

M OCT IIIIVIR at Paestum, not P MION IIIIVIR at Carteia : the intellectual history of a misattribution

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M·OCT IIIIVIR AT PAESTUM,
NOT P·MION IIIIVIR AT CARTEIA:
THE INTELLECTUAL HISTORY OF A MISATTRIBUTION

In 1763, Joseph Pellerin published and illustrated a coin from the Royal Collection in Paris, as being from Carteia in Spain. In doing so, he acknowledged his general debt as regards Spanish coins to Henrique Flórez in Madrid, who had published the first two volumes of his *Medallas de las colonias* in 1757 and 1758².

‘[L’ouvrage] du P. Florez, qui y a rassemblé généralement toutes les Médailles Impériales & Autonomes, tant latines que grecques, frappées en Espagne, qui se trouvent, soit dans les différents Cabinets de ce Royaume qu’il a tous compilés, soit dans les Auteurs qui en ont rapportés d’autres différentes. Il a accompagné la description de toutes ces Médailles de dissertations & de remarques judicieuses & savantes; c’est tout ce qui a paru de meilleur dans ce genre jusqu’à présent.

A un Recueil aussi complet, & fait avec autant de soin & de recherches que celui-là, il doit rester peu de Médailles à ajouter, & encore moins d’observations à joindre; ainsi l’on ne rapportera que les suivantes.

[...]

La troisième médaille, qui a pour type un gouvernail de navire, & pour légende P. MION. III. VIR³, n’a point été publiée jusqu’à présent [...]’⁴

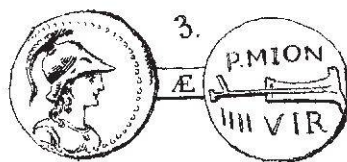


Fig. 1 Pellerin’s image (pl. I, no. 3)

¹ We thank those who gave advice and help during the preparation of this note: Michel Amandry, Regula Frei-Stolba, Suzanne Frey-Kupper, Helle Horsnæs, Pere Pau Ripollès and Rick Witschonke.

² FLÓREZ 1757–1758.

³ In the various texts we cite, the legend with the name of this moneyer is given with a variety of spacing and punctuation between its constituent elements. We cite as written when quoting, but, when we ourselves write the name, point and space it as M·OCT IIIIVIR, or P·MION IIIIVIR.

⁴ PELLERIN 1763, pp. 2–3 and pl. I, no. 3.

This proposed new attribution, which Pellerin added to the Carteian types already identified by Flórez, was an error. The coin was in fact a semis from Paestum in Lucania. *Fig. 2* illustrates three specimens, and *Fig. 17* a further specimen.



Fig. 2 Three specimens of the semis⁵ (real size and twice life-size)

The reverse legend is poorly engraved on all dies, and there is some uncertainty even today as to the last letter of the name of the moneyer (I or T). On the dies in *Fig. 2*, the engraver seems to have struggled to fit the last letter in, while the last two letters of the name on the die of *Fig. 17* seem to have been reworked in a most confusing matter. In his extensive catalogue of the bronze coinage of Paestum, Michael Crawford gave the name as M·OCI III·VIR⁶. The recent *HN³ Italy* resolves the legend as M·OCT III·VIR, and describes the types as follows:

Æ Semis, 14 mm, 2.1–4.3 g. Mid-first century BC – Social war to Caesar.
Obv. Head right, wearing Corinthian helmet; at r., PÆ upwards; at l., S.
Rev. Rudder; above, M·OCT; below, III·VIR⁷.

⁵ The coins illustrated here are:

1. Æ 15 mm, 3.00 g, British Museum 1841 7–26–73.

2. Æ 16 mm, 3.50 g, Bibliothèque nationale FG 1351.

3. Æ 16 mm, 3.64 g, SALLUSTO 1971, p. 12, no. 101, inv. 467. The casts of Sallusto's collection are in Centro Internazionale di Studi Numismatici in Naples. I thank Marina Taliercio Mensitieri for allowing me to study these.

⁶ CRAWFORD 1973, p. 91, issue 31/1. He suggests the date in the 40s BC on the basis of the clasped hands type used on the associated issue 32: «Of the types which may be borrowed from Roman denarii, none need have a model later than Caesarian» (p. 100). From his reading of the legend, the moneyer would probably be a M(arcus) Oci(us). The nomen is also documented as Occius. There are fewer testimonies of Ocius than of Occius, of which it is a simplification (SOLIN/SALOMIES 1994, p. 130). The name, usually as Occius, is known from Italy (SCHULZE 1904, p. 424), and from Northern Italy and the region of Narbonne in France (LÓRINCZ 2000, p. 83).

⁷ *HN³ Italy*, p. 116, no. 1248.

The much rarer triens of the same issue⁸ confirms the legend as M·OCT IIIIVIR. *Fig. 3* illustrates two specimens.

Æ triens, 13 mm, 2.7–2.8 g. Mid-first century BC - Social war to Caesar.

Obv. Head of Mercury, r.; at r., PÆ upwards; at l., ð.

Rev. Caduceus; above, M·OCT; below, III·VIR⁹.

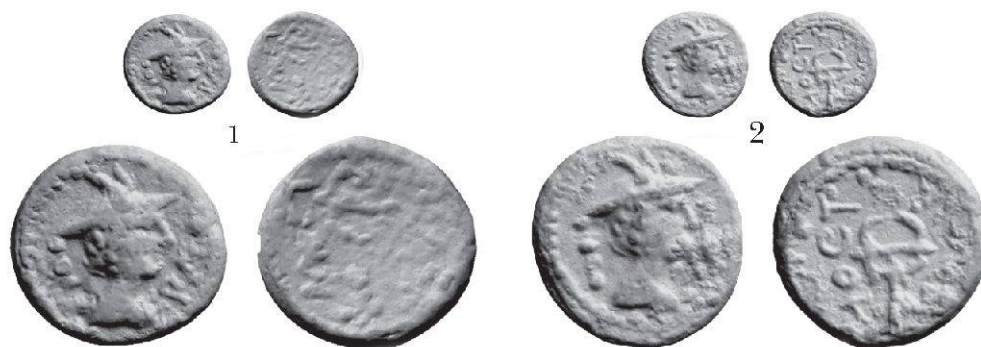


Fig. 3 Two specimens of the triens¹⁰ (real size and twice life-size)

The triens seems not to have been associated with the semis in any of the works we discuss below, and we will therefore not consider it further.

