

# NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

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# ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE



Tom XVII

MUZEUM NARODOWE W KRAKOWIE  
SEKCJA NUMIZMATYCZNA  
KOMISJI ARCHEOLOGICZNEJ PAN  
ODDZIAŁ W KRAKOWIE

Kraków 2022



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Szanowni Państwo,

oddajemy w Państwa ręce tom XVII *Notae Numismaticae – Zapisków Numizmatycznych*. Zgodnie z przyjętymi przez nas zasadami wszystkie teksty publikujemy w językach kongresowych, z angielskimi i polskimi abstraktami. Zawartość całego obecnego tomu oraz tomy archiwalne są zamieszczone w formie plików PDF na stronie internetowej Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie (<https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>). Na stronie dostępne są ponadto wszelkie informacje ogólne o czasopiśmie oraz instrukcje dla autorów i recenzentów.

Rok 2022 był wyjątkowy dla całego środowiska numizmatyków w Polsce. Pierwszy raz w historii naszego kraju, a ujmując rzecz szerzej – w krajach Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej – odbył się XVI Międzynarodowy Kongres Numizmatyczny, najważniejsze spotkanie numizmatyków z całego świata, organizowane co sześć lat pod auspicjami International Numismatic Council. Wybór Polski, jako miejsca organizacji Kongresu traktujemy jako wielkie wyróżnienie. Głównym organizatorem tego wydarzenia był Uniwersytet Warszawski, a w przygotowaniach uczestniczyły również Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, Zamek Królewski w Warszawie, Polskie Towarzystwo Numizmatyczne, Narodowy Bank Polski oraz Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie. W tym ostatnim przypadku szczególnie zaangażowani w prace nad XVI INC byli pracownicy Gabinetu Numizmatycznego. Całością działań kierował profesor Aleksander Bursche z Wydziału Archeologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, pomysłodawca organizacji Kongresu w Polsce, którego wspierał Komitet Organizacyjny reprezentujący wszystkie najważniejsze polskie ośrodki numizmatyczne. Obrady kongresowe — które zgromadziły ponad 600 uczestników, czy to na miejscu w Warszawie, czy też w mniej licznych przypadkach, dzięki transmisji na żywo, w miejscach ich zamieszkania — uzupełniały liczne wydarzenia towarzyszące: wystawy, koncerty i spotkania.

Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie przygotowało z tej okazji specjalną wystawę: „Medal prywatnie. Medale w I Rzeczypospolitej (od XVI do XVIII wieku)”, której kuratorem była Agnieszka Smołucha-Sładkowska. Jednocześnie we współpracy z Uniwersytetem Jagiellońskim, krakowskim oddziałem Polskiego Towarzystwa Numizmatycznego, Królewską Biblioteką w Brukseli i Królewskim Towarzystwem Numizmatycznym w Belgii zorganizowano poprzedzającą właściwe obrady Kongresu międzynarodową sesję „Joachim Lelewel and Numismatics in the Nineteenth Century”. W ramach kongresu tradycyjnie opracowany został również Survey of Numismatic Research za lata 2014–2020, w prace nad którym aktywnie zaangażowani byli pracownicy Gabinetu Numizmatycznego: Jarosław Bodzek, Dorota Malarczyk i Barbara Zając. Co więcej, Gabinet Numizmatyczny Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie był silnie reprezentowany w obradach Kongresu, w czasie których wymienione powyżej osoby wygłosiły referaty. Kongres zakończył się wielkim sukcesem i stanowił znakomitą wizytówkę polskiej numizmatyki.

Redakcja

Dear Readers,

It is with great pleasure that we present volume 17 of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne* to you. In accordance with the principles that we have adopted, our texts are published in the conference languages with English and Polish abstracts. The whole of the present volume can be found as PDF's on the website of the National Museum in Krakow (<https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>), as are previously published volumes of the journal. The website also contains general information about the journal as well as information for prospective authors and reviewers.

