

Claudius

The sample considered here refers to the coinage of the emperor Claudius preserved in the Capitoline Coin Cabinet; it is documented as coming from the urban area of Rome and consists of 416 coins, all in base metal, distributed as follows:

Table 35 – Claudius: specimens of the Capitoline Museums

Provenance	No. of items
SSU 2	254
C.A.	53
Excavation	27
C.A. or Excavation	82
Total	416¹

I In the computations, the following pieces will not be considered: a quadrans struck in the mint of Lugdunum (RIC I² 1) and coming from Largo Argentina, the only coin of the Gallic mint, and 6 imitations. Within this nucleus 6 imitation specimens have been identified: respectively 2 sestertii (one with provenance C.A., the other Excavation) and 4 asses (from SSU 2) will be excluded from all further computations; on the imitations of Claudius, see SUTHERLAND 1935, CAMPO 1974, 156-163, BESOMBES-BARRANDON 2000, 161-188, BESOMBES-BARRANDON 2003-2004, 26-34 and 60-70. Recently the nature and the very purpose of the bronze imitations of the imperial age have been reconsidered: lately, B. Woytek (WOYTEK 2010, 125-127), according to what already put forward by D.G. Wigg Wolf (WIGG WOLF 2004, 55-75) and departing from what P.A. Besombes had suggested (BESOMBES 2004, 31-41), sees these issues as the only chance for the local populations to deal with the lack of small change that, under particular historical circumstances, might have taken place in provincial areas; such operations are likely to have been tolerated by the State.

The “bronze” coinage of the emperor Claudius, as is widely known, is distributed in two issues, characterized by the absence or presence of P P (*Pater Patriae*) in the legend. Several conjectures regarding their dating have been put forward in the recent past;¹⁴⁸ however, H.-M. von Kaenel’s hypothesis¹⁴⁹ is now almost universally

¹⁴⁸ For a short résumé of the dating hypotheses, see BESOMBES-BARRANDON 2000, 162-166.

¹⁴⁹ VON KAENEL 1986, 220-233, in particular 226-233.

accepted. H.-M. von Kaenel restricts the first issue to the years AD 41-42 and the following one between AD 42 and 43.¹⁵⁰ Moreover, the scholar ascribes all these issues to the mint of Rome.

In 2000, two essays¹⁵¹ founded on the metallographic analysis of such material, enlivened the debate with new topics, focusing the attention on the issues' chronology on one hand, and on the mints of production on the other. H.-M. von Kaenel and S. Klein, analyzing a group of coins consisting of quadrantes and asses,¹⁵² have shown that the chemical composition of the asses, both with and without P P, is comparable¹⁵³ with that of the quadrantes, which, as already mentioned, represent an accurately dated nucleus. These results, according to von Kaenel,¹⁵⁴ brought further confirmation to the chronology suggested for such coins: if their composition is so similar, it is also very likely that they were minted in a limited time span, between AD 41 and 43.

Instead, P.-A. Besombes and J.-N. Barrandon, in their study on Claudian¹⁵⁵ *sestertii*, *dupondii* and *asses* issued by official mints, carried out on the basis of stylistic analysis, locate near Tarragona, in Spain, a production stylistically very close to the issues of Rome.¹⁵⁶ In addition, referring to the Capitoline collection, these scholars attribute 5% of the Capitoline specimens to the Hispanic mint.¹⁵⁷ The current analysis of the specimens of the Capitoline collection (409 official items minted in Rome, 1 in Lugdunum and 6 imitations), however, evidences that 55 coins present a die orientation at 12,¹⁵⁸ of which 50 are quadrantes and 5 asses. Since Besombes and Barrandon's observations regarding coins hoarded in France never refer to smaller denominations, other considerations must have oriented these two scholars in providing such an estimate on the specimens of the Capitoline Museums.¹⁵⁹ However,

¹⁵⁰ The only denominations in bronze which can be dated by the year are the quadrantes, which also bear reference to the consulate.

¹⁵¹ BESOMBES-BARRANDON 2000, 161-188 and KLEIN-VON KAENEL 1999, 53-106 (in particular, 82-88).

¹⁵² These coins belong to both issues.

¹⁵³ Excepting a few asses of AD 42-43, whose composition has evidenced the presence of lead and zinc, these elements being lacking in the other specimens (see KLEIN-VON KAENEL 1999, 84-85).

¹⁵⁴ Also followed by KEMMERS 2006, 90 note 363.

¹⁵⁵ The specimens are those of the hoards of Saint – Léonard and La Vilaine.