The origin of the misattribution to Carteia is clear. The obverse ethnic, PÆ, and the value-mark, S, have been obliterated on the Paris specimen that Pellerin knew (*Fig. 13*). Like the Paestan coin, the coins of Carteia include a number of pieces with a rudder on them, associated with the inscription, IIIIVIR, as Flórez' illustrations (*Fig. 4*) record¹¹: it was therefore natural for Pellerin to associate the new coin with these.

⁸ *HN⁹ Italy*, p. 116, no. 1249.

⁹ *HN⁹ Italy*, p. 116, no. 1249.

¹⁰ 1. Æ 14 mm, 2.72 g, SALLUSTO 1971, p. 27, no. 278, inv. 332.

2. Æ 14 mm, 2.72 g, SALLUSTO 1971, p. 27, no. 279, inv. 333.

¹¹ Plate XV, no. 8 = *CNH*, p. 418, no. 54.

Æ Semis. 2nd half of the 2nd century BC. 19/20 mm, average weight 6.56 g.

Obv. Turreted female head right; CARTEIA before; trident behind.

Rev. Rudder; C·VIBI IIIIVIR / C·MINIVS IIIIVIR around; II (sic) and IV in field.

Pl. XVI, no. 1 = *RPC I*, p. 85, no. 119. 20 BC? 18 mm, average weight 4.07 g.

Obv. Dolphin left, with trident; CARTEIA.

Rev. Rudder, IIIIVIR D D.

Pl. XVI, no. 4 = *RPC I*, p. 86, no. 123. Reign of Tiberius; Germanicus and Drusus IIIIViri. 18–19 mm; average weight 3.95 g.

Obv. Head of Fortune, right; GERMANICO ET DRVSO.

Rev. Rudder; CAESARIBVS IIIIVIR CART.

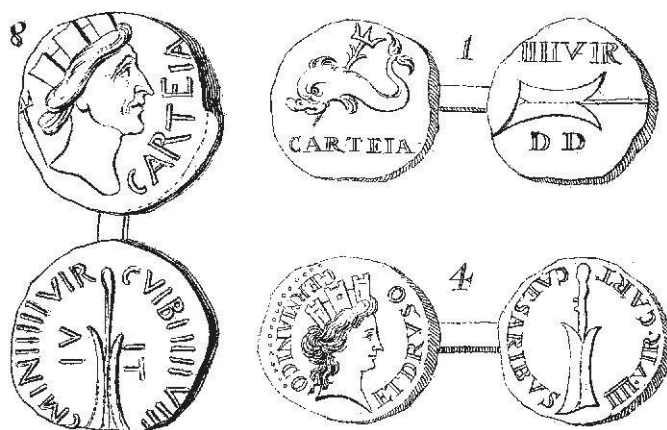


Fig. 4 Flórez' illustrations with rudders and the legend, IIIIVIR
(pl. XV, no.8, and pl. XVI, nos 1 and 4)

In addition, the mistaken reading of the legend as P·MION derives from the fact – as the coins in *Fig. 2* show – that, in the reverse image, the tiller¹² rises vertically from the stock of the rudder; *Fig. 5* shows such a tiller and rudder in action, and ends in hook: on a poorly preserved coin, this can easily be misunderstood as the letter, P, and as part of the legend. This is facilitated because the letter P in the legend is square-topped and partly open, as is the practice in the late Republic: see the P in the ethnic, PÆ, on the obverse.



Fig. 5 The rudder and tiller of a Roman Rhine Boat of the 1st century AD¹³

¹² That is, the cross-piece that passed through the stock of the rudder, pivoted so that it could move up and down in the same plane as the blade of the rudder, that was used to turn the rudder and steer the boat.

¹³ Conserved in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum in Köln.

In publishing the third and last volume of his *Medallas de las colonias*, in 1773, Flórez therefore accepted Pellerin's attribution to Carteia, listed the types¹⁴, and enrolled P·MION among the magistrates of Carteia¹⁵.

'Cabeza de Minerva à la izquierda. .)(.Timon tendido, encima, P. MION Debajo, IIII. VIR.'

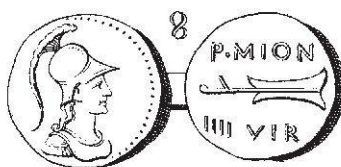


Fig. 6 Flórez' illustration (pl. LXI, no. 8)

He rested this attribution not only to the authority of Pellerin, but also on an inscription cited by Janus Gruter in 1602; Carteia's use of the similar types of a rudder and Minerva; and the fact that Quattuorvirs sign its coinage.

'Hallase en la nueva Coleccion de Medallas de Pueblos, y Ciudades publicada en Paris 1763. Pl. 1. n. 3. y lo especial es el nombre de MIONius, antes no conocido. Grutero ofrece un MIOGMIO en la pag. 985. 5. que es muy parecido al presente, y resultan dos irregulares. Por el Timon, y Quattuorvirato salió aplicada à Carteia (aunque falta el nombre) y ya vimos tambien en esa Ciudad la Cabeza de la diosa Minerva'¹⁶.

