
4 Numismatics

Colonial Coins

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4.1 Introduction

Ancient Roman colonial coins¹ emerged as one of the most interesting antiquarian topics debated by scholars during the Renaissance. The understanding of this numismatic type developed only after years of confrontation, meditation, and sedimentation of thought. It evolved from a complex cultural system and the conjunction of several different areas of study, which ultimately generated a chain of repercussions for sixteenth-century intellectual life. Initially, scholars took up a renewed interest in the Roman colony only as an institution, but, soon after, evidence was found that pointed to the existence of local public treasuries ordering specific monetary policies. This important discovery established the first connection with the numismatic findings circulating among collectors and scholars. But the real

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1 During the Renaissance, ancient coins were classified according to their territory of origin and of circulation, which permitted sixteenth-century humanists to comprehend the function of their local economic and coinage policy and to identify new iconographic types representing the institutions themselves; see Greco 1957-61, 2: 374, 109-11; see also Davis 2012. Today, colonial coins are known as provincial coins: see Woytek 2012, 329-30; Ripolles 2012, 362-6; *RPC I*, 14-17 and 36-7; Wallace-Hadrill 1986.

link between colonial institutions and money gradually came about throughout the years, growing hand in hand with the advancements of antiquarian studies that opened new doors to an understanding of ancient history. Thanks to this collaboration, a new awareness slowly rose over the decades, and, within the extensive, confused, and incomplete numismatic corpora of the time a new numismatic type was identified: the colonial coin.

Many scholars from Italy, Spain, Germany, France, and the Netherlands contributed to the general cultural progress from which numismatics often benefited, influencing the advancement of the debate on colonial coinage, assembling multidisciplinary data and information and cross-referencing sources from various fields. In this context, which covered over one century, the theoretical formulation of antiquarian erudition emerged, placing empirical evidence at the centre of research. The antiquarian method attempted to associate every single statement to a corresponding source as a witness of time and real proof of past life. Its application was different for each humanist according to his personal vision; but, from this multiform picture, it is possible to grasp a common spirit of investigation, the sum of all experiences through which Renaissance culture as a whole flourished in sixteenth-century Europe.

4.2 Colonies as Institutions²

After a brief reference to the magistrates deputised to founding colonies (“Triumviri coloniae deducendarum”) in Domenico Fiocchi’s (†1452), also known as pseud-Fenestella, *De potestatibus Romanorum*, which included these figures among a more detailed explanation of offices within the ancient Roman state,³ the first Renaissance humanist to deal extensively with Roman colonies was Flavio Biondo. His *Roma Triumphans* attempted to reconstruct the administrative apparatus of ancient Rome. Here, Biondo dedicated several pages to the

² In a recent study (Stenhouse 2021) the surveys on ancient Roman colonies carried out before 1560 have been clearly outlined, putting together an extremely rich and complex picture where the works of the antiquaries on the issue are seen in dialogue also with the sixteenth-century political situation. This section relies in part on Stenhouse’s work, which will be cited contextually. See more generally Pelgrom, Weststeijn 2021.

³ Fenestella 1561, 43^b: “Triumviro igitur deducendae coloniae creant: Agrippam Menenium, T. Cloelium Siculum, et M. Ebutium Helvam: nec abnuerim, hunc Magistratum alias a maioribus Romanorum creari potuisse. Caeterum ab insigniori ratione, et ingenti Pop. Rom. honestate exordiri non piguit. Pertinebat vero ad huius magistratus officium, ut et agros novis deductis colonis dividerent, urbes designarent, aedificare volentibus areas, partirentur, commodis regionibus ciuitatem distinguerent, legibus magistratibusque sisterent, et ad speciem optimi gubernaculi Rempub. effingerent”. The passage was founded on Liv. 3.71-2 and 4.12; see Stenhouse 2021, 28.

coloniae, particularly to the *origo deducendarum coloniarum* and to the *colonorum praemia iugerum*, where general aspects tied to the structure and functioning of this institution were described. Biondo indicated the strategic role of colonies in the foreign policy of Republican Rome, relying on Cicero and Tacitus,⁴ and illustrating how colonies founded by Roman citizens acted as a defensive instrument for the mother-city and, at the same time, served as an outpost for territorial expansion. Biondo seized on one of the most important points, i.e. the rite of allotting land: the ridge-and-furrow that the colonist was able to trace with two yoked oxen and a plough during the course of one day's work corresponded to the boundary of their landholding.⁵

In illustrating how laws (*iura*) and institutions (*instituta*) were established, the humanist also identified the cultural interdependence between the mother-city and the colonies, which included the transmission of customs and traditions to recreate political and social entities in its image ("effigies populi Romani"). Biondo's scholarship influenced subsequent antiquarians who gradually added new information to the topic, for example Niccolò Perotti, who dedicated in his *Cornucopia* a long entry to the term *colonia*.⁶

4 Cic. *leg. agr.* 2.73: "quo in genere sicut in ceteris rei publicae partibus est operae pretium diligentiam maiorum recordari, qui colonias sic idoneis in locis contra suspicionem periculi collocarunt, ut esse non oppida Italiae sed propugnacula imperii viderentur". Stenhouse 2021, 29-30 and fn. 14 notices that Biondo refers also to Tac. *ann.* 11.24.3: "tunc solida domi quies; et adversus externa floruumus, cum Transpadani in civitatem recepti, cum specie deductarum per orbem terrae legionum additis provincialium validissimis fesso imperio subventum est", not citing from the reading generally acknowledged by modern scholars, but from a variant attested in the manuscript tradition "per orbem terrarum coloniarum". This error however allowed Biondo to better define the role of colonies in Roman foreign policy.

5 Biondo 1503, 38^a-39^b: "Sed prius de colonijs dicendum est: quarum deducendarum causam et utilitatem Cicero in oratione in legem Agrariam Rulli prima sic ostendit [Cic. *Leg. Agr.* 2.73]. Et operae precium diligentiam maiorum recordari, qui colonias sic in locis idoneis contra suspicionem periculi collocarunt, ut esse non oppida Italiae, sed propugnacula Imperij viderentur [...] Ex civitate enim propagabantur coloniae, et iura habebant institutaque populi Romani, ut essent quasi effigies populi Romani [...] Accipiebant vero coloni cum deducerentur pro varia temporum reipublicae condicione: varia quoque praemia, quibus duo, quandoque quattuor, sex aut septem iugera agri assignabantur. Iugerumque constat fuisse, et nunc etiam haberi: quantum unius diei labore duo boves arare possent". This last statement is the first time that oxen and plow are mentioned in relation to colonies, but only as a rural element. In the following decades, however, the pair oxen-plow will represent the crucial knot for the advancement of the entire colonial debate tied to urban founding.

6 Perotti 1501, 30^a: "Coloniae dicunt quae non veniunt extrinsecus in civitatem, nec propriis radicibus nituntur, sed quasi ex civitate propagatae. Iura institutaque Populi Romani non proprii arbitrii habent, ut Bononia, Fesulae, coloniae sunt, quae conditio licet magis obnoxia et nimis libera videatur, quam caeterorum oppidorum, potior tamen ac praestabilior existimatur propter amplitudinem maiestatemque Populi Romani, cuiusmodi Coloniae quasi effigies parvae, et veluti quaedam simulacra esse videntur; unde a colendo Colonia vocitare, quod Populum romanum colerent, vel quod ad eas colendas Romam proficiscerentur".

A sharper juridical print is given to the commentary on the *Pan-dects* written by Guillaume Budé and published in 1508. The great French antiquarian discussed the regulations pertaining to the Roman institutions of the *colonia* while analysing a section entitled *Error eius, qui se municipem aut colonum existimans munera civilia suscepturum promisit, defensionem iuris non excludit* (50.1.17.10). Budé started by disclaiming the equivalence of *colonia* with *villa* (farm) previously established by Accursius during the Middle Ages. He referred to an extensive corpus of sources ranging from texts on land surveys to ancient historians, from patristic texts to Latin and Greek translations of the Bible.⁷

As recently pointed out, a case must receive more attention by contemporary scholarship, that is the one found in Niccolò Machiavelli's (1469-1527) works, especially his *Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livius*, wrote around 1517 and published for the first time only in 1531. Here, in commenting upon a passage of Livy related to the war strategies and military tactics pursued by ancient Romans (2.6 *Come i Romani procedevano nel fare la guerra*), Machiavelli talks about the role of colonies,⁸ their function in controlling newly conquered terri-

7 Budé 1535, 95-6: "In cap. Eius, eodem sub titulo, Ad municipalem. Si quis negocia sua non in colonia sed in municipio semper agit. Colonia hic non villam significat, ut Accursius existimavit, sed pro oppido quo coloniae iure utitur. Colonia interdum agriculture locum, aratorisque officinam et domicilium significant. Paulus in tract. Locati, Servuus quo coloniae ascriptus est, ad periculum coloni pertinebit. Sic Cicero in Frumentaria, Siculus colonos et aratores pop. Romani vocavit γεωργούς [Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.228]. Inde leges colonicae Varroni lib. pri. De re rustica, Atque etiam leges colonicas tollis, in quibus scribimus, Colonis in agro surculario ne capras compascat [Varr. *Rust.* 1.2.17]. Columella lib. pri. Comiter agat dominus cum colonis, facilemque se praebeat, avarius opus exigit quam pensiones [Colum. *Rust.* 1.7]. Colonia etiam civitas est a matrice civitati deducta, id est metropoli, quomodo Athenis Ionicae civitates deductae erant et propagatae, ut ex Herodoto novimus libro septimo [Hdt. 7.95]. Colonia in hoc significato Graece ἀποικία dicitur, et coloni ἄποικοι. Thucydides ἀποικία εἶ μὲν πάσχουσα τιμῆ τὴν μητρόπολιν, ἀδικουμένη δὲ ἄλλοτριούται [Thuc. 1.34.1]. Terra Sancta colonia vocatur cap. duodecimo libri Sapientiae. Sed cum totus ille liber iscitie et absurde e Greco versus est ab homine quodam linguae Graecae Latinaeque imperito, tum vero caput illud absurdissime. Nam ubi nunc legitur, ut dignam perciperent peregrinationem puerorum dei, quae tibi omnium maior est terra [Hier. *Vulg. Sap.* 12:8], ita Graece legitur, ἵνα ἄξιαν ἀποικίαν δέξηται θεοῦ παίδων ἢ παρὰ σοὶ πασῶν τιμωτάτη γῆ [Sept. *Sap.* 12:7]. Colonia igitur interdum ab incolentibus terram inhabitantibusque dicitur, interdum a cultoribus terrae". The jurist Andrea Alciati discussed the same passage, see Alciati 1529-32, 1: 247: "Coloniae erant, in quas cives Romani habitatum deducti erant, agerque eis assignatus: solebant autem deduci veterani, et pro diutiorum laborum mercede, unde senectutem tolerarent, iugera bina accipiebant. Causa deductionis erat, vel infrequentia urbi, vel poena, qua veteres Coloni male de Republica meriti, mulctabantur". On the issue see again Stenhouse 2021, 35 and fnn. 30 and 31.

