷.



Plate 1: Incuse Spanish quadrigatus series (not to scale)

²⁷ This latter guess has mainly a stylistic ground.



Plate 2: Relief Spanish quadrigatus series (not to scale)



Plate 3: Spanish quadrigatus-fraction series: diobol and drachm (not to scale)