¹⁴ FLÓREZ 1773, vol. 3, p. 39, and pl. LXI, no. 8. He also returned Pellerin's compliments: 'Por mas que la diligencia y estudio de los Anticuarios se esmeren en recoger y publicar Medallas antiguas de Pueblos y Ciudades; nunca podrán lisonjearse de tener consumada la Obra; porque cada dia se descubre monumentos, que ni tenian vestigios, ni fatigaban la esperanza de los mas avarientos, por falta de noticia. En el año de 1758, publicamos dos Libros de Medallas de España conocidas en aquel año: pero desde entonces se han descubierto tantas, que obligan à nuevo libro: y con todo eso no podemos decir que se han agotado, pues la experiencia muestra lo que se descubre de nuevo cada dia.'

'Otra prueba de lo propuesto es una Obra que cinco años después de salir à luz mis Libros, se publicó en Paris, compuesta de quatro Tomos en cuarto de marquilla: los tres sobre Medallas y Ciudades, y el cuarto de los Reyes antiguos, con titulo de non hallarse publicadas, ò poco conocidas: y si después de tanto como se ha escrito sobre Medallas, salen libros con titulo de ineditas, bien claro es que el asunto no tendrá fin hasta que llegare el de los hombres.'

¹⁵ *Op.cit.*, p. 292.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

Gruter gave the inscription as:

‘Miogmi L(uci) l(iberti) / Ianuari / Lite contuber/nali bene de se / merito’¹⁷.

Flórez’ citing of this inscription lent credence to the existence of a magistrate of Carteia by this name, and, as we will see, spawned a secondary literature.

Thomas Andres de Gússeme republished these types as Carteia in Madrid in 1775, without an illustration¹⁸. Théodore Mionnet in Paris, in his very influential catalogue of 1806, also listed the piece as Carteian, again without an illustration¹⁹. John Yonge Akerman, in London in 1846, accepted the same attribution, without discussion or illustration²⁰. In 1852, the catalogue of the large García de la Torre collection in Madrid listed two such coins without illustration, noting only that they were rare²¹.

Antonio Delgado, in Seville in 1871, illustrated and cited the types²², under the heading, ‘Dudosa aplicacion’, noting that he had not himself seen specimens, but ultimately accepted them, because similar coins were described as being in the García de la Torre cabinet²³, because they fitted with other Carteian types and, above all, because he believed the name, *Mionius*, to be known from inscriptions. He does not indicate which inscriptions, but almost certainly had Gruter in mind.

‘El número 65 [of his pl. XV] lleva el nombre de P.MION. Florez publicó dos variantes²⁴, tomándolas de Pellerin, ambos son pequeños bronce, llevando en el anverso la cabeza de Pálas y al reverso sobre un timon el citado nombre calificándolo de *quatuorvir*. Nosotros no las hemos visto, pero en la descripción del gabinete de Garcia de la Torre aparecen otros iguales. Así pues las publicamos bajo la fé de aquellos autores y del redactor del citado Catálogo. La aplicacion de Florez nos parece aceptable, por cuanto los tipos convienen con los de las otras monedas de Carteya, su fábrica análoga á las acuñadas en la segunda época y sobre todo por la calificacion de *quatuorvir* á este funcionario, cuyo nombre gentilicio de *Mionius* se ha visto en otro monumento.’²⁵

¹⁷ GRUTER 1602, p. 985, no. 5 = *CIL* XII 4993. For full record of the humanist, Janus Gruter’s works, see KÜHLMANN/HARTMANN/EL KHOLI 2005. His *Inscriptiones antiquae Totius orbis Romani in corpus absolutissimum redactae*, published in 1602, and subsequent editions, are discussed on pp. 639–723.

¹⁸ GÚSSEME 1775, p. 113, no. 28.

¹⁹ MIONNET 1806, p. 10, no. 67.

²⁰ AKERMAN 1846, p. 28, no. 26.

²¹ GAILLARD 1852, p. 14, no. 217.

²² DELGADO 1871, p. 92, no. 65, illustrated on pl. LXI.

²³ Probably taken from GAILLARD 1852, p. 14, no. 217.

²⁴ Delgado is mistaken. Flórez lists only one piece with these types: his pl. LXI, no. 8.

²⁵ DELGADO 1871, p. 92, lám XV, no. 65, and pp. 107–108.

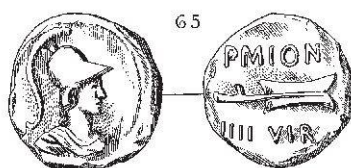


Fig. 7 Delgado's image (pl. XV, no. 65)

In 1924, Antonio Vives y Escudero again gave these types to Carteia. He thought that the obverse head was Mars, rather than Minerva, but did not otherwise question the description²⁶. He provided the first photograph – taken from a cast – of the Paris piece, but of execrable quality²⁷, as Fig. 8 shows.



Fig. 8 Vives' image (CXXIX, no. 7)

Michael Grant, in 1946, mentioned P·MION (wrongly stating that Delgado had rejected the attribution), with a reference to two inscriptions, neither from the Iberian Peninsula; we will discuss these later.

'The peregrine coinage of [the period before the triumvirate] is signed by the holders of various magistracies. Roman names predominate, especially in Latin communities [...] Celtic and Iberian names occur at several cities which are mostly unidentifiable; even at Carteia P. MION, [fn: Attribution not accepted by Delgado I, p. 92.] if this exists, recalls the Iberian language [fn: Cf. Miono(?) at Mirebeau (CIL, XIII, 5617) and Limoges (Holder²⁸, l.c. s.v.)]'²⁹.

In 1966, Octavio Gil Farrés not only carried over, without comment, the attribution of the piece to Carteia ('P. MION tiene un cuadrante con cabeza galeada y timón'), but provided his own, new drawing to illustrate it, copied, probably, from Delgado³⁰.

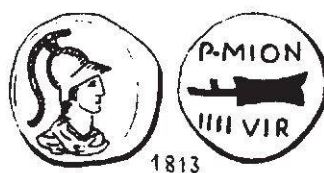


Fig. 9 Gil's image (p. 433, no. 1813)

²⁶ VIVES 1924, p. 26 no. 49.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. CXXIX, no 7.

²⁸ HOLDER 1904, col. 599.

²⁹ GRANT 1946, pp. 473–474.