¹⁵⁶ In particular, scholars have concentrated on the shape of the letters of the legend, on the Emperor's portraits and the position of the dies, which for this group is also documented at 12 o'clock.

¹⁵⁷ BESOMBES-BARRANDON 2000, 179-180: these scholars notice the same percentage of such coins in the coin finds coming from the Tiber, without referring to their inventory number, although these had already been published by von Kaenel.

¹⁵⁸ About 13% ca. of the 409 coins of Claudius.

¹⁵⁹ The guestbook of the Medagliere Capitolino, in September 1997, records that dr. Besombes examined the coins of Claudius regarding the so-called first and second choice of the finds.

these parameters, which are essentially stylistic,¹⁶⁰ are complex and – in my opinion – prone to subjective application; consequently, identifying such specimens within the Capitoline collection was not an easy task. It should be noted, however, that if these observations on Rome's material were reliable, it would be the first time that such a high ratio of specimens issued by a mint different from that of Rome is recorded among Julio-Claudian and Flavian coins.¹⁶¹

A first comparison between the dated finds of Capitoline Coin Cabinet¹⁶² and those from the Tiber¹⁶³ reveals quite a few correspondences between the two groups, in terms of types represented and numbers of coins.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ See note 146.

¹⁶¹ With the exception of the coinage of the age of Nero, see *ultra*. The proximity of the sources of supply of the metal and the place where the coins were discovered do not necessarily indicate that the minting place was nearby. With regard to the coinage of Tiberius, for instance, the metal supplies to the mint of Rome are known to come from a wide variety of places, including the island of Cyprus (see KLEIN-LAHAYE-BREY-VON KAENEL 2004, 473). Therefore, in the near future, we aim at effecting a metallographic analysis on the finds certainly coming from the urban area of Rome, in order to understand their chemical composition with a view to allow immediate comparison with published finds coming from other geographical areas.

¹⁶² The global amount of 409 items, which already did not include six imitations and a quadrans of Lugdunum, dropped down to 302 coins having an exact dating. Therefore, 107 pieces were excluded; in detail, 21 sestertii, 10 dupondii, 66 asses and 10 quadrantes. The coins having an ascertained dating are: 1st issue (AD 41-42), 126 coins (42%): 12 sestertii (9%), 7 dupondii (6%), 54 asses (43%) and 53 quadrantes (42%); 2nd issue (AD 42-43; just for the quadrantes the dating refers to the year AD 42 only), 176 coins (58%): 12 sestertii (7%), 3 dupondii (2%), 106 asses (60%) and 55 quadrantes (31%). In the years AD 42-43 only the production of asses exceeds that of AD 41-42, while all other denominations of the 2nd issue are present in a lower percentage than that without P P.

¹⁶³ See *Appendix*.

¹⁶⁴ See VON KAENEL 1984, 94-96. A few remarks can be put forward: 1) The absence of certain coins types, which have been identified as rare issues localized mainly in the province, or of which only the known specimen proved not to be ancient (VON KAENEL 1984, 94 notes 35-38); 2) The presence, in the same percentage (Tiber, 3 Qd out of 90 = 3,3% and Capitoline Museums, 5 Qd out of 108 = 4,6%), of quadrantes belonging to a short issue of the early days of January, AD 42, characterized by the indication of the second year of the consulate and the absence of the title *Pater Patriae*. Moreover, within the sample of quadrantes, the modius is the most recurrent type (75 specimens: 34 coins without P P and 41 coins with P P); finally, the quadrantes referring to issues without P P (53 coins) and those with P P (55 coins) amount to similar quantities; 3) the most represented denomination is the as (160 pieces = 53% ca.) and the least represented is the dupondius (10 pieces = 3% ca.); 4) The asses with the title *Pater Patriae* appear in a 2:1 ratio in comparison to those of the previous issue (106 with P P and 54 asses without P P): the same fact was also reported by von Kaenel (VON KAENEL 1984, 96 and 109), who attributed such a trend not only to the introduction of a new type – the one with the portrait of Germanicus on the obverse – but especially to the fact that those with *Minerva*, *Constantia* and *Libertas*, already struck in the first issue, tend to be more frequent in the second issue. This, however, is only partly true for the finds of the Capitoline Museums: if on one hand, the number of asses struck with the new type is high, on the other hand, of the three types already in use, only the one with *Libertas* occurs in a more than double proportion (13 coins against 37), while the others occur in similar amounts.