2022 was a special year for the entire numismatic community in Poland. It saw the XVI International Numismatic Congress being held in Warsaw, marking the first time that this most important meeting of numismatists from all over the world, organised every six years under the auspices of the International Numismatic Council, had been held in our country, or more generally in a country from Central and Eastern Europe. The choice of Poland as the venue for the Congress was a great honour. The main organiser of the event was the University of Warsaw, and also involved in its organisation were the National Museum in Warsaw, the Royal Castle in Warsaw, the Polish Numismatic Society, the National Bank of Poland, and the National Museum in Krakow. In this last case, the staff of the Museum's Numismatic Cabinet were particularly active in the work on the INC 2022. In charge of all activities was Professor Aleksander Bursche of the Faculty of Archaeology at the University of Warsaw, who was the driving force behind the organisation of the Congress in Poland, and who was supported in his role by the Organising Committee, representing all major Polish numismatic centres. The congress proceedings, which attracted more than 600 participants, either on-site in Warsaw or, in lesser numbers, thanks to live streaming, were complemented by a wide range of accompanying events, including exhibitions, concerts, and meetings.

The National Museum in Krakow organised a special exhibition for the occasion: "Private medal. Private medals in the 1<sup>st</sup> Republic of Poland (from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century)", curated by Agnieszka Smołucha-Sładkowska. At the same time, an international session on "Joachim Lelewel and Numismatics in the Nineteenth Century", preceding the Congress proper, was organised in cooperation with the Jagiellonian University, the Krakow Branch of the Polish Numismatic Society, the Royal Library of Brussels, and the Royal Numismatic Society of Belgium. As part of the Congress, the Survey of Numismatic Research for the years 2014–2020 was traditionally produced, with Jarosław Bodzek, Dorota Malarczyk and Barbara Zajac of the Numismatic Cabinet actively involved in its preparation. The Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum in Krakow was also strongly represented in the proceedings of the Congress, where the abovementioned staff delivered papers. The congress was a great success and a real showcase for Poland.

The Editors

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## A Note on the Cypriote GIC 603 and GIC 38 Countermarks<sup>1</sup>

**ABSTRACT:** Among other finds, the research carried out at the agora of Nea Paphos by archaeologists from the Jagiellonian University Institute of Archaeology produced two coins of the Julio-Claudian dynasty countermarked in the times of Trajan and Hadrian. Both are large, heavily worn bronzes, probably minted during the reign of Claudius. One has a rectangular countermark with the legend TRAIAN DACIC (GIC 603), while the other bears four countermarks, two each on the obverse and reverse. The obverse has a countermark depicting a circular shield (GIC 538) to the right, and an oval stamp to the left, representing the GIC 108 type with the head of Domitian. The reverse features a rectangular countermark with the legend TRAIAN DACIC (GIC 603), of the type known from the first coin, and an oval countermark with the bust of Hadrian and the inscription AVTO KAI AΔPIA (GIC 38). What makes these coins interesting is the sequence of countermarks. While the first coin only bears a countermark with Trajan's name, the Trajanic countermark on the second coin was evidently struck later than that of Hadrian. This seems to support the view that at least some proportion of countermarks made with the TRAIAN DACIC stamp were applied after Hadrian's portrait and name had already been struck on the coin.

**KEY WORDS:** Cyprus, Nea Paphos, Trajan, Hadrian, countermarks

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<sup>1</sup> The research, was carried out under the National Science Centre (NCN) Poland OPUS 18 grant No. 2019/35/B/HS3/02296 under the title "MA-P Maloutena and Agora in the layout of Paphos: Modelling the cityscape of the Hellenistic and Roman capital of Cyprus". The author would like to thank Professor Ewdoksia Papuci-Władyka of the Institute of Archaeology, Jagiellonian University, for making the published coins available for examination. I thank Dr Łukasz Miszk for valuable information on the contexts of the described finds. To Mr Mateusz Woźniak, I offer my thanks for discussing together some technical aspects of the countermarking of Cypriot coins under Trajan and Hadrian. All errors and shortcomings remain solely my own.