³⁰ GIL 1966, p. 433, no. 1813.

Francisca Chaves Tristán, in her 1979 study of the mint of Carteia, cited only the Paris piece, and confirmed the reading, P·MION.

‘Sólo hemos conseguido ver de esta moneda el mismo ejemplar que vio Vives en el Cabinet des Medailles de Paris. Coincidimos en su lectura (V.-CXXIX, 7) y volvemos a dar la ilustración pertinente’³¹.



Fig. 10 Chaves' image (pl. X, no. 773)

She however noted the difficulty that the name, P·MION, poses:

P. MION.— No encontramos ningún paralelo satisfactorio que nos aclare este nombre. Grant [fn: *FITA*, p. 473 y 474, nota 1] reconoce su rareza e incluso pone en duda su existencia y aventura la idea de que pudiese ser *Miono*, como nombre de procedencia indígena. Sea como fuese, el cargo que ocupó tal personaje fue el de *III VIR* si es como Vives (CXXXIX, 7) y Delgado [fn: *Medallas*, p. 92, núm. 65] dan una lectura acertada, ya que nosotros no hemos visto ninguna de estas piezas.³²

In 1994, Leandre Villaronga similarly cited and illustrated these types without comment³³.

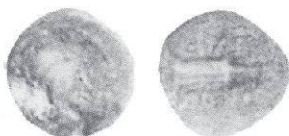


Fig. 11 Villaronga's image (CNH, p. 417, no. 49)

In 2001, María Paz García-Bellido and Cruces Blázquez gave P·MION among the magistrates of Carteia, and listed the types without comment or illustration³⁴. In 2005, Pere Pau Ripollès, in cataloguing the original Paris specimen, cited Vives, Villaronga and Chaves, and gave the coin to Carteia, noting only that ‘El final de la palabra MION no es seguro’³⁵.

³¹ CHAVES 1979, p. 82.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 45–46.

³³ CNH, p. 417, no. 49.

³⁴ GARCÍA-BELLIDO/BLÁZQUEZ 2001, vol. 1, p. 143 and vol. 2, p. 92 (19th emission, of 65–45 BC).

³⁵ RIPOLLÈS 2005, p. 226, no. 1407.



Fig. 12 Ripollès' image (p. 225, no. 1407)

We have made the illustration of the Paris piece in *Fig. 13* from new casts, in order to show more clearly the actual coin that has been the cause of so much confusion³⁶. It is indeed in very poor condition. The loss of the obverse ethnic is one of the chief reasons behind Pellerin's mistaken attribution. The misreading of the tiller as P, while understandable, is not the result of the 'leg' of the tiller having been eroded away, and the point after M is clear. The rest of the legend is poor, but difficult to resolve as ION.



Fig. 13 The Paris piece (FG 1230), photographed from casts
(real size and twice life-size)³⁷

As we have seen, Flórez included amongst his reasons for accepting Pellerin's attribution of these types to Carteia the fact that Gruter had published an inscription with the *nomen*, MIOGMI(us), which he compared with the supposed legend on the coin, MION(ius), as being 'muy parecido al presente'³⁸. The existence of this name ('cuyo nombre gentilicio de *Mionius* se ha visto en otro monumento') was amongst the main reasons Delgado gave for accepting the attribution³⁹. Grant went further, and – while unsure that the coin existed ('if this exists') – felt that the legend 'recalls the Iberian language', and further drew attention to the inscription, MION, at Mirebeau and at Limoges⁴⁰. The only hesitations regarding this name amongst numismatists that we have traced are those of Chaves ('No encontramos ningún paralelo satisfactorio que nos aclare este nombre')⁴¹, and Faria ('Leitura a confirmar')⁴².

It should be noted that the inscriptions in question are not from the Iberian Peninsula. Both are from Gallic areas: MIOGMI (*CIL*, XII, 4993) from Narbonne,

³⁶ Biolothèque nationale, Paris, no. FG 1230. We thank Michel Amandry for the casts, made after restoration of the coin.

³⁷ Æ 15, 2 o'clock, 2.68 g; Paris FG 1230 = RIPOLLÈS 2005, p. 226, no. 1407.

³⁸ FLÓREZ 1773, p. 39.

³⁹ DELGADO 1971, p. 108.

⁴⁰ GRANT 46, pp. 473 and 474.

⁴¹ CHAVES 1979, p.

⁴² FARIA 1994, p. 49.

MION (*CIL*, XIII, 5617) from Mirebeau and Limoges, all sites in France. Moreover, MION is an unlikely abbreviation of an Iberian name. The sound /m/ is always of secondary origin, and does not exist as such in Iberian⁴³. In Latin transliterations of Iberian names, <m> is the result of the combination between /n/ and /b/, for example, Iberian **sosinbilos** > Latin SOSIMILVS/SOSVMILVS⁴⁴. For this reason, /m/ should not occur in an initial position in an Iberian word, with one exception: Paleo-Basque seems to show that the Iberian sound /b-/ can change to M- in Latin inscriptions by an assimilation process, when /b-/ precedes /n/⁴⁵. That could hypothetically be the case with MION, but Iberian **bion** would be a *hapax legomenon*, as there is no parallel for it in Iberian onomastics. Theoretically, however, a segmentation **bio-n[-]* cannot be entirely ruled out.