8 Machiavelli *Disc.* 2.6-7: "l'uso loro era questo: subito che era scoperta la guerra, egli uscivano fuora con gli eserciti allo incontro del nimico, e subito facevano la giornata. La quale vinta, i nimici, perché non fosse guasto loro il contado affatto venivano alle condizioni ed i Romani gli condannavano in terreni: i quali terreni gli convertivano in privati commodi o gli consegnavano ad una colonia; la quale posta in su le frontiere di coloro veniva ad essere guardia de' confini romani, con utile di essi coloni, che

tories, the utility in terms of cultural and political expansion, and the actual amount of land allotted to colonists (2.7 *Quanto terreno i Romani davano per colono*). It is credibly stated that this approach must have paid a tribute to Biondo's *Roma Triumphans*, which Machiavelli may have owned and actually used in compiling his commentary.⁹

Other authors who developed Biondo's statements, adding (sometimes original and sometimes not) details to the issue are the following. The Neapolitan scholar Alessandro d'Alessandro, in his *Genialium dierum libri* (1522), attempted to distinguish between Roman institutions – mainly *colonia* and *municipia* – and identify the various types of colonies (*coloniarum genera*).¹⁰ The Austrian humanist Wolfgang Lazius, in his twelve *Commentarii reipublicae Romanae in exteris provinciis* (1551), dedicated a few pages to the colonies to help distinguish them from other urban structures of Roman society and to put some order to the differing terminology used by the ancient sources.¹¹ Alessandro Sardi (1520-1588) from Ferrara, in his *De moribus et ritibus gentium libri III* (1557), described the ritual of Roman colonial foundation involving the demarcation of the sacred boundary (*pomerium*) by a priest ploughing with a yoked ox and cow (*tauro dextra, vacca sinistra iunctis*).¹² Sardi's discussion of colonies blend-

avevano quegli campi, e con utile del publico di Roma, che senza spesa teneva quella guardia. Né poteva questo modo essere più sicuro, o più forte, o più utile". Machiavelli referred to Roman colonial policy also in his essay of 1503 entitled *Del modo di trattare i popoli della Valdichiana ribellati* (1.22-6), in the *Prince* of 1513 (3: "Da ogni parte dunque questa guardia è inutile, come quella delle colonie è utile") and in his *Florentine Histories* (1526); see Stenhouse 2021, 31-3.

9 Stenhouse 2021, 33 fn. 22 refers to Pedullà 2003 and Pedullà 2018, which was in turn inspired by Momigliano 1942.

10 D'Alessandro 1522, 202^{a-b}: "Et tametsi ius coloniae quam municipii semper maius et auctius fuerit, quod coloni iura institutaque populi Romani, nihil sui arbitrii habent; municipes vero suis utuntur moribus et institutis sine imperio populi Romani; tamen in coloniam semel auspicato deductam, illa incolumi, nova colonia deduci nequit, licet illa existente novi coloni deduci valeant. Differt tamen colonia a municipio, quia ex civitate colonia alia traducitur, municipes vero aliunde in civitatem veniunt. In quo animadvertendum, plura fuisse coloniarum genera, namque aliae Latinae, aliae civium Romanorum dictae sunt, aliae ex utrisque, nonnullae ex peditibus vel equitibus, quum in agrum bello captum stirpis augendae causa mittebatur".

11 Lazius 1551, 1050-4 [XII.2 *De coloniis Romanis et municipiis, eorumque discrimine*] especially the sections *Coloniae quae fuerint Romanis, Coloniarum genera et discrimina, Coloniae Romanae triplices, Coloniae Latinae et Romanae, Duplices coloniae Romanae, Tertium genus coloniarum Romanarum, Coloniarum Illyrici tractus catalogus, Coloniae deductae et cognominatae ab Augustis, Quartum genus coloniarum veteranorum, Coloni apud iureconsultos, Consuetudo et modi deducendarum coloniarum, Quando Romanae esse coloniae defierint*; and Cuspinianus 1553, 128: "Creati autem sunt deducendae coloniae Triumviri, magistratus novus, quorum erat officium, ut agros novis coloniis dividerent, urbes designarent [...] Quem autem fuerit deducendarum coloniarum causa et utilitas, Cicero in oratione in Legem agrariam Rulli prima sic ostendit".

12 It should be pointed out that the Latin words *bos* (ox) and *taurus* (bull) were used indiscriminately to indicate the male bovine in the ancient sources for colonial

ed and contaminated various unspecified sources traceable to Plutarch, Macrobius, Servius, Festus, and Varro. It was Varro's *De lingua latina*, however, that played a key role in the development of Sardi's thought, because this was the only text that explicitly connected the foundation ritual to colonies.¹³

4.3 Colonies and Coins

The construction of a complex antiquarian system on colonial rituals – including the rapidly ensuing use of both archaeological and literary evidence – led to a new focus on coins and colonies. During the second half of the sixteenth century, humanists began to systematically analyse the Roman state in relation to its laws. The first significant monographs written on Roman civilisation in this period displayed a substantial growth and a new maturity in erudite scholarship. The work that marked a clear change was the *Reipublicae Romanae commentariorum libri* (1558) by Onofrio Panvinio. An entire section, entitled *De iure coloniarum*, was dedicated to the juridical mechanisms of the colonies. Among the various aspects examined, a list of judiciary powers and roles were explicitly compared for the first time.¹⁴ Panvinio established that the colonies were structured as city-states reflecting Roman institutions, customs, and its judiciary system (“populi Romani imaginem referebant”). There were magistrates who were responsible for the safety and security of the city, the infrastructure and census, and the public treasury (“aerarij publici curam”). This last aspect represented a major innovation: the institutional layout of the colony included the administration of money.

foundation. This ambivalence was received and continued by Renaissance scholars.

13 Sardi 1557, 75-6: “Qui condunt urbes, deducuntve Colonias, erecto vexillo, aeneo vomere, Thusco, ut ait Carminius, more, sulco, qui dicitur primigenius, moeniorum loca designant, tauro dextra, vacca sinistra iunctis, stiva incurva, ut intra caderent glebae, incinctu ipsi Sabino, togae scilicet parte caput velati, parte succincta: ubi portae futurae suspendunt aratrum, et intus aris constructis”. This passage is a combination of a number of different antient sources, such as Macr. *Sat.* 5.19.13; Serv. *Aen.* 5.755.3; Plut. *Rom.* 10-11; Fest. 270-2; Varr. *ling.* 5.143-6; see also Forcellini 1805, 538: “Primigenius sulcus”. However, as in the case of his predecessors, Sardi was not yet able to discern the link between colonial rituals and numismatic iconography, even though his antiquarian interests went beyond the study of texts; see his *Liber de nummis*, a booklet on the weights and names of ancient coins, Sardi 1579.

14 Panvinio 1558a, 683: “Nam ut Romae erat populus et senatus, sic hi novos colonos in decuriones et plebem dividebant; decuriones senatus, plebs populi Romani imaginem referebant: ex decurionibus singulis annis duo vel quattuor viri creabantur iuxta coloniae magnitudinem vel parvitatem qui II viri, vel IIII I.D. idest iuredicundo vocabantur. Hi consulum Romanorum speciem representabant. Creabantur insuper Aedilis, qui viarum, aedificorum publicorum, annonae, et locandorum redditum publicorum, item questor qui aerarij publici curam habebat”.

Panvinio did not offer any evidence or explanation on how the treasury was organised, but by assigning this function to the colonial administration, he suggested that the colonies had their own identities and their own monetary systems. As a consequence, a link was made between Roman colonies and coins.

The studies of numismatists and ancient coin collectors, who identified different varieties of coin types and questioned their meaning, confirmed Panvinio's views. In his *Discorso sopra le medaglie degli antichi* (1558), Enea Vico noticed the stylistic variety of coins, suggesting the activity of more than one authorised mint.¹⁵ The use of *De asse et partibus eius* (1514) by the French scholar Guillaume Budé shows that Vico considered metrological aspects in his numismatic studies, allowing him to examine in detail and from a different perspective the iconographic aspects of coins. Only through this crossing over of spheres was it possible to understand how ancient Roman coin production, metrology, and iconography were all part of a whole. Budé was the first to identify the factors that led to the comprehension of a specific colonial coinage policy, including the decentralisation of mints that marked their own coins independently from the central authority. This insight may have triggered an awareness in careful scholars, such as Vico, that coin minting (and therefore its iconography) was subject to geographical, cultural, and historical variables.

Between 1554 and 1560, ancient geographical texts were used extensively in the study of Roman colonies. Of them all, the *Itinerarium Antonini*¹⁶ was particularly significant. This was a register that mapped cities located near the Roman imperial road network, and the *Liber Coloniarum*, attributed to Frontinus, and described the subdivision of Italian territory under the Julio-Claudian emperors.¹⁷ Both

15 Vico 1558, 50: "Le medaglie dagli antichi sotto l'imperio Romano furono segnate in diversi luoghi, oltre la città di Roma, e fuor d'Italia ancora. [...] Scrive parimenti Budeo nel quarto libro *De asse*, che i Romani havevano una zecca in Lione di Francia. E Plutarco, che a Lucullo fu data la cura, et il negozio del segnare la pecunia nel Peloponneso [Plut. *Luc.* 38-9]. Il perché non è meraviglia, se si trova tanta diversità di cogni nelle medaglie loro, conciosiaché essendo da quasi tutto il mondo (in tempi specialmente de' primi Cesari) usato il segno romano, cioè la effigie d'essi imperadori, al bisogno di tanta gran moltitudine d'huomini, conveniva indubitamente, che in più d'una zecca, oltre quella di Roma, si stampassero". The reference is to Budé 1514, 84^v: "Ad ea autem quae de Gallia diximus, illud etiam addemus, Lugduni Argyrocopium fuisse Romanis imperij, id quod Strabo lib. IV his verbis perhibuit: Lugdunum in colle conditum, ubi Arar amnis Rhodano immiscetur, Romano tenetur imperio, ampliori quoque dignitate viro- rum secundum Narbonem florens, quibus usui magno est emporium: ibi quoque Romani duces aureum numisma argentumque signant [Str. *Geogr.* 4.3.2]".