Our data corresponds to those from the Tiber except for the 24 sestertii in the Capitoline Museums, equally divided between I and II issue: in his study, von Kaenel found a lesser number of II issue sestertii among the coins from the Tiber. The different amount of quadrantes becomes apparent: this could be due to the circumstance that, in a context like that of the Tiber, such small coins are more difficult to find and rescue.¹⁶⁵

As regards the countermarked specimens,¹⁶⁶ as well as the issue of AD 41-42, 3 sestertii¹⁶⁷ and 1 dupondius¹⁶⁸ with NCAPR countermark are recorded, together with 1 as¹⁶⁹ with XLII countermark, while, regarding the II issue, 1 sestertius¹⁷⁰ with countermark NCAPR and 3 asses¹⁷¹ with late countermarks are recorded.

The whole lot of material found in the territory of Rome somehow complies with the production and coin circulation evidenced by the findings documented in other sites of *Latium Vetus* and Campania. For these finds, it was decided to initially take into account the whole lot of coins recognizable as denominations, excluding the imitations; then only those with certain dating were selected, with a view to a comparison of the size of the two issues of Claudian age.

The finds from Rome, preserved in the Capitoline Museums Coin Cabinet, have been integrated with the coins from the Tiber¹⁷² and with the finds from other excavations in the city.¹⁷³

The sample is composed in Table 36.

¹⁶⁵ Regarding the quadrantes only, one more comparison can also be made with the material coming from the Tiber and catalogued by C.E. King: KING 1975, 85-86: RIC I² 84 (82), RIC I² 85 (62), RIC I² 90 (96), RIC I² 91 (35), RIC I² 85 or 89 or 91 (10) and RIC I² 84 or 88 or 90 (9). For this group, as well as for the coins of the Capitoline Museums (53 coins without P P: 49,1%; 55 coins with P P: 50,9%) and those examined by von Kaenel, also coming from the Tiber (43 coins without P P: 47,8%; 47 coins with P P: 52,2%), there is a substantial balance between the issue without P P (144 coins: 52,4%) and that with P P (131 coins: 47,6%).

¹⁶⁶ Countermarked specimens also appear among the coins of uncertain dating; in particular: 2 sestertii (Musei Capitolini inv. no. 13979 and inv. no. 14011) and 1 *dupondius* (inv. no. 14019) all countermarked NCAPR and 3 asses (Musei Capitolini inv. no. 14027, inv. no. 17524 and inv. no. 17526) with XLII countermark.

¹⁶⁷ Musei Capitolini inv. no. 13967, inv. no. 3978, inv. no. 13981.

¹⁶⁸ Musei Capitolini inv. no. 17542.

¹⁶⁹ Musei Capitolini inv. no. 17525.

¹⁷⁰ Musei Capitolini inv. no. 3220.

¹⁷¹ Musei Capitolini inv. no. 14052 (illegible countermark), Musei Capitolini inv. no. 17523 and inv. no. 20012 (countermark XLII).

¹⁷² VON KAENEL 1984, 113-310.

¹⁷³ REECE 1982, 120; TRAVAINI 1985, 81; ROVELLI 1989, 50; MOLINARI 1995, 121-123; MUNZI-CAVICCHI 1997, 12; CATALLI 2008, 407; ZAHLE 2008, 309; PARDI 2011, 235); for complete references see *Appendix*.

Table 36 – Claudius, finds from Rome

Chronology	S	Dp	As	Qd	RIC I ²
AD 41-42	69	30	253	114	S: 93 (1+8vK= 9), 96 (4+2R+10vK= 16), 98 (3vK), 99 (7+34vK= 41); Dp: 92 (5+10vK= 15), 94 (2+6vK= 8), 101 (1+6vK= 7); As: 95 (13+36vK+1M= 50), 97 (13+73vK= 86), 100 (28+88vK+1M= 117); Qd: 84 (31+24vK+2M= 57), 85 (15 +16vK+1T+1M=33), 88 (2+2vK= 4), 89 (3+1vK+1M= 5), 84 or 88 (1), 85 or 89 (1+13R= 14)
AD 42-43	49	7	505	103	S: 102 (2+11vK= 13), 109 (4vK), 112 (1+4vK= 5), 114 (2+5vK= 7), 115 (7+13vK= 20); Dp: 104 (3vK), 110 (2+2vK= 4); As: 106 (31+1R+73vK= 105), 111 (13+62vK+1M= 76), 113 (37+148vK+1Ct+1P= 187), 116 (25+110vK+2M= 137); Qd: 90 (41+38vK= 79); 91 (12+9vK+1M= 22), 90 or 91 (2)
AD 41-43	34	22	142	23	S: 93 or 109 (1+3vK= 4), 96 or 112 (2+3vK= 5), 98 or 114 (1R+2vK= 3), 99 or 115 (18+4R= 22); Dp: 92 or 104 (3+1R+3vK= 7), 94 or 110 (6+1R+7vK= 14), 1 illegible; As: 95 or 111 (9+4R+12vK= 25), 97 or 113 (24+7R+17vK+ 1MC= 49), 100 or 116 (30+10R+23vK+1M+1Z= 65), 3 illegible; Qd: 84 or 90 (8R), 84 or 88 or 90 (2M), 84 or 86 or 87 or 88 or 90 (2), 85 or 89 or 91 (7+1M+1Rb= 9), 88 or 90 (1+1M= 2)
Total	152	59	900	240	1351