There is also a high probability that the inscriptions are corrupt⁴⁶. The editor of *CIL*, XII commented in 1888 that the name, MIOGMI L(uci) I(iberti), was a '*nomen corruptum*', and this may be related to the fact, reported by Guilelmus Lafont, in the commentary on *CIL*, XII, 4993⁴⁷, that the stone was defective on the left. It has long since been lost, and cannot be checked. This doubtful name is nonetheless recorded in Alfred Holder's⁴⁸, Barnabas Lőrincz's⁴⁹ and Xavier Delamarre's⁵⁰ lexicons. Robert Mowat, the only author to have seen the stone of *CIL*, XIII, 5617, described it as a fragment of a funerary stele of pyramidal shape, built into the wall of a house⁵¹. He writes MIO/NO on two lines, and it is not clear from his description whether these are the beginning of words, or not. The entry in *CIL* XIII, published in 1905, derives from him. The stone itself was destroyed by 1910⁵². Yann Le Bohec mentions the inscription, and gives it as 'Mionus'⁵³. Holder⁵⁴ and Delamarre suggest 'Dimiono'. Heikki Solin and Olli Salomies list the *cognomen*, Primio, and the *nomen gentilicium*, Primionius⁵⁵. Primionius is known from Belgic Gaul⁵⁶. All these variants, of course, are Latin, not Iberian. That neither MIOGMI nor MION is Iberian is recognised by those working on the Celtic languages and Celtic onomastics⁵⁷. In summary, we can place no credence in these inscriptions.

⁴³ QUINTANILLA 1998, pp. 191 and 215.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 196–197 and 217.

⁴⁵ GORROCHATAGUI 1984, pp. 236–237 and 375.

⁴⁶ We owe this discussion of the inscriptions to Regula Frei-Stolba, who also consulted the epigraphist, Hans Lieb. We are most grateful for their advice.

⁴⁷ *CIL*, XII, p. 525.

⁴⁸ HOLDER 1904, col. 599: 'Miogm-ius M. nomen, corrupt? (Narbonne) *CIL* XII 4993: Miogmi L. [l.] Ianuari(i).'

⁴⁹ LŐRINCZ 2000, p. 83.

⁵⁰ DELAMARRE 2007, p. 134, *Miogmus*.

⁵¹ MOWAT 1884, p. 68.

⁵² *CIL*, XIII, add. (1910), p. 74.

⁵³ LE BOHEC 1995, p. 314, no. 7, and LE BOHEC 2003, no. 220, mention the inscription, in virtually the same terms.

⁵⁴ HOLDER 1904, col. 599: 'Miono? (Mirebeau) *CIL* XIII 5617 (...). (Limoges) (...) Of. Miono [zu lesen Damoni o(fficina)?]'.
⁵⁵ SOLIN/SALOMIES 1994, p. 469, without indication of sources.

⁵⁶ *CIL*, XIII, 4165 and 4178.

⁵⁷ Cf. HOLDER 1904, col. 599; BILLY 1993, p.108; DELAMARRE 2007, p. 134; and LE BOHEC 2003, p. 143.

None of this has prevented the phantom P·MION from enjoying a spurious life in the secondary literature. In addition to the examples already cited, he is listed as a magistrate of Carteia in a number of other works⁵⁸. Andrew Fear, arguing that pre-Roman nomenclature and civic forms survived into Roman Spain, believes that

‘At Carteia, although the form of administration, the quattuorvirate, is clearly Roman, some individual quattuorviri, such as ... P. Mion., have semi-Iberian names. The area’s coinage therefore shows a mixture of Roman and native features.’⁵⁹

Similarly, Juan Sebastián Hernández Fernández, in arguing that many Phoenician families stayed on in Carteia, Romanised, and reached magisterial rank, cites P·MION as part of the evidence⁶⁰.

How can we best understand the history of this misattribution, and what conclusions can we draw from it? It sprang very naturally, as we have seen, from the close parallelism in coin type (the rudder) and magistrature (IIIIVIR) between some of the coins of Carteia and the Paestan piece. A misunderstanding of the tiller on the poor specimen in Paris (where the obverse ethnic, PÆ, is not visible) created the P in P·MION, read as a *praenomen*. It was then natural to assimilate the M to the supposed reading of the *nomen gentilicium*. The use of epigraphic sources to support this reading was confused from the beginning, in not distinguishing between inscriptions from the Iberian Peninsula and from Gaul, with numismatists and epigraphists working in separate bubbles, merely fishing in the others’ waters for supportive evidence, without bringing the whole together in a deeper analysis. In a time before photography in numismatics, much depended on the authority of the cataloguer, and the authority of Pellerin and Flórez was not easily challenged. The coin was also so poor that, even when photographs began to be published, the mistake was not recognized⁶¹.

⁵⁸ CURCHIN 1990, p. 143, no. 63: ‘Mion [...] – IIIIVir before 19 BC [...] The name is perhaps indigenous.’ BELTRÁN 1978, p. 200, no. 265: ‘P MION IIIIV ant.[erior] 19 a. e.’ DARDAINÉ 2001, p. 41: p. 41: ‘P. Mion? c. 60 [BC].’ GARCÍA-BELLIDO/BLÁZQUEZ 1995, pp. 409, 418 no 248, cite P. MION.

⁵⁹ FEAR 1996, pp. 58–59. ‘Semi-Iberian’ probably derives from the assumption that P is for the Roman *praenomen*, Publius, and Mion [...] an Iberian name. FARIA 1998, p. 265: ‘É incorrecto classificar os nomes dos *quattuorviri* carteenses L ATINI(us) e P MION como semi-ibéricos, não havendo, além do mais, nenhuma certeza sobre qual a correcta leitura deste último nome.’

⁶⁰ ‘[...]es muy verosímil que la afirmación de Livio *qui Carteiensium domi manere uellent, potestatem fieri* tenga un reflejo en los nombres: *Arg., Curman-* (sic) *Cur., Mion. y Nucia.*, que, aunque hoy por hoy no tengamos las bases suficientes para conocer su origen concreto, es posible que se relacionen con el origen fenicio-púnico de la ciudad. Se trata de nombres muy singulares, no solo por su morfología, sino también por tratarse de los únicos testimonios documentados, ya que en nuestro rastreo no hemos encontrado ningún paralelo. [...]

‘Si la lectura es correcta, ya que F. Chaves no vió ninguna de estas piezas, P·Mion acuñaría una serie en el año 60 aC como *quattuovir*. Tampoco hemos encontrado en este caso ningún paralelo del nombre.’ HERNÁNDEZ 1994, p. 107.