16 During the sixteenth century, the *Itinerarium* was printed in four editions: see *Itinerarium* 1512; *Itinerarium* 1518; *Itinerarium* 1550; *Itinerarium* 1600.

17 There were two sixteenth-century editions of the *Liber Coloniarum*: a French one by Adrien Turnèbe [...], and [...] another anonymous Roman version (1560); see Turnèbe 1554 and Frontinus 1560.

texts provided a rich source of data for ancient geographical locations and toponyms. The epistolary exchanges of the sixteenth century illustrate the wide interest of these two works.¹⁸

The Spanish humanist and Catholic bishop Antonio Agustín used these texts to identify city names that could be connected to the various legends found on ancient coins (mostly naming places of origin or dedication) and thence decode the coin legends. It was a natural consequence that, among the toponyms present on the coins, the names of colonies were to be discovered. The observation of coins bearing names associated with the ancient geographical texts and linked to data on institutional mechanisms assisted in their identification. This process may have benefitted also by the increasing capacity of decoding the coin legends – which usually featured the abbreviation COL. – thanks to the practical handbook, *De notis antiquarum litterarum*, arranged by the grammarian from late antiquity Valerius Probus. Probus gathered a list of abbreviation coming from coins and inscriptions, associating to each one its meaning. This compilation was usually published before the epigraphic collections, such as the one of Mazocchi or Apianus,¹⁹ and hence became a tool for all the scholars who were acquainted with this material and used to cross-reference it with other branches of the antiquarian investigation.

Thus, in a letter to the Spanish scholar and historian Jerónimo Zurita dated April 1557, Agustín specifically defined the colonial coin type and its iconography, starting from considerations and interpre-

18 See, for example, the letters of Antonio Agustín, Carlo Sigonio, and Girolamo Mei: Carbonell 1991, 118 (Antonio Agustín to Jerónimo Zurita, April 1557): “Libros de los que se deven tener en algo de mano siempre e se descubren algunos y por muy grande ventura e abido un Vitruvio y otro libro que es el mismo que vuestra merced me mostro y si no me acuerdo mal dixo que era del Cardenal Maffeo, en que esta el Itinerario de Antonino y las devisas de las provincias con todos aquellos signos y figuras de las cohorts antiguas de la misma suerte sino el libro es mayor y a lo que pienso mas antiguo y muy bien tratado”, and 175 (Antonio Agustín to Onofrio Panvinio, 7 August 1557): “Le colonie del libro di Mafeo non son più che nel stampato”; Sigonio 1737, 1013 (Carlo Sigonio to Onofrio Panvinio, 10 May 1560): “Se potessi haver una copia del p... del libro di Frontino de Coloniis, l’havrei caro, perciò che non è possibile che non cavassi qualche cosa di più che non cavo da quelle vostre citationi, che sono di poco momento al mio disegno”; Carrara 2008, 366-7 (Girolamo Mei to Vincenzo Borghini, 12 October 1566): “Velleio Paterculo fece mentione di tutte le colonie romane, cioè di quelle che veramente eran tali, tra le quali non si trova la *Florentina* [Vell. 1.14-15]. Delle militari, come egli manifestamente dice, non ne volle parlare, onde si può per ventura assai sicuramente credere che tenesse la *Florentina* tra le militari, poi che egli non ne disse cosa del mondo”; Dati 1743, 4: 4.140 (Vincenzo Borghini to Silvano Razzi): “egli [Sigonio] ha messo fra le colonie *Foedatura*; questo non è in verità colpa sua, ma pur tuttavia lo credo errore, e che sia nato da un cattivo testo di quel libretto di Fronto, o Frontino, o Nypso, o chiunque e’ si fusse, ché dove in alcuni è *Fida Tuder*, avesse confusamente *Foedatura*” and 164 (Vincenzo Borghini to Jacopo Giunta, 4 January 1569): “Frontino delle colonie (dico delle colonie, non degli acquadotti, intendete bene) non so dove sia stampato, né se solo o accompagnato”.

19 Mazocchi 1521; Apianus 1534.

tations tied to the names of locations.²⁰ Agustín's words are the first evidence that he recognised the existence of a specific colonial coin type. He stated that the typical imagery of colonial coins involved a pair of oxen pulling a plow, representing the ritual tracing of the sacred boundary of a new city, as reported by Varro. Agustín anticipated the conclusions that other scholars, like Sigonio, reached later.

After a long cultural process that lasted decades and reached maturity only at the end of the 1550s, the colonial coin type was also defined by Carlo Sigonio in his work *De antiquo iure Italiae*, printed in Venice in 1560. In this antiquarian juridical treatise, he dedicated a large section to colonies.²¹ He declared that the explicit symbols representing colonies were oxen/cows, the plow, and military standards. To support his statement Sigonio employed numismatic evidence. It is unclear if this development evolved from exposure to the views of Agustín, or if they were reached in parallel and independently.²²

20 Carbonell 1991, 116: "En las mas de las Colonias de la una parte de la medalla esta la cabeza del emperador con su titulo y de la otra dos bueyes unidos arando con el que lleva el aradro, cino sono toro y vaca come dize Varron, el qual a mi ver declara esto y se entiende bien por el que estos bueyes para denotar que eran Colonias, pues se guardava en su primera fundacion la orden que se tuvo en lo de Roma, como parece por el libro IIII De lingua Latina: quare et oppida quae prius erant circumducta aratro ab orbe et uruo urb[is]es[t]; ideo coloniae nostrae omnes in litteris antiquis scribuntur urbis, quod item conditae ut Roma [Varr. *ling.* 5.32.143]". It is necessary to mention also Jean Poldo d'Albenas, author of a history of Nîmes (1559). Within the dissertation on the first origins of the city, which was considered to be a Roman colony, Poldo made a digression on Roman colonies in southern France, relying on the various ramifications of previous scholarship; see Poldo 1559, 7: "Et Narbone fut ainsi dicte, apres que C. Cesar le Dictateur y admena nouveaux, et estrangers habitans, ce que les Latins appellant Colonies, et les lureconsultes Meteooques au XII livre du Code, par lex empereurs Diocletian et Maximian, à la loy *Certa de iure fiscale* [Dig. 49.14.1-3]. Et comme aussi y fuerent admeenes des colonies à Narbone l'an de l'edification de Rome 633. Eutropius livr. V. Cha. IIII [Eutr. 4.23]. Cicero Tesmoigne en l'oraison pour Fonteius, que Fonteius avoi testé gouverneur, et la vente il aussi d'estre la centinele des Romains, defense, et forteresse opposée à ces mesme regions [Cic. *leg. agr.* 2.73]", and 31-3 on the law adopted by the city of Nîmes. He also mentioned a colonial coin with legend COL. NEM. featuring a crocodile chained to a palm tree [RPC I, 522], however not specifying the connections between colonial law, founding rituals and its iconography; see Poldo 1559, 99: "En ceste numisme estoit fait mention de la Colonie de Nismes, qui estoit honneur tres-grand aux habitans, ce que nous ne pouvons bonnement passer par silence, ayant desir d'escrire un peu des Colonies, et choses y appartenans". See Stenhouse 2021, 38-40.

21 Sigonio 1560, 63^b-64^a: "Signa autem cohortium in antiquis nummis, quibus coloniae alicuius deduction significator, impressa ad huc etiam cernere possumus. Ubi vero colonos in agris, quo deducendi erant, collocarant, tum aratro urbem et agrum circumscribebant. [...] Ut autem signis militaribus, sic etiam aratro coloniae deductionem in nummis veteribus demonstrari, ita notum est, ut testimonium res non desideret".

22 It would be interesting to explore the unpublished letters of Carlo Sigonio and Antonio Agustín from 1556 to 1557. In these letters there may be evidence of this circulation of ideas. A certain cultural affinity may have derived from Sigonio's collaboration with Agustín on the edition of Festus, completed during those years and published in 1559. The

The effects of this progress were soon to appear. During the same year, Enea Vico, in his *Ex libris XXIII commentariorum in vetera Imperatorum Romanorum numismata*, openly recalled what Sigonio had brought to light and considered this new perception from a purely numismatic viewpoint.²³ Vico, for his part, gave a central role to ancient coins, as they represented a *monumentum*, witnessing concrete historical dynamics, in which the coin was the leading element.²⁴ The method pursued by Vico in analysing sources and his strong antiquarian interests, in this case, were most likely influenced by Sigonio's work. In fact, he declared that he used Sigonio as a model and Vico identified him as the author of the perspective that he adopted [figs 22, 23].²⁵

In order to gain an overall picture of the entire colonial discussion and to understand the series of factors that contributed to the growth of the antiquarian perspective in Renaissance scholarship, it is useful to consider the works of other scholars who did not or could not take account of the advancements in understanding colonial coinage up to this point.

The *Commentariorum vetustorum numismatum specimen exile* (1558) by Wolfgang Lazius described and explained a selection of coins belonging to the imperial collection in Vienna. In interpreting coins of Augustus depicting a single bull [RIC I² (Augustus) 167a],²⁶

synergy between the two scholars is well known. Sigonio and Agustín wrote to the same addressees and belonged to the same circle as they shared similar antiquarian interests.

23 Vico 1560, 108-10: "Caeterum de signis duobus militaribus, quae infra sunt, videlicet vexillo et aquila, et de aratro, hoc moris fuit apud veteres pro symbolo coloniarum ductarum in oppida, militaria signa, vel iuencos duos cum viro aratrum sustinere, vel utrunque simul in nummis exculpere, unde antiqua inscriptio est Terracinae coloniae in templo: IVSSVM IMPERATORIS CAESARIS QVA ARATRVM DVCTVM EST [CIL X. 3825]. Eo quod monumenta testatur Caesarem complurimas duxisse colonias".

24 Vico 1548, 1-2: *Augustus* 3-4; 3.: *Tiberius* 1.

25 Vico 1560, 112: "De quibus omnibus latissime apud Sigonium in suis de iure Latii libris et de coloniis, propediem in lucem prodituris". Totally different was the experience of another epigone of Sigonio, Giovanni Andrea Gilio, in the appendix of his *Due dialogi*, entitled *Discorso sopra la Citta, l'Urbe, Colonia, Municipio etc.* where the section dedicated to *Colonia* omitted all the numismatic references; see Gilio 1564, 133^a-134^a. This lack of information was brought to light by Carlo Sigonio himself, in a letter of September 1564 addressed to Onofrio Panvinio, in which he seemed willing to amend Gilio's errors in a specific publication; see Sigonio 1737, 6.1020: "Delle colonie et delle tribù non mi risolvo ad altro per ora, per haver da rispondere a questo animale, il libro del quale uscì alli 20 di agosto". The harshness of Sigonio is probably due to Gilio's statement that Bologna was a *Colonia Latina* rather than a *Colonia Romana*.