ABSTRAKT: *Notatka na temat cypryjskich kontramarek GIC 603 i GIC 38*

W trakcie badań archeologów z IA UJ na Agorze starożytnej Nea Pafos odkryto między innymi dwie monety z czasów dynastii julijsko-klaudyjskiej kontramarkowane w czasach Trajana i Hadriana. W obydwu przypadkach są to duże, mocno wytarte brązy, bite prawdopodobnie w czasach Klaudiusza. Pierwszy ze wspomnianych egzemplarzy nosi prostokątną kontramarkę z legendą TRAIAN DACIC (GIC 603). Na drugiej monecie znalazły się cztery kontramarki, po dwie na awersie i rewersie. Na awersie po prawej stronie przybito kontramarkę przedstawiającą okrągłą tarczę (GIC 538), a po lewej owalny stempel reprezentuje typ GIC 108 z głową Domcjana. Na rewersie przybito prostokątną kontramarkę z legendą TRAIAN DACIC (GIC 603), typu znanego już z pierwszej monety, oraz drugą owalną z popiersiem Hadriana i inskrypcją AVTO KAI AΔPIA (GIC 38). Monety stanowią interesujący materiał ze względu na sekwencję kontramarek. Jak wspomniano, pierwsza z nich nosi jedynie kontramarkę z imieniem Trajana. W przypadku drugiej kontramarka z imieniem Trajana została przybita ewidentnie później niż ta hadrianowska. Zdaje się to potwierdzać tezę, że przynajmniej część kontramarek TRAIAN DACIC została przybita już po tych z imieniem Hadriana.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: Cypr, Nea Pafos, Trajan, Hadrian, kontramarki

The excavations carried out since 2011 at the Hellenistic-Roman agora of Nea Paphos by an expedition of the Institute of Archaeology of the Jagiellonian University have found, among other things, numerous Roman coins, including those representing provincial issues.<sup>2</sup> Most numerous among the latter are issues minted in or for Cyprus,<sup>3</sup> with two countermarked coins being of particular interest.

The production of Roman coins for Cyprus began under Augustus after the island became a Roman province.<sup>4</sup> Such coins continued to be minted during the reigns of the other rulers of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, under Galba, and during the Flavian, Nerva-Antonine, and Severan dynasties (until the reign of Caracalla). Coins were minted by imperial officials (proconsuls) or on behalf of Koinon Kypriou. Part of this production took place in Cyprus, as was the case with the issues of Augustus and the Julio-Claudians, late Antonines, and Severans. During the Flavian and Trajanic periods, the coins were probably minted in Rome for circulation in

<sup>2</sup> For the Polish research at the agora of ancient Nea Paphos see: PAPUCI-WŁADYKA and MACHOWSKI 2016; PAPUCI-WŁADYKA et AL 2018; PAPUCI-WŁADYKA 2020; MISZK 2020. For coin finds from the agora generally cf. BODZEK 2020; IDEM 2022; also see: IDEM 2016; IDEM 2017.

<sup>3</sup> BODZEK 2020: 385–387.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. AMANDRY 1993; PARKS 2004; AMANDRY 2016. See also the relevant chapters in RPC I, RPC II and RPC III.

Cyprus.<sup>5</sup> Bronze coins predominate among the Cypriot issues, although silver coins were produced as well.