⁶¹ Here we add a strong recommendation that, in the case of poor bronze coinage,

While the fine coins of Greece, Magna Graecia and Sicily, and of Rome, were, from the time of the Renaissance, objects of an interest that transcended national boundaries, minor bronze coinages remained largely of national interest. Nonetheless, the correct attribution and adequate description of the Paestan piece were available, for those who knew where to look, though there was considerable variation in the supposed reading of the name, M·OCT. Domenico Sestini correctly attributed a specimen where the obverse ethnic was legible to Paestum, as early as 1796, though the reading of the reverse legend was partial. He did not illustrate it.

‘Caput Palladis galeatum, ante PÆ, retro S.)(M. OC. F. IIVIR. Temo.
Ex M. de Schellersheim.’⁶²

In 1814, Felice Caronni, in publishing the Hedervarian collection, correctly attributed another specimen to Paestum, on the basis of the obverse ethnic, while independently repeating Pellerin’s reading of the tiller as the letter, P.

‘Cap. Pall. Gal. sm. juxta PÆ)(P. MOD. II. VIR. Gubernaculum’⁶³.

The obverse legend on the accompanying illustration – the earliest we know of this coin – does not agree with the text, as *Fig. 14* shows: the illustrator has deformed the ethnic, PÆ, to a rather gangly S H. It is difficult to see how this came about, but it then becomes a source of further error.

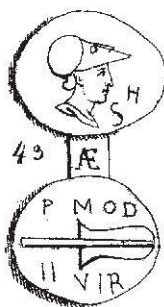


Fig. 14 Caronni’s image (Table II, no. 43)

At much the same time, in 1816, Christian Ramus correctly classified the specimen in the Danish National Museum Collection⁶⁴, though he could not read the magistrate’s name, which was off the flan. He first identified the magisterial title, IIVIR, in the chain of Paestan attribution of this type, though Pellerin had had this element right from the start of the Carteian chain.

photographs continue to be made from plaster casts, which provide a much clearer image: the current tendency to no longer cast coins is unfortunate.

⁶² SESTINI 1796, p. 20, no. 22, not illustrated. Schellersheim was a collector in Florence.

⁶³ CARONNI 1814, vol. 1, p. 35, no. 899, and Table II, no. 43.

⁶⁴ *SNG Cop. Paestum*, no. 1359.

‘.. ΠΑΕ.⁶⁵ Caput Palladis gal.
..... IIII VIR. Temo. Æ3.’⁶⁶

Between 1818 and 1830, Sestini laboured at an extensive new catalogue of the Hedervarian Museum. He repeatedly expressed a very low opinion of Caronni's work, characterised as a ‘mal tessuto Catalogo’⁶⁷, and as poorly illustrated⁶⁸. He began with a volume on Spain⁶⁹, and this did not include a Carteian attribution. He had not yet reached Italy by 1830, when his patronage dried up. He complained bitterly, including that this would mean that Caronni's ‘false descrizioni’ would triumph⁷⁰. The upshot was that he never republished the Hedervarian specimen.

⁶⁵ Confusion of the late Republican open Latin P with the Greek Π.

⁶⁶ RAMUS 1816, p. 50, nos 49 and 50. (No. 50, Helle Horsnæs informs us, was probably sold as a duplicate in the 19th century.) Ramus' catalogue ‘was compiled according to Eckhel's system and won high recognition at the time, for a work of this kind was as yet something unique. It spread rapidly over Europe. In Denmark Ramus received various distinctions on account of it, among them his election to the Society of Fine Arts, and praise was not lacking from abroad either. The Emperor of Austria, the Tsar of Russia, and the kings of Prussia and Saxony sent him costly rings with the royal monograms in brilliants, and from the Duke of Gotha he received an expensive work.’ (We cannot resist lamenting the sad decline in values that has led to numismatists now being so meanly rewarded for their labours. *O tempora, o mores!*) ‘On the other hand, the voice of criticism was also heard from the moment of its publication, e.g. from the famous numismatist Domenico Sestini of Florence, who in a censorious letter reproaches Ramus for including much of little value and then picks out a number of instances of coins having been placed in a wrong connection.’ (*SNG Cop.*, p. 8).

⁶⁷ SESTINI 1828a, p. V.

⁶⁸ ‘Delle medaglie del Museo Hedervariano malamente descritte e attribuite dal illustratore del Catalogo Hedervariano, e da noi restituite alle loro sedi nel corso delle nostre Lettere Numismatiche della seconda Novena e di altre opere’. (SESTINI 1828b.)

⁶⁹ SESTINI 1818.

⁷⁰ SESTINI 1830a, p. IV: ‘Quelle della Gallia, Italia, Magna Grecia, Sicilia, e Isole adiacenti le lasceremo alla generosità del possessore, se desiderio ha di vedere tutte le sue medaglie greche descritte esattamente. Io ho fatto molto, e la repubblica letteraria, e i miei Mecenati si chiameranno contenti di quest'atto di riconoscenza meritamente loro dovuta.’

SESTINI 1830b, p. IV: ‘Mi si dirà, e con ragione, e dov'è la descrizione delle medaglie di Spagna, della Gallia, dell'Italia, della Magna Grecia, della Sicilia, e delle Isole adiacenti? risponderemo agli Amatori della Numismatica, che le medaglie Ispane e Celtibere, furono pubblicate in un volume a parte, che quelle delle surriferite provincie, se il Nobile Possessore non contribuisce alle spese della stampa, dopo il nostro non indifferente dispendio, resteranno nelle loro false, erronee, e mezze descrizioni col solito stile dell'illustratore.’

‘E chi stamperà la serie delle Consolari, e quella delle Romane, con miglior ordine, e correzioni, da noi lasciata manoscritta in 4. grossi volumi in foglio d'una risma di carta l'uno, collezione ricchissima per le tante medaglie in oro, in argento e in bronzo? Saranno forse gli Eredi d'Hedervar, io ne dubito fortemente. Si seguiti dunque col Catalogo Caroniano a lasciare trionfare le false descrizioni e farle citare incongruamente da chi non ha il vero discernimento numismatico.’