26 The numismatic iconography of the single bull has a complex sedimentation that can be somehow related to the debate on colonial coins. Given its constant presence in erudite dissertations (see Alessandri 1522, 218; Valeriano 1556, 27^{a-b} where it is considered the type BMC 17; Vico 1558, 44; and Host 1580 I. II. 1-2, 58; I. III. 32, 112; III. III. 1, 443-9), it was stated that the bull alone on coins symbolised the Roman *municipium* in contrast with the two oxen of the colonies; see Serafin Petrillo 2013, 124: "Il tauro mostra cose di municipio, con ciò sia cosa che nelle municipali attioni si sacri-

he referred to the sacrificial symbolism of the auspices, which may be also related to the founding of colonies,²⁷ but made no concrete connections between the numismatic evidence and ancient colonial institutions. From this it emerges that the awareness of the foundation ritual was still not sufficient to understand the entire cultural mechanism behind the ritual itself because it was not contextualised in its original institutional framework. Likewise, without the support of a wide range of numismatic examples, it was impossible to reconstruct the iconographic type of an ancient institution.²⁸

Different and significant is the case of Sebastiano Erizzo, the Venetian humanist and rival of Enea Vico in numismatic theories.²⁹ In his *Discorsi sopra le medaglie antiche* (1559), he identified the colonial coin type [BMC 53], but was unable to offer a detailed interpretation of it [figs 24a-b].³⁰ He gave the iconography only a general rural meaning, affirming that the ox symbolised cultivation.³¹ Considering the methodological

ficava il tauro” and the already mentioned 1557 letter of Antonio Agustín addressed to Jerónimo Zurita in Carbonell 1991, 116: “En mucha que tienen estos nombres de lugares que son todas de bronce ay solo un buey, que por ventura significa ser municipio por diferenciarlo de la Colonia”. A different opinion was expressed years later in Agustín 1587a, 250: “A. El toro se halla en muchas medallas y algunas vezes dos toros o bueyes, pero por diversas causas. El que esta solo muestra en estas de España que a quella ciudad o lugar hizo matar victimas mayores por honra de aquel dios o emperador en honra del qual se hizo la medalla”.

27 Lazius 1558, 27.

28 Nevertheless, in the introduction to this small treatise, he boasts that he studied a corpus of 700,000 ancient coins in composing his greatest numismatic work never published, and claims to have studied the entire Palatine collection; see Lazius 1558, *praef.*: “Quocirca ut derogare aliis non volo, ita mihi conscius sum, quantum sudoris temporis, lectionis etque adeo iudicii in illo pistrino ponendum fuerit, ut ne noctibus quidem pepercerim, nolo de immensitate voluminis totius loqui, quod pene DCC millia nummorum eorum in quem, qui inscriptionibus ac symbolis discrepant, complectitur”.

29 See Palumbo Fossati 1984 and Bodon 1997.

30 Erizzo 1559, 126-7: “La Medaglia di Ottaviano in rame di mezana grandezza, ma in matura età con lettere tali..... AVG. GERM. IMP. Ha per reverso due tori, cacciati da una figura, che segue dietro a loro, con lettere tali COL. IVL. AVG. Questa medaglia fu battuta da qualche colonia, significata in tutte quasi le medaglie, per questi due tori. Perciòché il bove, animale nato al provento delle biade, et al commodo dell’agricoltura, ci dichiara lo studio dell’arare, et i commodi de i frumenti procacciati dalle colonie nel coltivare i loro terreni. Con ciò sia cosa che il bove ancora sia segno della terra”.

31 The tie between the plow and agriculture lies in the erudite studies of the sixteenth century. An ideal archetype of this interpretation can be identified in the *De rerum inventoribus* by Polidoro Virgili (1470-1555); see Virgili 1499, [III 2]: “Plinius vero lib. VII tradit quod bovem et aratrum Briges Atheniensis invenit [Plin. *nat.* 7.198]; (ut alii) Triptolemus, de quo poeta in primo Geo[r]g. intellexit, quum dixit: unciq[ue] monstrator aratri [Verg. *Georg.* 1.19]. Super quem locum, Servius: alii, inquit, Triptolemus, alii Osirim, quod verius est [Serv. *Georg.* 1.19]. Nam Triptolemus frumenta divisit. Tacuit autem de nomine, quia non unus in orbe aratri monstrator fuit, sed diversi in diversis locis. Unde Trogius prodidit Habidem Hispaniae regem barbarum populum primitus docuisse boves aratro domare, frumenta[que] sulco serere [Lunian. Iustin. *Epit. Hist. Trogi* 44.4.1]”.

framework already provided by Agustín, Sigonio, and Vico, it could be said that Erizzo underestimated the question of interpretation. Nevertheless, he managed to decode the legend COL. as an abbreviation of *colonia* but was incapable of reconstructing an historical and cultural context.

A similar approach can be found in the *Hieroglyphica* (1556) written by Giovanni Pierio Valeriano. This work represented the broadest ancient iconographic collection accessible to scholars and artists in the mid-sixteenth century. In his inventory, Valeriano included ancient coins with oxen and plow types.³² He underlined the agricultural symbolism noted by various scholars, but never connected this to colonies or colonial institutions. This reading reflects the vision of an entire antiquarian season.³³ Two reverses [RRC 378/1c; RIC I² (Vespasianus) 944] mentioned by Valeriano feature all the characteristics that were identified a few years later by those scholars that connected their sources to the function of ancient institutions [figs 25, 26]. He had the literary sources available to reach the same conclusions that were reached by a later group of antiquarians. In fact, in describing the plow, Valeriano indicated the path toward a contextualised iconographic interpretation. He attributed to this instrument sacred allusions ascribed to rituals of power and religion, capturing a symbolic importance that was not only agricultural but also connected to rituals used to found (*in condendis*) as well as destroy (*delendisque*) cities.³⁴ This awareness of the function of the plow in founding might have permitted him to discover the missing link between the ongoing colonial discussion and the coins.

³² Valeriano 1556, 26^b-27^a: “FRVGM OPVLENTIA. Qui vero boves iuncti in nummo Vespasiani iam imperatoris et cos. V habentur, atque alii similiter iugati in C. Marii C. T. nummo, nimirum arationis partes procuratas et rei frumentariae commodè declarant, nam et apud coniectores, uti sperius dictum, arantes boves imaginari laetissimam praenunciant frugem, et opulentam rerum felicitatem. Quin et nomen bovi a nutrient factum, βῶ quippe nutria, labore enim suo in exercenda terra continuum nos pascit. Hinc Graeci βούφαρον [Hesyc. Lex. β 1002] felicem agriculturam vocant, quibus φάρος agricultura est, et bovis etiam epitheton”; see also 27^{a-b} where an extensive series of coins featuring oxen in general is listed.

³³ The passage appears to be the main source of the interpretation given by Sebastiano Erizzo on the same iconography: the meaningful link becomes clear especially in the lexical calque, “ci dichiara [...] i comodi dei frumenti” / *et rei frumentariae comoda declarant*.

³⁴ Valeriano 1556, 354^b-355^a: “DEMOLITIO. Circumcidendi vero aratri observatio non in condendis tantum urbibus reperitur, verum etiam in evertendis delendisque [...] AGRICVLTURA. Nimirum etiam est aratrum agriculturae frumentariique proventus signum, ut in nummo argenteo cernere est, cuius inscription est ab occipito, SCIPIO IMP. cuius caput elephantino est insigne capite, quod dubio procul Africanum signat, inferne aratrum pulcherrime factum. Ante faciem spica, inde literae Q. METELLVS. Ab altera facie sigillum nudum, cuius dextera innititur femori, laeva supra magnam spicam toto branchio exporrigitur, literae hinc, REG. F. C. inde EPIVS [CRR 461/1]”. The interpretation of the plow as an instrument of foundation could be found in Ricchieri 1516, 721 [14.5: *Urbibus aratrum circumducere quid sit*].

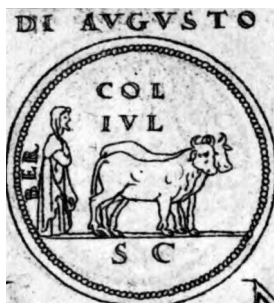


Figure 22 Enea Vico, *Colonial coin*. Engraving. In *Le imagini con tutti i riuersi trouati et le vite de gli imperatori tratte dalle medaglie et dalle historie de gli antichi*. Libro primo. Venetia, Enea Vico, 1548, 34



Figure 23 Enea Vico, *Colonial coin*. Engraving. In *Ex libris XXIII. commentariorum in vetera Imperatorum Romanorum numismata Aeneae Vici Liber primus*. Venetiis, 1560 [Venezia, Paolo Manuzio], pl. 7



Figure 24a *Colonial coin*. Engraving. In *Discorso di M. Sebastiano Erizzo, sopra le medaglie antiche, con la particolare dichiarazione di molti riuersi, nuouamente mandato in luce*. In Venetia, nella bottega Valgrisiana, 1559, 126