Local provincial coins circulating in Cyprus were countermarked on several occasions.<sup>6</sup> Countermarks were applied to worn bronzes of Augustus and Claudius, coins of Galba, and silver teradrachms and didrachms minted under the reign of the Flavians. While the exact circumstances of placing countermarks in the form of a circular shield with the inscription ΠΛ / SM or CA<sup>7</sup> on bronzes minted in the name of Galba are difficult to determine, subsequent actions of countermarking Augustan and Julio-Claudian bronze coins can be linked to the reigns of the Flavians (Titus and Domitian)<sup>8</sup> and Trajan and Hadrian.<sup>9</sup> Silver coins minted under the Flavians were countermarked during the reigns of Marcus Aurelius<sup>10</sup> and the Severans.<sup>11</sup>

As mentioned, the provincial coins discovered at the agora by the Polish research team included two countermarked specimens. Both are worn large bronze coins – sestertii minted in Cyprus in the name of Koinon Kyprion. The first of these coins (inv. no. PAP FR 5/2013), heavily worn and therefore practically illegible, most probably belongs to a Claudian issue of type RPC 3927 or 3928.<sup>12</sup> A rectangular countermark with the Latin inscription TRAIAN DACIC (GIC 603) was struck on the reverse, very close to the coin's centre. The coin was found in trench T.II, in the eastern portico of the agora, in room 5 (R.5, possibly a corridor), in context 248<sup>13</sup> generally dated to the time of Augustus. It is noteworthy that the countermark was struck singly, i.e. it is not accompanied by any other punch. This makes the coin in question stand out from others, as countermarks of the type are usually accompanied by an oval countermark with Hadrian's name and portrait (see below).<sup>14</sup>

The second of the countermarked coins found by the Polish research team is an even more interesting case. This specimen (inv. no. PAP FR 27/2016) was part

<sup>5</sup> CARRADICE and COWELL 1987; AMANDRY 1993: 15; IDEM 2016: 2.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1986; AMANDRY 1993: 15f; IDEM 2016: 4; LICHOCKA 1999: especially Table 1 on p. 168; PARKS 2004: 97–100, 104–106, 111–112, 131–132, 134–135; HOWGEGO 2005.

<sup>7</sup> HOWGEGO 2005: 210, no. 538.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*: 217, no. 565; 125, no. 108.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*: no. 603; RPC III: 434, no. 3412; HOWGEGO 2005: no. 38; RPC III: 434, no. 3413.

<sup>10</sup> HOWGEGO 2005: 294, no. 844; RPC II: 263–264, nos. 1801, 1803, 1804, 1807–1812.

<sup>11</sup> PARKS 2004: 131–132.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. BODZEK 2020: 386, Pl. 123, 25.

<sup>13</sup> The archaeological material, primarily pottery, dates the context in question to the time of Augustus. Thus, the coin does not quite fit there in terms of chronology. It probably represents an intrusion. It may have entered context 248 as a result of the destruction and accompanying displacement caused by an earthquake in the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. For our discussion of this problem, I would like to thank Dr Łukasz Miszk. Cf. MISZK 2020a: 253–255; IDEM 2020b: 147f.

<sup>14</sup> These two countermarks are generally believed to “go in pairs”; cf. MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1986: 214; NICOLAOU 1990: 118; PARKS 2004: 105.

of a hoard of large provincial bronze coins, comprised of orichalcum sestertii and dupondii from the time of Trajan and worn bronzes minted under the Julio-Claudians. The hoard was discovered in room 17 (R.17) in the eastern portico of the agora.<sup>15</sup> The room in question ceased to exist when the portico was destroyed in an earthquake, probably around the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>16</sup>

The coin probably represents a large bronze issue from the time of Claudius, but the very heavy wear makes it practically impossible to credibly identify the specific type. It bears four countermarks, two each on the obverse and reverse. On the obverse, the countermarks are placed on the sides of the emperor's head which is very poorly legible due to abrasion. This is in keeping with the practice used during the campaign of countermarking Julio-Claudian coins undertaken during the reign of Domitian.<sup>17</sup> Although partially worn, the circular countermark on the right, placed next to the emperor's face, probably represents a circular shield with an inscription and can be classed as GIC 538.<sup>18</sup> The oval countermark on the left, behind the emperor's head, represents type GIC 108, i.e. a laureate head of Domitian facing right.<sup>19</sup> Such an identification of the countermarks implies their sequence. The punch with the shield was probably struck first, followed by the one from Domitian's reign.