This was the situation on the publication of *Francisci Carellii numorum Italiae veteris tabulas CCII*, a very influential collection of 202 engraved plates, with images of Italian coins, prepared by Francesco Carelli in 1812, but revised and published in 1851 by Celestino Cavedoni, with the assistance of Emil Braun, Theodor Mommsen and Otto Jahn⁷¹. The text pages are divided in half: the top contains Cavedoni's comments, and the lower Carelli's original text, with, in square brackets, the incorporation of comments by Francesco Maria Avellino. The illustrations on the plates are numbered in accordance with Cavedoni's text, with an additional reference to Carelli's numbering, where a coin is taken over from his original plates. Carelli's text describes two coins of the Paestan type (his nos 129 and 130).

'Caput iuvenile galea armatum ad d.; pone nota S; ante PAE.
Gubernaculum; circum M. DO. IIVIR.'

Only no. 129 is illustrated (Cavedoni's no. 20, on pl. CXXXI), and described in Cavedoni's text as follows.

'PÆ. Caput Palladis galea corinthia tectum; pone S.) (Gubernaculum; in area MDOIIIIVIR (*Car. D. n. 129, sed IIVIR*).'

Cavedoni also added a new coin to the plate – no. 21, a redrawing of Caronni's fallacious illustration (our *Fig. 14*) – without at the same time adopting Caronni's correct reading of the obverse ethnic. Instead, he re-described the piece, on the basis of the image:

'Alius, sed in adversa scriptum S. . H . . et in aversa P MOD IIVIR (*Mus. Hederv. Tab. II, 43*).'

⁷¹ CARELLI 1850. The history of these plates, as given in CAVEDONI 1851, pp. 46–54, is fascinating. Carelli, while Government Secretary to the Vice-Regency of Sicily, became a good friend of the Prince di Torremuzza, and assembled a large collection of the coins of Magna Graecia and other regions of Italy. This was bought by Joseph Bonaparte, when King of Naples (1806–1808), for the Naples Public Library. Caroline Bonaparte, his sister (and wife of his successor, Joachim Murat, King of the Two Sicilies, 1808–1815) insisted on having it in her house, after which nothing more is known of it. In 1812, Carelli prepared a catalogue, but this was not published until he died in 1833. Francesco Maria Avellino (who was responsible for the excavations at Pompeii from 1839 to 1850, and had known the collection well), published a set of comments (Avellino 1834). Carelli had himself prepared over 200 plates, which remained unpublished with his heirs (and some were lost), along with printed proofs. These were bought in 1846 by Emil Braun, Executive Secretary of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome, who gave Cavedoni a copy of the proofs. Although Braun at first thought of expanding the catalogue to include recent research, he decided to print the 200 plates, re-engraving the lost 201st plate, and adding a 202nd plate of coins of the Marsic War. In 1846 and 1847, Cavedoni checked the tables, to identify those coins cited from originals, and those merely copied from earlier (often erroneous) sources, reworked the tables, and revised the descriptions in the light of recent research. Braun then sent the work to Leipzig for printing, where the proofs were corrected by Theodor Mommsen and Otto Jahn – who also inserted Avellino's notes into the text – before publication in 1850.

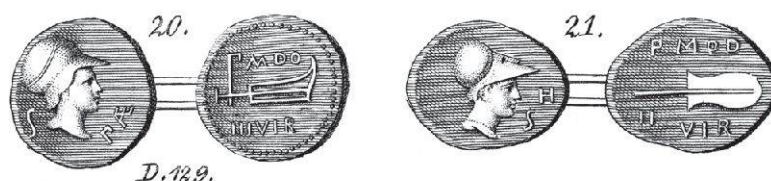


Fig. 15 The images in Francisci Carellii numorum Italiae veteris tabulas CCII
(plate XXXXI, nos 20 and 21)

It seems strange that he should have accepted this piece. His illustration no. 20 should have alerted him to the spurious P on the reverse, and, with the correct ethnic in no. 20, and the evidence of Caronni's text, he should have doubted the nonsensical S . . H . . Clearly, the eminent scholars involved in the final preparation of this publication – Cavedoni, Braun, Mommsen and Jahn – did not have access to clear enough actual specimens to resolve the legend correctly, and seem not to have known of the earlier, correct readings of the ethnic by Sestini in 1796 and Ramus in 1818. This misreading, however, goes no further.

Fiorelli, in publishing the Santangelo collection in Naples in 1866, listed two of these pieces, without illustration. He incorrectly adds S to the ethnic to make PAES, probably because the earlier, Greek legend on Paestan coins read ΠΑΙΣ. He could not make out the magistrate's name on the reverse.

'PAES. Testa di Pallade galeata a dr., dietro S.
Timone; a sinistra M.⁷² ..., a dr. IIII VIR.'

The 1873 British Museum catalogue of the Greek coins of Italy (a key reference work for 19th and 20th century numismatics) also correctly attributed of these two pieces to Paestum, without illustrating them⁷³. The reverse legends were nearly correctly read, as M·OC IIII VIR⁷⁴ and MOCI IIII VIR⁷⁵.

Garrucci, in 1885, published a specimen of this coin from his own collection, and seems to have been the first person to describe the reverse legend correctly, though he followed Fiorelli in incorrectly expanding the obverse legend, PÆ, to PÆS.

'Testa di Pallade con elmo corinziano volta a d. dietro alla nuca S, a d. PÆS.
R. Timone fra M. OCT IIII VIR.'

⁷² One reverse die appears to read M:OCI, with a colon (see the piece we illustrate in Fig. 17): the Santangelo piece was probably one of these.

⁷³ *BMC Italy*, 1873, p. 279, nos. 48 and 49. Carelli 1850 was one of the main references used by Poole (see *BMC Italy*, p. iii), and is cited *passim* as 'N.I.V.T'.