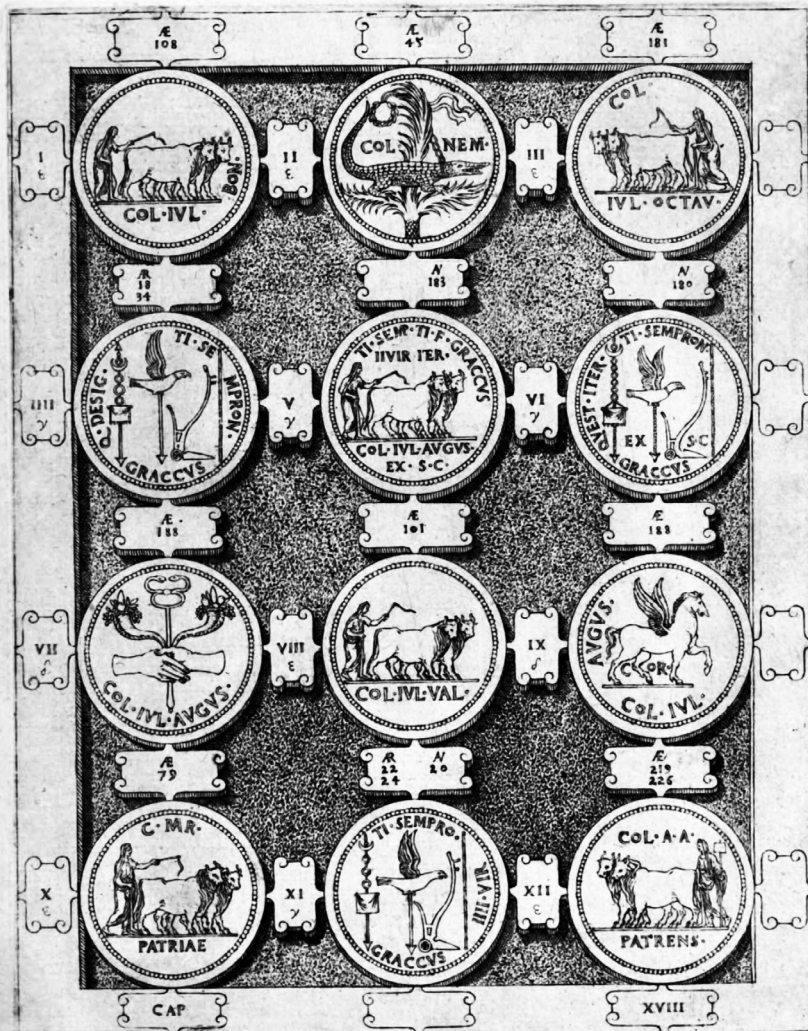
Figure 24b BMC 53. c. 100 A.D.-150 A.D. L2: Founder plowing r.; COL. IVL. [AVG. FEL.] BER



Figure 25 RRC 378/1c. Denarius Serratus. Rome. 81 B.C. L1: C-MARI-C-F-CAPIT VI: bust of Ceres r., draped; around, inscription and control mark. Border of dots. L2: VI: plowman with yoke of oxen l.; above, control mark. Border of dots



Figure 26 RIC I² Vespasian 944. Denarius. Rome. A.D. 77-A.D. 78. L2: COS VIII: pair of oxen under yoke, l.



Coloniz deductz, Agriq̄ue militibus veteranis
adsignati attribuitiq̄ue.

G

Figure 27 Hubert Goltzius, Colonial Coins. Engraving. In *Caesar Augustus siue Historiae imperatorum Caesarumque Romanorum ex antiquis numismatibus restituae liber secundus. Accessit Caesaris Augusti vita et res gestae. Huberto Goltzio Herbolita Venloniano cuie Romano auctore et sculptore. Brugis Flandrorum, excudebat Hubertus Goltzius, 1574, pl. XLIX*

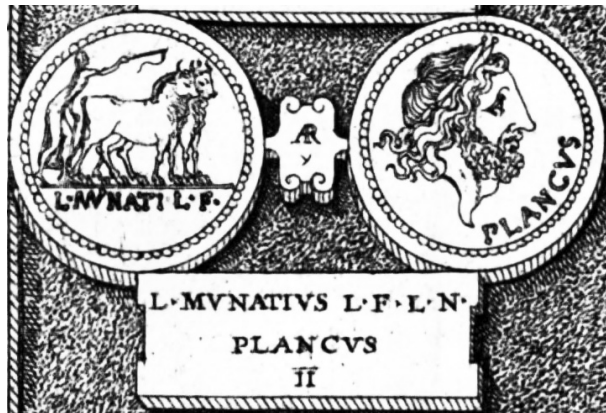
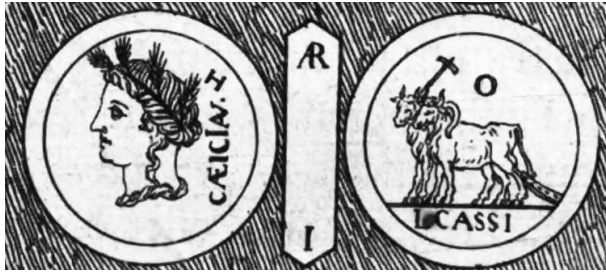


Figure 28 Colonial coin. Engraving. In *Familiae Romanae quae reperiuntur in antiquis numismatibus ab Vrbe condita ad tempora diui Augusti ex bibliotheca Fului Vrsini. Adiunctis familiis 30 ex libro Antoni Augustini ep. Ilerdensis. Romae, impensis haeredum Francisci Tramezini, apud Iosephum de Angelis, 1577, 67*

Figure 29 Hubert Goltzius, *Colonial Coins*. Engraving. In *Fastos magistratum et triumphorum Romanorum ab vrbe condita ad Augusti obitum ex antiquis tam numismatum quam marmorum monumentis restitutos S.P.Q.R. Hubertus Goltzius Herbitopolita Venlonianus dedicauit. Brugis Flandorum, excudebat Hubertus Goltzius, 1566. Mense Martio, 194*

4.4 Colonial Coins in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century

From the 1560s and with the advancements achieved by earlier antiquarian experience, Renaissance scholars openly considered colonial coins as an autonomous numismatic type, easily recognised and originating from defined cultural dynamics interdependent on the functioning of ancient institutions. In these decades, throughout all of Europe, many numismatic works dedicated specific sections to colonial coinage. The Flemish antiquarian Hubert Goltzius (1526-1583) included colonial coins in several treatises, starting with his collection of coins from the Roman empire, *C. Iulius Caesar siue Historiae imperatorum Caesarumque Romanorum ex antiquis numismatibus restitutae*, first issued in 1563 and then in 1571, and the *Fastos magistratum et triumphorum Romanorum ab vrbe condita ad Augusti obitum ex antiquis tam numismatum quam marmorum monumentis restitutos*, published in 1566. Both works illustrated this coinage, even if no clear definition was yet formulated.³⁵ A detailed analysis of the type was carried out in Goltzius's subsequent work on the coins of the emperor Augustus (1574), where many specimens featuring the typical colonial iconography were represented [fig. 27], and from which Goltzius was also able to reconstruct the foundation of many Roman colonies under Augustus himself.³⁶ Goltzius's overview on colonies and coins continued in his subsequent work, *Historia urbium et populorum Graecae ex antiquis numismatibus restitutae* (1576), which included coins from Sicily and Magna Graecia. Here he explained listed the six primary causes that determined the foundation of a colony, also basing his assumptions on numismatic data (both legends and iconography). At the end of this treatise, he made a brief exposition on the function of ancient institutions in relation to the coin types. Under the influence of Sigonio, he repeated that the Roman colony was always founded with oxen and plow under a military banner. He further added the innovation that colonies were founded with the same rite both under the Roman Republic and the Empire. This assertion was based on his observation of the numismatic material.³⁷

³⁵ Goltzius 1563, 143; 1566.

³⁶ Goltzius 1574, 95-118.

³⁷ Goltzius 1576, 204-5: "Colonias vocabant Romani oppida, in quae populus Romanus cives suos ad incolendum deduxisset, idque sex potissimum de causis observatum suisse priscorum auctoritate traditur. Unam, ad vicinos populos coerendos; alteram, ad hostium incursiones reprimendas; tertiam, stirpis augendae; quartam, plebis urbanae exhauriendae; quintam seditionis sedandae causa; sextam, ut praemiis veteranos afficerent. Quacunque autem de causa deducendae erant Coloniae lege agraria opus erat, et coloniae curatoribus, qui vel triumviri aut plures (nam lego agris dividendis, aut coloniae deducendae etiam XX viros simul datos fuisse) deductis sub vello in agros colonis, aratro urbem et agrum tauro et vacca iunctis. Auspicio primum

Goltzius's work also brought developments in colonial nomenclature. In the *Thesaurus rei antiquariae hibernicae* (1579), he dedicated two entire sections to the naming of colonies in light of numismatic types and inscriptions. The first of these was entitled, *Coloniarum municipiorumque romanorum nomina et epitheta* and the second, *Nomina propria eorum qui in magistratu aliquo fuerunt, quae in numismatibus romanorum et coloniarum spectantur et leguntur*.³⁸

It is clear that by the end of the 1570s, Roman colonial coins had become easily recognizable and widely known among Renaissance scholars. In 1577, Fulvio Orsini, a famous scholar living in Rome in the service of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, published his *Familiae Romanae quae reperiuntur in antiquis numismatibus*. In this antiquarian work that retraced the history of Roman families through coins, he did not offer a special section on colonial coins.³⁹ Orsini did, however, include three colonial pieces from his own collection and briefly discussed their iconography [fig. 28].⁴⁰

In the *Discours sur les medalles* (1579), a treatise by the French humanist Antoine Le Pois (1525-1578), there is an entire section specifically dedicated to colonial coins.⁴¹ The description of the iconography follows the usual pattern: a plow pulled by oxen and driven by

facto, circumarabant, ac designabant, quod uti etiam in numismatibus tam consularibus quam imperatoriis olim a nobis in lucem datis frequenter videre licet, ita Ciceronis, quoque Frontini, Varronis et Graecorum auctoritate confirmatum est”.

38 Goltzius 1579, 148-52 and 155-62.

39 However, in a letter dated 20 August 1573 (BAM 271 inf. ff. 34r-35v), Antonio Agustín sent Orsini a list of illustrations of colonial coins (f. 35r): “Con un'altra ho mandato una lista di medaglie di colonie et d'imagini - ho ricevuto con questa occasione i duoi libri del Voltzio, et vedo infiniti errori per non intender li nomi delle colonie, overo municipij - et in tutte fanomi II VIRI li nomi delle terre”. The coins illustrated by Orsini may have been taken from this list.

40 Orsini 1577, 56: “Secundus denarius potest ad legem Cassiam frumentariam pertinere, latam in ipso consulatu a C. Cassio Varo Cos. cum M. Terentio Varrione Lucullo anno DCLXXX cuius facit mentionem Asconius in III Verrina. Eius fortasse filius L. Cassius a Caecio, cuius lib. IX ad Atticum meminit Cicero, adoptatus, et Caecianus dictus, in patris memoriam denarium cum Cereris imagine, quae re frumentariae praest, signavit; nisi forte coloniam aliquam earum, quae a Caesare, aut Augusto deductae sunt, indicare Cassius voluit; nece enim placet ut ad Cereris signum referatur cum inscriptione EX FAMILIA CASSIA, cuius in lib. VIII Dionysius meminit: propterea quod damnato Sp. Cassio, eiusque diruta domo dedicatum id signum fuit, nec verisimile est tantum familiae dedecus voluisse Cassium cuius ea nota denariis vulgare”.