The reverse bears a rectangular countermark with the legend TRAIAN DACIC, already known to us from the first coin, and an oval countermark with the bust of Hadrian and the inscription AVTO KAI ADPIA (GIC 38).<sup>20</sup> The rectangular countermark was struck more or less in the centre of the coin's reverse, as in the case of coin PAP FR 5/2013 described above. One could therefore speak of a certain regularity, but other examples collected by I. Nicolaou demonstrate greater freedom in this respect.<sup>21</sup> The oval countermark with Hadrian's bust was applied, on a perpendicular axis, to the right of or above the rectangular one, depending on the perspective.

Both of the countermarks featuring on the reverse of the described coin were applied to heavily worn bronzes of large diameters, mainly those minted under Claudius.<sup>22</sup> Most often (although as the example of the first coin shows not always)

<sup>15</sup> Cf. MISZK 2020a: 272. This hoard will be the subject of a separate study, currently under preparation by J. Bodzek, Ł. Miszk, and B. Zajęc.

<sup>16</sup> MISZK 2020a: 266; IDEM 2020b: 154.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1986: 212.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *Ibidem*: 212; HOWGEGO 2005: 210, no. 538.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1986: 212; PARKS 2004: 98f; HOWGEGO 2005: 125, no. 108.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1986: 213f; PARKS 2004: 105f; HOWGEGO 2005: 111f, no. 38; RPC III, 434, no. 3413.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1986: Pl. 24–26.

<sup>22</sup> MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1986: 213; PARKS 2004: 105.

they appear together on the coin.<sup>23</sup> Sometimes coins bearing countermarks GIC 603 and GIC 38 had already been countermarked with the circular shield-and-inscription punch in the reign of Domitian.<sup>24</sup> This is the case with the described specimen.

Logically, following the inscriptions, the sequence of countermarking the reverse should be as follows: TRAIAN DACIC under Trajan and then AVTO KAI AΔPIA under Hadrian.

In several papers on provincial Cypriot coins, M. Amandry has advocated precisely this sequence of countermarks with the names of Trajan and Hadrian: “Then, under Trajan, a rectangular countermark with *TRAIAN/DACIC* was applied on worn coins with large flans, probably issued under Claudius. Circular countermarks with Hadrian’s laureate head and the legend *AYTO KAI AΔPIA* were applied on coins already countermarked by Trajan. The fact that these countermarks go in pairs does not necessarily imply that they were applied at the same time, and the use of the countermark *TRAIAN/DACIC* under Hadrian seems unlikely. Moreover, the countermark with Hadrian is sometimes partly struck over the Trajanic one which, in any case, seems much more worn than the Hadrianic punch, a fact indicating that it was applied earlier.”<sup>25</sup>

A different opinion regarding the striking sequence of the countermarks with Trajan’s and Hadrian’s names was presented by I. Nicolaou.<sup>26</sup> Based on the occurrence of the countermarks of interest in pairs, she concluded that they were applied at the same time. Moreover, in her publication of the coin finds from the House of Dionysus, she identified a specimen where the *TRAIAN/DACIC* countermark was struck later than that of Hadrian, partially covering it.<sup>27</sup> This evidence was not accepted by Amandry, who stuck to his position in dating the countermarks according to the inscriptions.<sup>28</sup> In her monograph on Roman minting in Cyprus, D.A. Parks mentioned both opinions, without taking a clear position on the issue.<sup>29</sup> However, Nicolaou’s concept was backed by B. Lichocka in her discussion of Cypriot minting during the reign of Hadrian.<sup>30</sup> In one of my earlier publications, I also pointed out that the countermarking sequence proposed by Nicolaou may be correct in at least some cases.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>24</sup> MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1986: 211f, nos. 28–36.