(legenda: without any letter from Capitoline Collection; R= REECE 1982; vK= VON KAENEL 1984; T= TRAVAINI 1985; RB= ROVELLI 1989; M= MOLINARI 1995; MC= MUNZI-CAVICCHI 1997; Ct= CATALI 2008; Z= ZAHLE 2008; P= PARDI 2011)

The sites of Ostia¹⁷⁴, Minturnae¹⁷⁵, Pompeii¹⁷⁶ and Paestum¹⁷⁷ were chosen, while as to the finds from the Vesuvian cities, in this early stage, all the finds regarding the Thermopolium hoard have been left aside, because the data published so far do not reflect the exact composition of the hoard, for instance for the lack of quadrantes.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁴ SPAGNOLI 2007, 280-286 and 334-339 nos 230-285; for complete references see *Appendix*.

¹⁷⁵ BEN-DOR 1935, 98-99; FRIER-PARKER 1970, 96; METCALF 1974, 46; HOUGHTALIN 1985, 72; GIOVE 1998, 177-180; for complete references see *Appendix*.

¹⁷⁶ STORIE DA UN'ERUZIONE; TALIERCIO MENSITIERI 2005; CANTILENA 2008; RANUCCI 2008, 169-173; GIOVE 2013; HOBBS 2013, 172-173; PARDINI TESI, 89-90; for complete references see *Appendix*.

¹⁷⁷ CANTILENA *et alii* 2003, 39-41.

¹⁷⁸ CASTIELLO-OLIVIERO 1997, 125-134: therefore the sample consists of 229 coins, respectively 12 sestertii, of which 8 imitations, and 217 asses, of which 22 illegible. The coins that can be dated with certainty are 180, 56 belonging to AD 41-42 issue [RIC I² 93 (1); RIC I² 95 (8); RIC I² 96 (2); RIC I² 97 (11); RIC I² 100 (30) and 4 asses dated AD 41-42], and 124 belonging to AD 42-43 issue [RIC I² 102 (1); RIC I² 106 (23); RIC I² 111 (21); RIC I² 113 (45); RIC I² 116 (29) and 5 asses dated AD 42-43].

Table 37 – Claudius, finds from Ostia

Chronology	S	Dp	As	Qd	RIC I ²
AD 41-42	-	1	16	8	Dp: 92 (1); As: 95 (3), 97 (3), 100 (10); Qd: 84 (2); 85 (1); 88 (5)
AD 42-43	1	2	8	10	S: 115 (1); Dp: 101 (1), 110 (1); As: 106 (3), 111 (3), 113 (2) Qd: 90 (7), 91 (3)
AD 41-43	1	-	1	8	S: 99 or 115 (1); As: 1 illegible; Qd: 84-91 (7); 85 or 89 or 91 (1)
Total	2	3	25	26	56

Table 38 – Claudius, finds from Minturnae

Chronology	S	Dp	As	Qd	RIC I ²
AD 41-42	3	1	36	18	S: 93 (1H), 99 (1BD+1FP= 2); Dp: 92 (1H); As: 95 (1H+3G= 4), 97 (2FP+3M+1H+2G= 8), 100 (1BD+4FP+4H+15G= 24); Qd: 84 (2G); 85 (8FP+4M+4G=16)
AD 42-43	3	1	37	28	S: 102 (1G), 109 (1H), 115 (1FP); Dp: 104 (1BD); As: 106 (1BD+4FP+2H+3G= 10), 111 (3FP), 113 (3BD+3FP+8G= 14); 116 (3BD+2FP+1H+4G= 10); Qd: 90 (6FP+3M+2H+6G= 17), 91 (4FP+1M+1H+5G= 11)
AD 41-43	5	1	13	4	S: 93 or 109 (1FP), 98 or 114 (1FP), 99 or 115 (3FP); Dp: 94 or 110 (1FP); As: 97 or 113 (2FP), 100 or 116 (5FP), 6 illegible (3FP+1H+2G); Qd: 4 illegible (1FP+2M+1G)
Total	11	3	86	50	150