41 Le Pois 1579, 18^b: “En plusieurs autres consulaires est remarqué au revers une colonie nouvellement conduite, mise sus et établie. C'est un nombre de peuple enuyé en quelque lieu pour y habiter, que l'Espagnol appelle proprement *Poblacion d'algunos estrangeros*. Or si tel lieu n'estoit prescript et designé par le trait d'une charruë trainee par deux boeufs, au derrier des quels estoit le sacerdote, faisant la limitation de la place, suivant l'ordonnance des Duumvirs ou Triumvirs, c'est-à-dire, deux ou trois hommes à ce commis et établis par les romains. Voyla que signifient ces boeufs laboueurs que vous voyez en tels revers, comme en la medalle d'argent de Munatius Plancus, qui dressa et fit la colonie et ville de Lyon”.



Figure 30 RRC 525/3. Denarius. Rome. 40 B.C. L1: laureate head of Julius Caesar r. Border of dots. L2: TI-SEMPRONIVS GRACCVS Q-DESIG S-C: vexillum, aquila, plough and decempega; in field, inscription. Border of dots

Figure 31a Colonial coin. Engraving. *Romanarum antiquitatum libri decem ex variis scriptoribus summa fide singularique diligentia collecti à Ioanne Rosino Bartholomaei F. Isennacensi Thuringo. Cum indicibus locupletissimis.* Basileae, ex officina haeredum Petri Pernae, 1583, 312

Figure 31b Colonial coin. Engraving. *Romanarum antiquitatum libri decem ex variis scriptoribus summa fide singularique diligentia collecti à Ioanne Rosino Bartholomaei F. Isennacensi Thuringo. Cum indicibus locupletissimis.* Basileae, ex officina haeredum Petri Pernae, 1583, 312

a priest who traces the furrow of the new city under the supervision of the magistrates. Le Pois refers to a colonial type of L. Munatius Plancus from Lyon (ancient *Lugdunum*) which has not yet surfaced in the numismatic corpus available today, but traces of it are found in Hubert Goltzius's works [fig. 29].⁴² He chose this colonial coin instead of others, perhaps because Le Pois had an interest in connecting a French city to an ancient Roman foundation. Similar expedients were later utilised in other antiquarian treatises in a more structured way.

Adolph Occo's (1524-1606), an important German physician, numismatist, and antiquarian renowned throughout Europe for his trips to Italy and his contacts with scholars and prestigious collectors of antiquities,⁴³ mentioned in his numismatic catalogue two coins as examples of the *coloniae deductae*.⁴⁴ Due to the brevity of this work, explanations were reduced, and no comparisons of sources and iconographic analyses were extremely synthetic. He just mentioned briefly the typical colonial element, covering the usual aspects of colonial numismatic iconography: the first representing the banner, the plow, the *pertica*, the eagle, the second reporting the iconography of the two yoked oxen carrying a plow and tracing the furrow [fig. 30].

Research concerning colonial coins continued, showing developments and reinterpretations of studies and sources already utilised. This was the case of the *Antiquitatum Romanarum libri* by the German scholar Joannes Rosinus, published for the first time in 1583 and subsequently expanded in 1613 by the Scottish scholar Thomas Dempster. In his *edition princeps*, Rosinus broadly described the colonial type and reconnected it to the rite of foundation. He described the usual imagery of colonial coins and named the works of Goltzius as his main sources. He also mentioned those typical objects of colonial founding that Goltzius and Occo depicted [figs 31a-b].⁴⁵

42 Le Pois 1579, 2-4 lists among his forerunners Andrea Fulvio, Enea Vico, Sebastiano Erizzo, Costanzo Landi, Jacopo Strada, Gabriel Symeoni, Johannes Sambucus, Hubert Goltzius, Guillaume Du Choul, and Wolfgang Lazius. The connection to Goltzius encourages to suspect that the Lyon's coin was one of the forgeries for which the Flemish scholar was famous; see Goltzius 1566, 194.

43 It is very likely that Occo was directly in contact with Fulvio Orsini and that he could access the numismatic collection of the Farnese and of Antonio Agustín. Missere Fontana 2009, 305 describes the work of Occo as the greatest attempt to write a numismatic corpus ever carried out during the sixteenth century.

44 Occo 1579, 10: "Arg. S.C. Caesaris laureati effigies. | TI. SEMPRONIVS GRACCVS Q. DESIG. Signum cohortis sive vexillum, aquila legionaria, aratrum, decempeda [RRC 525/3]", and 70: "C. CAESAR AVG. GERMANICVS IMP. PATER PATRIAE | TITV LLO ET MONTANO IIVIR CCA. Colonia deducta typus. Colonus cum bove et vacca [RPC I, 382]".

45 Rosinus 1583, 311-12: "Signa cohortium, in antiquis nummis, quibus Coloniae alicuius deduction signicator, impressa adhuc etiam cernere possumus. Ubi vero colonus in agris, quo deducendi erant, collocaverant, tum aratro urbe, et agrum circumscribent, testibus Varrone, Dionysio, Plutarcho et Cicerone, ac alijs nummis etiam antiquis, in quibus aratro deduction coloniae demonstrabatur, quales in Fastis, Julio et Augusto



Figure 32a Pirro Ligorio, *Colonial coin*. Drawing. In *ASTo Ja. II. 8 / Libri XXVII-XXX* (Volume 21), f. 95^r^b



Figure 32b *RPC I*, 371. Caesaraugusta. 37 A.D.-41 A.D. L2: CCA LICINIANO ET GERMANO II VIR; priest ploughing with yoke of oxen, r.



Figure 33a Pirro Ligorio, *Colonial coin*. Drawing. In *ASTo Ja. II. 8 / Libri XXVII-XXX* (Volume 21), f. 337^r^e



Figure 33b *RIC III* Commodus 560. Sestertius. Rome. A.D. 190. L2: COLLANCOMP TRP XVIMP VIII COS VIS C: Commodus, veiled, togate, ploughing r. with two oxen

Further details were included in the addenda to Dempster's edition. In contrast with Rosinus, who mentioned only Goltzius, the Scottish scholar looked further back to the work of Sigonio, declaring that it was necessary to offer a more extended description of the function of colonies, without which the numismatic aspects would have not been altogether clear.⁴⁶

The *Libri delle Medaglie* of the Neapolitan scholar Pirro Ligorio, part of the thirty-volume *Libri dell'Antichità* written between 1550 and 1583, encapsulate the history of colonial coinage during the Renaissance.⁴⁷ This numismatic treatise, compared to other contemporary works, had the greatest number of colonial coin illustrations in terms of iconographic variety. Thus, it would be interesting to know what other contemporary numismatic works Ligorio might have had access to for enriching his knowledge and to what extent his acquaintance with contemporary antiquarians influenced the composition of his work.⁴⁸ The fact that the *Libri delle Medaglie* only circulated as a manuscript may have reduced its impact on the numismatic culture of the time. It nevertheless reflects the sedimentation of views developed over the course of a decade and, therefore, is deserving of great attention in the context of Renaissance scholarship.

His first description of colonial coins relates to the iconographic representation of the equipment involved in founding a colony. This is founded directly upon Sigonio's antiquarian scholarship and to Goltzius's numismatic texts, in which these coin types are broadly represented.⁴⁹ This is followed by the description of coin series depicting

Huberti Goltzj multi cernuntur, in quibus etiam hi, quorum primus repraesentat nobis vexillum, aquilam et signum cohortis, secundus item vexillum, aquilam, aratrum, decempedam, sive perticam agri mensuriam, tertius sacerdotem agentem iugum boum et sulcum aratro ducentem, urbe agroque, quomodo dixi, circumscripto, tum vero agri divisionem, ac suae cuique partis assignationem sunt aggressi, unde agros coloniarum divisos, et assignatos dici notavit Frontinus. Quod munus difficillimum, ac molestiae saepe plenissimum videtur fuisse, propter odium colonorum, in quod illi facile poterant assignationis eius causa incurrere. Atque haec omnia fiebant auspiciato, qua de causa curatoribus illis pullarius dabatur, qui cum ipsis proficisceretur”.

46 Dempster 1613, 775-6: “[X. 22 *De ratione deducendarum coloniarum*] Quid vero impedit, ea hoc loco iisdem pene verbis, quae ex Caroli Sigonii doctissimis Commentariis tum descripsimus, repetere, quaedam etiam, quae omissa ibi sunt, addere”.

47 Serafin Petrillo 2013, “Introduction”. The *Libri delle Medaglie* remained unpublished, even though the manuscript was ready for printing from 1567, but there is evidence that the author was still working on it in 1581.

48 Serafin Petrillo 2013, X-XI. In addition to his own collection (also sold to the Farnese family), he consulted the Estense collection in Ferrara and the texts of Enea Vico.

49 Serafin Petrillo 2013, 16: “Il rovescio con lo aratro posto infra le insegne legionarie et militari [RRC 525/4a], ci dimostra la divisione de’ terreni divisi ai soldati coloni, secondo la legge Gracca, la quale comandava che fusse tanto al popolo come all’altri coloni i terreni et assignati per limiti, acciò che ognuno partecipasse delli beni che

yoked oxen during the foundation ritual. The coins were initially attributed to different colonies without explanation, but later Ligorio discussed the reverse side of the coins following the paradigm of his sources.⁵⁰ Ligorio also used a new method to interpret the colonial coin: beyond the representation of the ox/cow, he proposed the reading of the acronym C·C·A on issues now known to have come from Caesaraugusta as a colonial inscription (*Colonia Cercanita Augusta*). He deduced that the first C stood for *colonia* on the basis of the colonial iconography and the legend naming the *duumviri* [figs 32a-b].