<sup>25</sup> AMANDRY 1993: 15f; IDEM 2016: 4; cf. RPC III: 432.

<sup>26</sup> MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1986; NICOLAOU 1990: 118–119.

<sup>27</sup> NICOLAOU 1990: 118.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. footnote 23.

<sup>29</sup> PARKS 2004: 106.

<sup>30</sup> LICHOCKA 1999. It is worth noting that Lichocka’s interesting comments were completely ignored by Parks.

<sup>31</sup> BODZEK 2020: 386–387.

In this context, it is worth asking what evidence is provided by the countermarked coins discovered by the Polish expedition in the Paphos agora? Well, this evidence appears to be quite conflicting. As mentioned, the first coin (PAP FR 5/2013) only features the TRAIAN DACIC countermark on the reverse. It therefore hypothetically confirms the use of this punch for countermarking worn bronzes of Claudius during the reign of Trajan. In the particular case, the coin was not additionally stamped with the Hadrian punch for some reason, which may point to a separate countermarking action.<sup>32</sup>

However, the second coin (PAP FR 27/2016) provides completely different evidence. Indeed, the sequence of countermarking is clearly different in this case. The countermarks partly overlap, with the TRAIAN DACIC punch clearly intersecting the oval Hadrian countermark. This is indicated by the edge of the rectangular countermark intersecting the oval Hadrian's stamp in an unbroken manner, clear evidence that in this case the GIC 38 countermark was struck earlier than GIC 603. The Hadrian's countermark also seems to be more worn than the one with Trajan's name on it. This, however, may be due to the nature of both punches. The Hadrian punch has a much more convex relief and it was struck more shallowly, while the rectangular countermark with Trajan's name was more deeply struck and thus less exposed to abrasion. In the case of this coin the sequence of countermarking is as follows: the Hadrian's countermark was applied first, followed by that of Trajan. The coin from Paphos agora would thus be the second specimen, after the coin published by Nicolaou, presenting such a sequence of countermarking. Although Amandry regards such a sequence as "unlikely", the testimony of the aforementioned coins discovered at Paphos clearly confirms it.

Given the observations concerning the GIC 603 and GIC 38 countermarks on the agora specimens, three alternatives can be proposed as to the time and sequence of their application:

a) TRAIAN DACIC countermarks were generally applied during the reign of Trajan. This would be supported by the PAP FR 5/2013 coin with TRAIAN DACIC as the only countermark, and the fact that, in most known cases, Hadrian countermarks were indeed applied later than those of Trajan.

b) Both countermarks were applied at the same time, during one countermarking action as suggested by Nicolaou. This would be evidenced by the aforementioned two instances of the TRAIAN DACIC countermark being evidently struck as second in the sequence. An additional argument would be the occurrence of countermarks

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<sup>32</sup> However, it may simply have escaped countermarking by coincidence, like the numerous worn Claudius coins that bear no punches.



in pairs in most cases. In such a case, the countermarking action would probably have taken place in the early period of Hadrian's reign.

c) Some of the TRAIAN DACIC countermarks were applied under Hadrian on coins previously countermarked with the latter emperor's punches. Evidence in this case would be coins with the Hadrian-Trajan countermarking sequence. Also in this case, the countermarking action would have taken place during the early period of Hadrian's reign.