(legenda: BD= BEN DOR 1935; FP= FRIER PARKER 1970; M= METCALF 1974; H= HOUGHTALIN 1985;
G= GIOVE 1998)

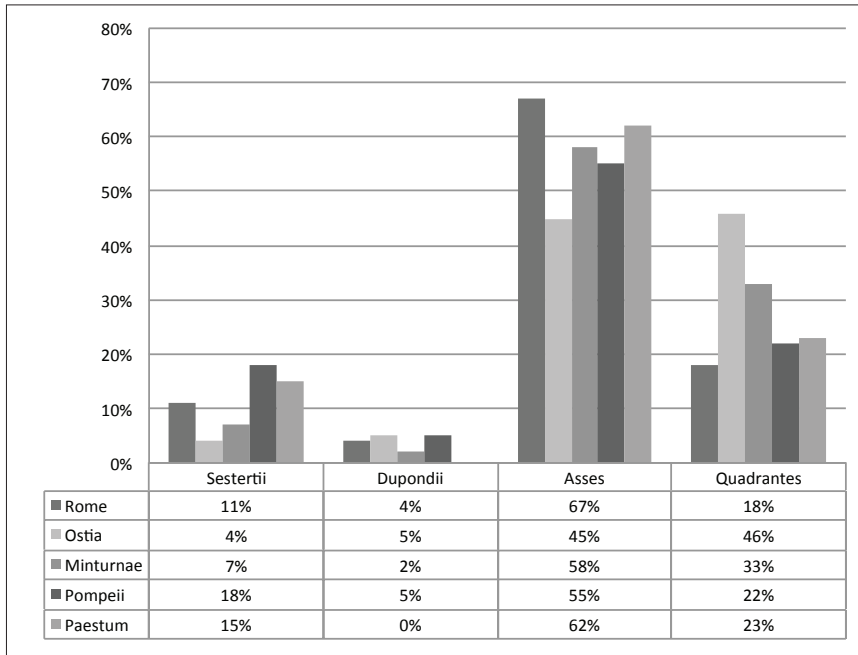
Table 39 – Claudius, finds from Pompeii

Chronology	S	Dp	As	Qd	RIC I ²
AD 41-42	30	5	82	34	S: 93 (1C+1H+3G = 5), 98 (1G), 99 (2TM+2C+16G+2H+2P = 24); Dp: 92 (2G+1H = 3), 94 (1G+1P = 2); As: 95 (1TM+6C+1H+18G = 26), 97 (1SE+3TM+10C+1R+8G+1P = 24), 100 (1SE+3TM+9C+18G+1P = 32); Qd: 84 (3TM+1R+5G+7H+1P = 17), 85 (1C+3G+1H = 5), 88 (1C+5G+5H = 11), 89 (1H)
AD 42-43	2	2	42	12	S: 102 (1C); 115 var. (1G); Dp: 101 (2G); As: 106 (1TM+4C+7G+1H+1P = 14), 111 (1SE+1TM+4G+1P = 7), 113 (2TM+14G+3H = 19), 116 (1G+1H = 2) Qd: 90 (1TM+3C+3G+2H = 9), 91 (2C+1G = 3)
AD 41-43	17	7	25	15	S: 96 ff. (2G), 99 or 115 (11C), illegible (2TM+1C+1G = 4) Dp: 92 or 114 (1C), 94 or 110 (6C) As: 95 or 111 (1C), 100 or 116 (1C); illegible (5TM+1C+17G = 23) Qd: 88 or 90 (2C+ 1G = 3), illegible (2TM+10G = 12)
Total	49	14	149	61	273

(legenda: SE = STORIE DA UN'ERUZIONE; TM = TALIERCIO MENSITIERI 2005; C = CANTILENA 2008; R = RANUCCI 2008; G = GIOVE 2013; H = HOBBS 2013; P = PARDINI TESI)