Other interesting contributions by Ligorio emerged when he identified additional types employed by colonies [figs 33a-b].⁵¹ He interpret-

s'acquistavano, per ciò che li tribù che militavano havessero, come i veterani, le parti de' terreni dati ai coloni, come si ritrahe da Marco Iunio Nypsa et da Marco Iulio Frontone nelli buoni testi scritti a penna". Ligorio affirms he drew the information on the symbols signifying the division of lands directly from the manuscripts of Iunius Nip-sus and Fronto, i.e., Frontinus. However, in his works (*Fluminis variatio, Limitis repositio* and *Podismus*) Nip-sus does not talk explicitly about these aspects (see e.g., Blume, Lachman, Rudorff 1848, 285-301 even if he hints at them at 289: "In agris diuisis solent lapides in centuriis non parere. sed sunt termini qui inter lineas consortales finem faciunt"), as well as Frontinus in his *De agrorum qualitate et controversiis limitum* (Blume, Lachman, Rudorff 1848, 1-9 and 26-58). The misunderstanding may have risen because of the manuscript tradition of Frontinus's works, which sometimes were attributed to other authors, including Fronto and Nip-sus (Gandini 1855, 44). Frontinus's works, part of the *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum*, were published for the first time by Turnèbe 1554, 33-52, and touched upon the ways the land was delimited in antiquity. As pointed out by the editor of Ligorio's numismatic manuscript the reference may have been drawn by Boethius's *Nomina lapidum finalium et archarum* (Blume, Lachman, Rudorff 1848, 404-6), where an extensive series of different types of *termini* is listed.

50 Serafin Petrillo 2013, 134: "Presso di questa Medaglia veggiamo la colonia dedutta in Hispagna da Caio Caligola imperadore [RPC I, 371], per ciò che come si vede nel rovescio della sua testa, egli si tira il solco con lo bove maschio et femina, secondo si designava quella città colonia, secondo scrive Marco Varrone [Varr. *ling.* 5.143-6] et le lettere abbreviate C·C·A dicono Colonia Cercanita Augusta, in cui furono duoviri Liciniano e Germano". The term *Cercanita* doesn't make sense. If the ms. [ASTO Ja. II. 8 / Libri XXVII-XXX (Volume 21)] actually reads *Cercanita* [f. 95r^b], this term may be amended with *Cesarea*, in order to re-establish the name of the city *Cesarea Augusta*.

51 Serafin Petrillo 2013, 227: "COLONIA FLAVIA NORA AVGVSTA [RPC I, 5412/3] è dell'isola di Sardegna; secondo scrive Stephano ΝΩΡΑ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΕΝ ΣΑΡΔΟΙ ΤΗ ΝΗΣΩ [Steph. *Ethnic.* 13.88] ciò è Nora de' Sardi isola, da cui il cittadino si dice ΝΩΡΑΝΟΞ, come da ΝΩΛΑ, ΝΩΛΑΝΟΞ, et, d'indi, noi dicemo norano et norani, come nel plurale greco ΝΩΡΑΝΩΝ. Ora, questa città si vede che fu habitata da' coloni che vi pose-ro i Flavii Imperadori, che fu d'una legione, secondo dimostrano le insegne che vi sono piantate sopra degli animali, che è la insegna legionaria dell'aquila colli manipoli delle cohorti. Fu l'isola occupata da diverse nazioni et, perché gli Africani non se la usurpassero, i Romani più volte vi passarono"; and 435: "COLONIA TROADEA [RIC III (Commodus) 560], nel rovescio dell'effigie di Commodus, ci mostra alcuna rinovazione fatta de nuovi coloni dedutti in Troia Ilia, ove si vede il sito et forma della città di nuove mura rifatta, col tempio di Minerva exastlyo, con le due porte, che anticamente furono chiamate SCAEAE, sotto delle quali fu strascinato Ettore da Achille, legato per li piedi al carro. La cui città fu dedutta colonia anchora da Augusto et, come si vede per le medaglie, dall'altri Imperadori fu rinovata mancando delle mura et dell'habitatori [Liv. 35.42]. COLONIA AVGVSTA FELIX TROADEA [RPC I, 5412], con lo Imperatore che

ed, for example, a colonial coin minted by the city of Troas as honoring the Trojan origins of Rome. The legend COL permitted him first to identify the coin as a colonial issue since this was already recognised by Sebastiano Erizzo as the abbreviation for *colonia*. Ligorio then recognised the reverse type of the wolf and twins as a tribute to the birth of Rome and a celebration of the mythological origin of its people in Troy. The colony thus represented a concrete extension of Rome, and the coin clearly presented the relationship between the founding city and colony.

Two other colonial medallions of Troas connected to Rome's Trojan origins show on the reverse side a hexastyle temple and an eagle with an ox between its claws [figs 34a-b, 35a-b]. These coins were struck under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus in the second century ad, but before Ligorio, no Renaissance scholar had connected their types to colonies. He furthermore distinguished the hexastyle temple as a specifically colonial element but did not offer evidence to support this view. One may hypothesise that it had to do with those temples that were built in the first circle of the city where sacrifices took place.⁵²

The most curious of his colonial examples is represented in a drawing of a coin that is not documented in modern catalogues. It depicts

tira il solco con lo aratro, ce mostra la sopradetta città di Troia rifabricata et dedutta d'una legione, come ne significano la insegna dell'aquila legionaria et delli cavallieri et quadretto del Principe de' cavallieri romani. Nel dritto di quest'altra medaglia [*Collection Windisch-Grätz* 106 Nr. 1527], vi è due effigie, quella di Commodo et quella di Crispina, sua mogliera, Augusta et, per rovescio, è tempio exastyle di Pallade [RPC IV.2, 3172; RPC IX, 490], Dea de' Troiani troadei et perciò vi è scritto Colonia Augusta Troade, o Troadea, che allude alla gente Romana dedutta da Marco Aurelio et da Commodo in Troia, nella rinovazione fatta delle mura et delli nuovi habitatori. Similmente ce significa questo quarto rovescio [RPC IV.2, 165], dove è l'aquila dell'Imperio romano con una prota, o parte anteriore d'un tauro, che puotesignificare più cose: o il tauro sacrificato a Iove nel dedurre della colonia troadea, ovvero ci mostra la origine di Troia venire dalla progenie di Iove, a cui offerivano il tauro, o pure ce dà ad intendere la protezione di Iove et Pallade, Iddii delli Dardani Troadei, a' quali immolavano il bove, ma più drittamente è da credere che ne rappresenta il bove municipale offerto da i coloni a Iove".

52 Plut. *Rom.* 11.1-3: ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος ἐν τῇ Ῥεωρία θάψας τὸν Ῥέμον ὁμοῦ καὶ τοὺς τροφεῖς, ᾤκιζε τὴν πόλιν, ἐκ Τυρρηνίας μεταπεμψάμενος ἄνδρας ἱεροῖς τισι θεομοῖς καὶ γράμμασιν ὕφηγουμένους ἕκαστα καὶ διδάσκοντας ὡς περ ἐν τελετῇ. βόθρος γὰρ ὠρύγη περὶ τὸ νῦν Κομίτιον κυκλοτερῆς, ἀπαρχαί τε πάντων, ὅσοις νόμῳ μὲν ὡς καλοῖς ἐχρῶντο, φύσει δ' ὡς ἀναγκαίοις, ἀπετέθησαν ἐν ταῦθα. καὶ τέλος ἐξ ἧς ἀφίκτο γῆς ἕκαστος ὀλίγην κομίζων μοῖραν ἔβαλλον εἰς ταῦτό καὶ συνεμείγνυον. καλοῦσι δὲ τὸν βόθρον τοῦτον ᾠ καὶ τὸν ὀλυμπον ὀνόματι μοῦνδον. εἴθ' ὡς περ κύκλον κέντρον περιέγραψαν τὴν πόλιν. ὁ δ' οἰκιστὴς ἐμβαλὼν ἀρότρον χαλκῆν ὕνιν, ὑποζεύξας δὲ βοῦν ἄρρενα καὶ θήλειαν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπάγει περιελαύνων αὐλακα βαθεῖαν τοῖς τέρμασι, τῶν δ' ἐπομένων ἔργον ἐστίν, ἃς ἀνίστησι βῶλους τὸ ἄροτρον, καταστρέφειν εἶσω καὶ μηδεμίαν ἔξω περιορᾶν ἐκτροπομένην. τῇ μὲν οὖν γραμμῇ τὸ τεῖχος ἀφορίζουσι, καὶ καλεῖται κατὰ συγκοπήν πωμήριον, οἷον ὅπισθεν τεῖχους ἢ μετὰ τεῖχος; ὅπου δὲ ὑπὸν ἐμβαλεῖν διανοοῦνται, τὴν ὕνιν ἐξελόντες καὶ τὸ ἄροτρον ὑπερθέντες διάλειμμα ποιοῦσιν. ὅθεν ἅπαν τὸ τεῖχος ἱερὸν πλὴν τῶν πυλῶν νομίζουσι· τὰς δὲ πύλας ἱεράς νομίζοντας οὐκ ἦν ἄνευ δεισιδαμονίας τὰ μὲν δέχεσθαι, τὰ δ' ἀποπέμπειν τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν καὶ μὴ καθαρῶν.

a female figure riding a bull – a design found on the provincial coinage of Amphipolis in Thrace and representing the local goddess Artemis Tauropolos or Artemis Tauridea [figs 36a-b]. Perhaps Ligorio came across an example of the Amphipolis series when preparing the drawing.⁵³ If the Greek legends of the coin were worn, this might have encouraged him to invent a colonial legend (COL-IVL-CORINTHVS) based on the use of the bull/ox as the central iconographic element – as it will emerge soon after, this was a frequent practice even among the most rigorous antiquarians.

4.5 Colonial Coins in Florence

The Florentine scholar Vincenzo Borghini explored the matter of colonies in the first book of his *Discorsi sopra l'origine di Firenze*, published posthumously in 1584-85. In order to gain a greater understanding of the origins of Florence, and more precisely of its foundation as a Roman colony, Borghini opened a long discussion in which he carefully explained the political mechanisms behind the colonial institution. This was divided into three parts (4. *De' Municipi, e Coloniae Romanae*; 5. *Delle Colonie Latine*; 6. *Delle Colonie Militari*) and, for size and completeness, it is the richest treatise on colonies written in the sixteenth century.⁵⁴ The second volume of the *Discorsi sopra l'origine di Firenze* included a section dedicated to the coinage of Florence (*Della moneta fiorentina*) that also dealt with colonial coins. Within this extensive section, Borghini considered monetary organisation a central issue, without which important turning points in the history of Florence could not be understood. He questioned the economic function that may have been connected to the colonial institution and addressed one of the original problems concerning colonial coins: whether or not they were tied to the treasury of the colony, which would imply an autonomous monetary policy. Borghini left the question unanswered, even though he considered that the coins could have been an effective colonial currency with a general circulation.⁵⁵

⁵³ Serafin Petrillo 2013, 125: “Dela colonia Iulia Corinthus s’è detto in molti luoghi, ma qui non è altro da dire, se non sopra dela giovane, la quale è portata dal tauro [RPC I, 1635 (Amphipolis)], la cui imagine indubitamente è Io, o vero Ione, figliuola di Inaco, re degli Argivi et fiume dell’Argolide. La quale fu di singulare bellezza et li poeti la fanno degna dell’amore di Iove, come dice Ovidio [Ov. met. 1.583]”.