⁷⁴ FIORELLI 1866, no. 48.

⁷⁵ No. 49.

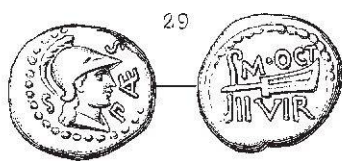


Fig. 16 Garrucci's image (p. 180, no. 9)⁷⁶

For some 250 years, then, despite the many publications involved, of both 'Carteian' and 'Paestan' persuasion, scholarship in Spain in relation to Carteia, and elsewhere, particularly Italy, in relation to Paestum, continued on parallel unconnected courses: until we stumbled across it, it seems that no-one with a knowledge of Italian minor bronze had looked carefully at the various catalogues that describe and illustrate the Paris Paestan piece as being from Carteia. In the same way, in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, Pellerin's piece continued to be carried under Carteia, even though two of the same coins were classed under Paestum, one from at least 1878⁷⁷.

The parallelism of Carteian and Paestan types continues even today to create confusion in Spanish numismatics, apparently independently of the chain of misattribution that we have described. The following image, for example, is from a recent auction catalogue that again attributes the Paestan types to Carteia, and in the process creates yet another phantom magistrate, 'M:O III or IIII'⁷⁸. The coin has what looks like a characteristically Spanish appearance, with heavy red clay on a dark green patina, which suggests that it may have been found in Spain and not brought in from Italy. The description is as follows.

'CARTEIA. Cuadrante.

A/ Cabeza con casco a dcha. ¿Marte?, delante P.AE (A y E nexadas).

R/ Timón tendido a dcha; encima M:O III; debajo VIR precedido de valor III o IIII no bien visible por ligero despl. 2,56 grs. [...] INEDITA.'



Fig. 17 Image from an auction of 12 December 2007

May M:O III or IIII have a shorter life than M·OCI.

⁷⁶ Note that the reverse legend in the illustration reads not M.OCT IIII VIR, as in the catalogue, but M.OCT III VIR.

⁷⁷ Nos. FG 1351 et 1352. These inventory numbers date from the 20th century, but Henri Cohen had already catalogued one of these pieces under Paestum, in his handwritten inventory of 1878. We thank Michel Amandry for this information.

⁷⁸ José Herrero auction of 12 December 2007, lot 197.

Abstract

From 1763 until now, a coin of Paestum, Italy, in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, has been erroneously given to Carteia, Spain. Other specimens – including in the BN itself – were correctly attributed to Paestum, one as early as 1796, but with much uncertainty as to the magistrate's name. These two chains of attribution have never, until now, met. In the Carteian chain, the misreading of the name, M·OCT IIIIVIR, as P·MION IIIIVIR, spawned a secondary literature on this putative Carteian magistrate with a supposedly Iberian name. This – like the Carteian attribution itself – drew on the citation of the name, MIOGMI, by Janus Gruter in 1602, and from various similar inscriptions, none Iberian, and probably all defective. We trace the history of both the Carteian and Paestan chains, noting that the parallelism of Carteian and Paestan coin types and legends, which lay behind the original misattribution, is even now leading to similar, independent, misattributions.

Resumen

Desde 1793 hasta ahora, una moneda de Paestum, Italia, perteneciente a la Bibliothèque nationale de París, ha sido erróneamente atribuida a Carteia, ceca de la Hispania Ulterior. Otras piezas – incluso la de la BN – han sido correctamente asignadas a Paestum, luego a partir de 1796, pero con mucha incertidumbre en lo tocante al nombre del magistrado. Hasta hoy, estas dos cadenas de atribución no se habían encontrado. En la cadena carteiese, la incorrecta lectura del nombre M·OCT IIIIVIR como P·MION IIIIVIR ha originado una bibliografía secundaria sobre el presunto magistrado de Carteia con un supuesto nombre ibérico. La individualización del inexistente magistrado, tal y cómo la asignación a Carteia, se ha basado en la citación del nombre MIOGMI por Janus Gruyter, en 1602, y en varias inscripciones con nombres similares, ninguna de ellas ibérica, y probablemente, todas ellas, mal interpretadas. Trazamos la historia de las dos cadenas, la de Carteia y la de Paestum, notando que el paralelismo entre los tipos y las leyendas, que está por detrás del error original, sigue llevando en nuestros días a identificaciones equivocadas, propuestas de manera independiente.

Zusammenfassung

Seit 1763 wurde eine Münze aus Paestum (Italien) in der Bibliothèque nationale in Paris irrtümlich Carteia in Spanien zugewiesen. Andere Exemplare dieses Typs – auch aus der Sammlung der Bibliothèque nationale selbst – wurden korrekt als Prägungen von Paestum bestimmt, eine Münze sogar bereits im Jahre 1796, allerdings mit einigen Unsicherheiten in Bezug auf den Namen des Magistraten. Diese beiden Zuweisungsstränge sind bis heute aber noch nie verknüpft worden. In der Carteia-Tradition las man den Namen des Magistraten M·OCT IIIIVIR irrtümlich als P·MION IIIIVIR, was zu einer ganzen Reihe von Publikationen

über diesen vermeintlichen Beamten von Carteia mit einem scheinbar iberischen Namen führte. Dies basierte – wie übrigens auch die Zuweisung an Carteia – auf einer Erwähnung des Namens MIOGMI bei Janus Gruter (1602) und auf mehreren ähnlichen und wohl ausnahmslos falsch gelesenen Inschriften, von denen allerdings keine einzige iberischer Herkunft ist. Der vorliegende Beitrag rekonstruiert die Geschichte der beiden Zuweisungsstränge, wobei insbesondere auf Ähnlichkeiten der Münztypen und -legenden von Carteia und Paestum hingewiesen wird, die nicht nur die irrtümlichen Zuweisungen der älteren Forschung erklären, sondern bis heute für Verwechslungen sorgen.

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