Table 40 – Claudius, finds from Paestum

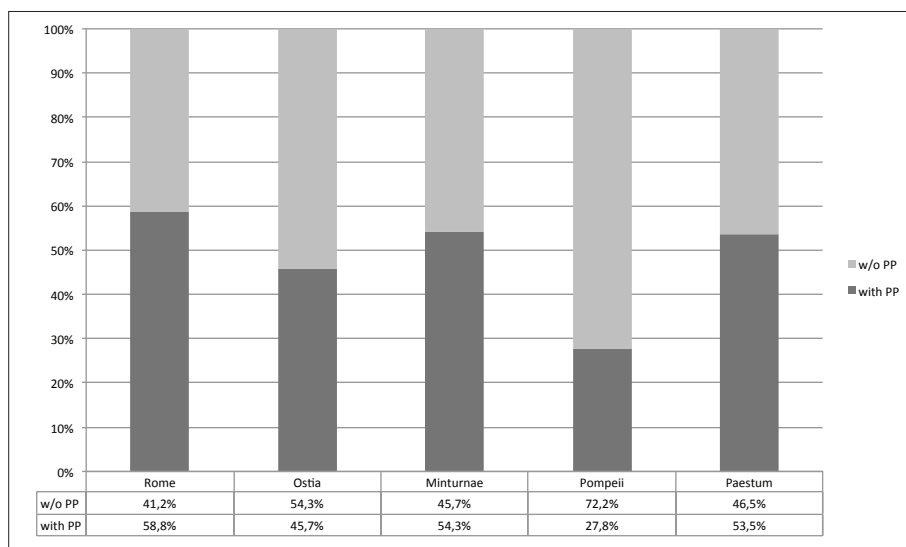
Chronology	S	Dp	As	Qd	RIC I ²
AD 41-42	1	-	16	3	S: 99 (1) As: 95 (7), 97 (1), 100 (8); Qd: 84 (3)
AD 42-43	2	-	13	8	S: 102 (1), 109 (1), As: 106 (5), 113 (5); 116 (3); Qd: 90 (2), 91 (6)
AD 41-43	4	-	-	-	S: 96 or 112 (1), 99 or 115 (3)
Total	7	-	29	11	47



	Rome	Ostia	Minturnae	Pompeii	Paestum
Sestertii	152	2	11	49	7
Dupondii	59	3	3	14	0
Asses	900	25	86	149	29
Quadrantes	240	26	50	61	11

Chart 6 – Claudius: comparison of the denominations by finds site

Such a preliminary comparison allows us to confirm what already noticed by von Kaenel, who recorded a greater number of asses and a lesser amount of dupondii. However, the examination of the coin finds of such sites, subdivided by issues and not by denominations and considering only the specimens of ascertained dating, provides an even more remarkable result (chart 7).



	Rome	Ostia	Minturnae	Pompeii	Paestum
w/o P P	466	25	58	151	20
with P P	664	21	69	58	23

Chart 7 – Claudius: Comparison of the finds by issue and site

A most relevant feature is definitely the relationship between the 1st and 2nd issue¹⁷⁹, in particular in Rome, but also in other locations; with regard to this aspect, the data recorded by some scholars are dissimilar: MacDowall, in his analysis on the organization of the mint of Rome in the Julio-Claudian period states that the issues with and without the indication *Pater Patriae* are equally represented¹⁸⁰ in the Italian finds he has taken into account.¹⁸¹ On the other hand, von Kaenel, in his 1984 publication, relates that the coinage with *Pater Patriae* occurs more frequently than the one without this title¹⁸², both in the material from the Tiber¹⁸³ and in the sites

¹⁷⁹ Rome: 466 coins without P P (41,2%) and 664 coins with P P (58,8%); Ostia: 25 coins without P P (54,3%) and 21 coins with P P (45,7%); Minturnae: 58 coins without P P (45,7%) and 69 coins with P P (54,3%); Pompeii: 151 coins without P P (72,2%) and 58 coins with P P (27,8%); Paestum: 20 coins without P P (46,5%) and 23 coins with P P (53,5%).

¹⁸⁰ MACDOWALL 1978, 38.

¹⁸¹ MACDOWALL 1978, 45, *Appendix B*.

¹⁸² VON KAENEL 1984, 109, followed also by KEMMERS 2006, 90.