But what reason would there be for applying countermarks with Trajan's name during Hadrian's reign? Trajan's own period in power saw the production of orichalcum sestertii and dupondii and copper asses for Koinon Kyprion. As the style and other features of these coins indicate, they were minted at the Roman mint for circulation in Cyprus. All denominations bear on the obverse a portrait of Trajan (bust) and the emperor's titulary written in Greek. On the reverse, sestertii bear an image of the statue of Zeus Salaminios, while dupondii and asses have a representation of the temple of Aphrodite at Palae Paphos. The image is accompanied by a Greek legend referring to the Cypriot Koinon. The emperor's title used makes it possible to accurately date Trajan's issue to between AD 114 and 116.<sup>33</sup> By all accounts, this new, abundant base coinage was meant to replace badly worn Julio-Claudian coins, while some of the latter were legalized by countermarks with the legend TRAIAN DACIC. This countermarking may have occurred at the same time as the minting of the aforementioned Trajanic bronze issues.<sup>34</sup> However, it was probably impossible to remove all Julio-Claudian coins from the market and when another countermarking operation was carried out during Hadrian's reign, this time using the AYTO KAI AΔPIA punch, some of the coins had the old Trajanic countermark additionally struck on them on this occasion. Perhaps, it was considered that only a set of two countermarks, that of Trajan and that of Hadrian, can confirm the value of the worn Julio-Claudian coins. Therefore, the TRAIAN DACIC countermarks were applied where they were missing, including on coins already provided with the AYTO KAI AΔPIA punch. It is worth noting in this context that Hadrian did not mint coins for Cyprus,<sup>35</sup> and the countermarking did not apply to the aforementioned issues minted under Trajan for Koinon Kyprion. Trajan's name could therefore have been taken as a kind of guarantor of the legality of the coinage.

Nicolaou explained the application of countermarks with Trajan's name under Hadrian by the latter's desire to commemorate his deceased predecessor.<sup>36</sup> Parks,

<sup>33</sup> PARKS 2004: 104 (here dated to AD 114–115); RPC III: 433 (here: AD 114–116).

<sup>34</sup> RPC III: 433. In this case, however, the absence of the title "the best" (APICTOC) in the inscription on the countermark does not give such certainty.

<sup>35</sup> LICHOCKA 1999.

<sup>36</sup> MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1986: 214; NICOLAOU 1990: 119.

on the other hand, opted to link the double countermarking to the celebration of the new emperor's assumption of the throne and his association with his deceased predecessor.<sup>37</sup> In either case, the countermarking would have taken place at an early point in Hadrian's reign. This was indicated by Nicolaou, who, based on stylistic observations of the details of Hadrian's portrait on the countermarks and comparing them with well-dated imperial issues, concluded that the countermarking action should be dated to the early period of the emperor's reign, specifically to AD 117–119.<sup>38</sup> Amandry also made an attempt to date and identify occasions for the countermarking action during Hadrian's reign. These would be Hadrian's rebuilding of Salamina following its devastation by an uprising of Cypriot Jews, the emperor being named benefactor of that city in 123, or the emperor's brief visit to Salamina in 129/130.<sup>39</sup> The PAP FR 27/2016 coin from room 17 of the eastern portico of the agora does not help much in this regard. As already mentioned, room 17 was ruined and abandoned as a result of an earthquake that probably took place around the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

GIC = C. HOWGEGO, *Greek Imperial Countermarks*, London 2005.

RPC I = A. BURNETT, M. AMANDRY and P.P. RIPOLLÈS, *Roman Provincial Coinage I. From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69)*, parts I–II, London–Paris 1992.

RPC II = A. BURNETT, M. AMANDRY and I. CARRADICE, *Roman Provincial Coinage II. From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69–96)*, parts I–II, London–Paris 1999.

RPC III = M. AMANDRY, A. BURNETT et AL., *Roman Provincial Coinage III. Nerva to Hadrian (AD 98–137)*, parts I–II, London–Paris 2015.

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<sup>37</sup> PARKS 2004: 106.

<sup>38</sup> NICOLAOU 1990: 119.

<sup>39</sup> AMANDRY 1993: 16; IDEM 2016: 4.

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PLATE 1

Fig. 1. Claudius (41–54)?, Cyprus, sestertius, inv. no. PAP FR 5/2013

Photo: R. Słaboński

Fig. 2a–b. Claudius (41–54)?, Cyprus, sestertius, inv. no. PAP FR 27/2016

Photo: R. Słaboński



1



2a



2b