¹⁸³ Concerning the finds from the Tiber, however, von Kaenel's statement applies only to asses and quadrantes, because the sestertii and dupondii without P P are more abundant than those bearing

taken as a comparison¹⁸⁴. On the contrary, the data reported here present quite different a picture, with the sample sites following two different trends: that of Ostia and Pompeii, where the coinage without P P legend prevails; that of Rome, Minturnae (already considered by von Kaenel¹⁸⁵) and Paestum here a larger amount of coinage of AD 42-43 is recorded. The data provided so far allow to put forward some considerations about the distribution of the two issues in the imperial territories. In the provinces, the scarcity of coins without the title P P, also highlighted by the recent data presented by S. Krmnicek¹⁸⁶, once again confirms the need, in the populations of such territories, to overcome the shortage of official coinage with the production of imitations¹⁸⁷, which are just a few – if not totally lacking – in the Italian peninsula, where a higher percentage of coins AD 41-42 is generally attested. On the contrary, although in Rome, Minturnae and Paestum the issue with the title of *Pater Patriae* is heftier than that of the previous two years, the relative percentages seem to testify a fairly balanced presence of the two issues. Pompei's peak of more than 70% of AD 41-42 issues is remarkable, as well as the lack of imitations.¹⁸⁸ Such a lack might be put down to an inaccurate filing of the material that could change the overall percent-

such a title (see VON KAENEL 1984, 95: even though data presented in the table have to be recalculated as they include also the imitations).

¹⁸⁴ Liri I, Minturnae, Luni and Carnuntum (see VON KAENEL 1984, 109, notes 79-82).

¹⁸⁵ In particular, the data of Minturnae taken into account by H.-M. von Kaenel refer to finds published in 1935 (BEN-DOR 1935, 98-99) and in 1970 (FRIER-PARKER 1970, 96); here, however, to the data already applied by the Swiss scholar, the samples called Liri II (METCALF 1974, 46) and Liri III (HOUGHTALIN 1985, 72) have been added together with the specimens published by T. Giove (GIOVE 1998, 177-180), concerning a lot of 2,665 coins seized by the Guardia di Finanza, coming from the Garigliano river.

¹⁸⁶ KRMNICEK 2010, 106 in which the finds belonging to the 1st issue are fewer than those with P P legend for all sites examined. The percentage regarding the finds from the Tiber, instead, is altered by a misprint: the coins without P P are in fact 205 and not 20, as shown in the table; these amounts, taken from von Kaenel's summary table (see VON KAENEL 1984, 95), however, include the imitations, as evidenced by the catalogue. Therefore, the correct quantification of official coins from the Tiber of the age of Claudius, of which a photographic survey is provided, amounts to 197 specimens without P P (33%) and 393 with P P (67%).

¹⁸⁷ See KRAAY 1962 (Vindonissa), GIARD 1968 (Condé-sur-Aisne), CAMPO-RICHARD-VON KAENEL 1981 (la Pobla de Mafumet), BESOMBES-BARRANDON 2003-2004 (Saint-Léonard sur Mayenne). Moreover, in publishing the finds of la Pobla de Mafumet, von Kaenel makes some comparisons with the sample from the Tiber. However, the numeric data presented differ from what published in 1984: for instance, regarding the sestertii from the Tiber this scholar states that out of the 90 denominations of large size, all belonging to the 1st issue, 60 appear to be imitations (see CAMPO-RICHARD-VON KAENEL 1981, 49 note 6), diversely from what reported in VON KAENEL 1984, 108, where the imitations are only 35.

¹⁸⁸ Musei Capitolini Coin Cabinet: 6 imitations out of 416 coins; Tiber (von Kaenel's assemblage): 42 imitations out of 951 coins. Already in VITALE 2007, 144, imitations were recorded in an early autoptic analysis carried out on the materials coming from the *regiones* VII, VIII e IX, but, for instance, not in TALIERCIO 2005.

age. In fact, in the records regarding the coins from the Thermopolium, imitations were indicated, while in the final volume of *Regio I* they are not recognized.¹⁸⁹

Another interesting point is finally provided by the analysis of the data from the Thermopolium (I, 8, 8d)¹⁹⁰, added to Pompeii coins of Table 39. As aforementioned¹⁹¹, the issues of Claudius within this group do not include small denominations and for this reason it was decided to attempt a comparison with finds coming from other sites, with the exception, in this case, of the quadrantes¹⁹².

Chart 8 shows that the percentage trend of Pompeii's values settles around 50%.¹⁹³ In fact, the prevailing coins in the hoard of the Thermopolium belong to the 2nd issue¹⁹⁴, whose date almost coincides with the closing date of the find (Pompeii's destruction AD 79). The resulting picture is a substantial balance between the 1st and 2nd issue, a further confirmation of the chronological hypotheses put forward by H.-M. von Kaenel. Also the percentages of Minturnae, with the exception of the quadrantes, almost reach a balance¹⁹⁵.

One must therefore focus on the reasons that lie behind the fact that a greater amount of money, regarding the last bronze issue of Claudius, remained in circulation in Rome¹⁹⁶ rather than in other sites of the Italian peninsula. We know that in the Claudian period, two *congiaria* were accorded to the population and that they both took place after AD 43: in particular, the first was in AD 45, on the occasion of the triumph in Britain,¹⁹⁷ the second was in AD 51, in the name of Nero, for his *tirocinium*.¹⁹⁸ Moreover, the sources report the Emperor's enthusiasm for gladiatorial combats, which were continuously arranged as one of his favourite pastimes¹⁹⁹. Finally, an intense building activity was carried out during the years of his principal-

¹⁸⁹ In CASTIELLO-OLIVIERO 1997, 125-126 there are 8 sestertii of imitation: cat. no. 316 (HCC I, p. 102 C3710 var.) and cat nos. 320-326 (RIC I², p. 128 n. 99): these specimens are listed in GIOVE 2013, 205 as official coins.

¹⁹⁰ Only those specimens univocally ascribed to a single issue are taken into account: these are 180 coins, 56 belonging to AD 41-42 issue and 124 to that of AD 42-43.

¹⁹¹ See *supra*: 3 quadrantes out of 1385 coins.

¹⁹² This comparison does not take into account the scarce finds from Ostia e Paestum; the percentages of such coins are as follows: Ostia, I issue (17 coins = 60,7%) and II issue (10 coins = 39,3%); Paestum, I issue (17 coins = 53,1%) and II issue (15 coins = 46,9%).

¹⁹³ Pompeii (including coins from Thermopolium): 173 coins without P P (50,4%) and 170 coins with P P (49,6%).

¹⁹⁴ Thermopolium: 56 coins without P P (31,1%) and 124 coins with P P (68,9%)%.

¹⁹⁵ Minturnae: 40 coins without P P (49,4%) and 41 coins with P P (50,6%).

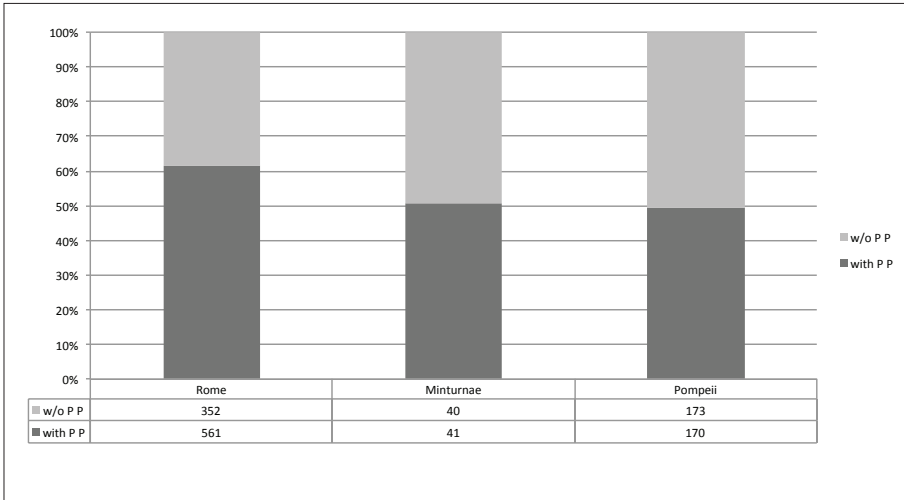
¹⁹⁶ Roma: 352 coins without P P (38,6%) and 561 coins with P P (61,4%).

¹⁹⁷ DIO, 60. 25.7-8, BURGERS 2001, 108-109, SPINOLA 1990, 11.

¹⁹⁸ SPINOLA 1990, 11.

¹⁹⁹ DIO, 60. 13.1.

ity, mainly regarding public works of utilitarian purpose;²⁰⁰ unfortunately, nothing allows us to presume that such issues were somehow related.



	Rome	Minturnae	Pompeii
w/o P P	38,6%	49,4%	50,4%
with P P	61,4%	50,6%	49,6%

Chart 8 – Claudius: comparison of the finds by issue and site (with the exception of the quadrantes)

²⁰⁰ Aqueducts, streets, canalization work, ports, etc. (VENTURI 1985, 257-283, THORNTON-THORNTON 1989; PANCIERA 1998, 137-160; BURGERS 2001, 96-114).