⁵⁴ Borghini 1584, 367-455.

⁵⁵ Borghini 1585, 146-7: “Or ne’ tempi innanzi a questi, e quando ell’era nel suo primo vigore, in genere parlando, si può finalmente in molte dire quel che in una parola si è or detto, e ciascuno per se stesso può agevolmente conoscere, che come parte, seguìto la natura e la forma del tutto, e che la moneta della città di Roma fusse comune di tutto il corpo ed Imperio Romano. Ma se particolarmente ella ebbe in questo stato moneta alcuna sua propria, anche questo si può malagevolmente affermare; e conviene in questo,



Figure 34a Pirro Ligorio, *Colonial coin*. Drawing. In ASTo Ja. II. 8 / Libri XXVII-XXX (Volume 21), f. 337^r°



Figure 35a Pirro Ligorio, *Colonial coin*. Drawing. In ASTo Ja. II. 8 / Libri XXVII-XXX (Volume 21), f. 337^r°



Figure 36a Pirro Ligorio, *Colonial coin*. Drawing. In ASTo Ja. II. 8 / Libri XXVII-XXX (Volume 21), f. 37^r°



Figure 34b RPC IX, 490. Aeriis. Troas. 251 A.D.-253 A.D. L2: COL AVG, TROAD (with L retrograde); temple with six columns enclosing statue of Apollo Smintheus standing on short column, l., with quiver on shoulder, holding patera over lighted tripod and bow



Figure 35b RPC IV.2, 165. Aeriis. Troas. 180 A.D.-183 A.D. COL AVG TROA(D); eagle flying, r., holding bucranium in claws



Figure 36b RPC I, 1635. Aeriis. Amphipolis. First century A.D. L2: ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ; Artemis Tauropos on bull, r.



Figure 37 RPC III, 3958. Aerius. Samaria. 117 A.D. -138 A.D. L1: IMP TRA HADRIANO CAES AVG; laureate and draped (seen from rear) bust of Hadrian, r. L2: COL I FL AVG CAESARENS; veiled figure ploughing r. with two oxen; above, small Victory, flying l.



Figure 38 Vincenzo Borghini. Colonial coin. BMLF Antinori 143, f. 22'



Figure 39 SNG Copenhagen 729. Drachma. 300 B.C.-270 B.C. L2: ΜΑΣΣΑ Lion

Figure 40 SNG ASN 1367. Velia, Lucania. c. 300-280 B.C. L2: Lion walking r.; above, I-Φ flanking star; below, YEΛHTON

Borghini also mentioned a colonial coin apparently minted for the foundation of Florence with the legend COL. FLOR., reinforcing the identification of the city as an original Roman colony. Borghini had not actually seen this coin, but he learned of its existence from his friend Panvinio, whom he considered a reliable source that firstly established the Roman colonial origin of Florence.⁵⁶ The information on the coin was obtained through an epistolary exchange between the two humanists about twenty years before the publication of the *Discorsi*. Today it is possible to read only Borghini's reply of 18 February 1566, in which he requested further information about the coin and noted that it depicted the image of Hercules, a supposed ancient symbol of the city.⁵⁷ The question of authenticity opened a debate between Florence and Rome in which other scholars participated. Borghini probably consulted his erudite friends for additional evidence to support Panvinio's report and to reinforce its credibility. A letter of Fulvio Orsini to the great Floren-

come nell'altre cose, valersi della regola generale della Colonie tutte, e trovandosi alcune cotali piccole medaglie d'argento, oltre alle maggiori, che si veggono di rame col nome particolare di essa colonia, le quali non vo' disputare ora a quello servissero (che molti ne contendono), ma ben dico di queste minori d'argento, che ben potevan servire per ispendere, così sono nella forma e nel peso e nella maniera tutta simili a quegli Bigati e Quadrigati e Vittoriati che senza dubbio in que' tempi correvano per moneta".

56 Borghini 1585, 147-8: "Or come questo si sia, che non fa forza a questo proposito, trovandosene di questa sorte dell'altre, non farebbe della nostra cosa nuova, né da far gridare alcuno. Io non ne ho vedute, ma quel tanto da bene e di queste antichità così gran ricercatore Onofrio Panvinio mi disse già averne vedute, una notata COL. FLOR. il che per l'autorità dell'uomo si debbe credere, né ci è cosa che impedisca che essere non potesse". See also Panvinio 1558, 741: "*Colonia Florentia*. Frontinus. Florentina colonia deducta a triumviris, adsignata lege Iulia centuriis Caesariana iugera CC per cardines et decumanos. Huius coloniae meminit Tacitus [Tac. ann. 1.79.1]".

57 See also Dati 1745, 68: "Ringraziovi degli avvisi datimi, e se quella medaglia, ove è fatta menzione della COL. FIOR. Si potesse ritrovare, e che ella fusse sincera, e non artifizziata (che questo pel buon giudizio e gusto che avete delle cose antiche lo saprete conoscere benissimo) sarebbe bella cosa e di grande piacere di questi qua, e confronterebbe in questo che ancor oggi il segno e sigillo pubblico della città è Ercole, ed è cosa tanto antica che non ne sappiamo origine alcuna, se non che così si è sempre usato" (Vincenzio Borghini to Onofrio Panvinio, 18 February 1566). Borghini says that the origin of Hercules as a symbol of Florence is unknown. This was openly in contrast with what stated by the so-called Aramei, who extensively narrated about the connection between the city and the ancient hero, however citing forged sources; see Giovanni Battista Gelli's *Trattatello sull'origine di Firenze* in D'Alessandro 1979, 121: "Venne, adunque, Hercole in Italia anni secentoquattro dopo il diluvio et in trenta anni che ci stette ne primi dieci spense I giganti et negli venti tagliò la Golfolina; dette il nome a Arno, edifice le prime nostre habitationi le quali furono il principio di Firenze, messeci habitatori et lasciò loro il liono insegna sua", and his Eclogue on the same theme in Gelli 1855, 462-8 especially 465 and 468: "Ercole libio e vendaric l'ingiuria | del caro padre allor d'Egitto venne, | e vide, e vinse, e re d'Italia fèssi. | Questi invaghito de' paesi nostri, | con alto senno e pronte forze insieme, | tagliò la Golfolina, e l'aer grosso | ne rendé puro e ne allègrò la terra; | il nome ad Arno pose e 'l suo leone | a quei pastor lasciò per loro insegna: | onde in memoria sua Flora oggi ancora | conoscendo da lui l'origine prima, | per segno il leon porta, e la sua immagine | ne' suoi primi sigilli onora e colle". On the same issue, Barbi 1889, 8-9 fn. 1 and Simoncelli 1984, 6-22.

tine philologist Piero Vettori, dated 27 July 1574, expressed skepticism regarding the coin. Orsini further declared in the letter that no such Florentine colonial coin existed and impugned Panvinio's reliability.⁵⁸

Although Borghini was not able to confirm the existence of the Florentine colonial coin, it is conceivable that a coin of Caesarea Maritima as a Roman colony under the emperor Hadrian (AD 117-113) could have been mistaken by Renaissance scholars as Florentine issues [RPC III, 3958].⁵⁹ The legend refers to the city as COL·FL·AVG (*Colonia Flavia Augusta*), but it is easy to see how a worn specimen could have led to the misreading of the inscription as COL FLO (*Colonia Florentia*). The presence of Hadrian's image could have increased the confusion, because he was portrayed wearing a beard and a laurel wreath to express his identity as a philosopher emperor [fig. 37]. These same iconographic features were also commonly associated with images of Hercules. The oxen and plow reverse added the final piece to make the coin perfect-

58 Nolhac 1889, 29-30: "La moneta della colonia, che mi scrive, io non ho mai veduto, né credo si trovi tal moneta; quel buon padre, che V.S. nomina, soleva ben spesso dire belle bugie; però non mi pare se li debba credere così ogni cosa. Io so ben questo, che hora stampo un libro *de familijs Romanis, quae reperiuntur in antiquis numismatibus ab urbe condita ad tempora Augusti*, dove ho la varietà di DCCC medaglie ex aere, argento, auro et molte colonie anchora, però dopo Cesare, et non vi ha tal moneta in niuno metallo, siché V.S. si contenti per questa volta non credere all'amico, et non s'ingannerà". The "buon padre" mentioned by Orsini is not Ottavio Pantagato, as assumed by Nolhac (fn. 5), but Onofrio Panvinio, in light of the abovementioned epistolary exchange with Borghini. Panvinio's fame and authority were differently regarded: in fact, Fulvio Orsini, writing to Antonio Agustín on 12 October 1566, derogatorily refers to Panvinio as a "carrot planter" (Wickersham Crawford 1913, 583-4: "et il Frate Onofrio è un piantatore di carote, secondo dice il vulgo, sì che V.S.R. vede l'antichità come sono ridotte"). It was no coincidence that Vettori, among all the scholar friends of Borghini, asked Orsini for an explanation of this coin. Along with his other antiquarian and numismatic interests, Vettori dealt with colonial coinage especially in relation to Greek cities; see Vettori 1568, 174 [XXV. 23 *Cur in Veliensium et Massiliensium nummis idem signum existat*]: "In argenteo nummo Veliensium imago leonis impressa est, infraque hae litterae VEAHTΩN [SNG ANS 1366 (Veleia)]. In aversa itidime parte nummorum, quos cudebant Massilienses, leonem sculptum vidi [SNG Cop. 729 (Massalia)]. Unde autem factum sit, ut his remotis longinquisque populis in hoc convenerit, arbitror me investigasse. Id autem est, quia et Velienses et Massilienses e Phocide oriundi erant, cuius, nobilis quondam Urbis, existimare possumus insigne leonem fuisse. Tuebantur igitur illi primum institutum, ut mos era omnium colonarum quae missa in alias terras forent. Nam Phocenses fuisse, qui conderunt Veliam, memoriae quoque prodidit Strabo, qui in VI libro inquit: ἐν ᾧ πόλις, ἣν οἱ μὲν κτίσαντες Φωκαεῖς Ἰέλην, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνας ἀπὸ κρήνης τινός, οἱ δὲ νῦν Βελίαν ὀνομάζουσιν [Str. *Geogr.* 6.1.1]. Nam de Massiliensibus, qui originem illinc duxerint, dubitari non potest; idem enim hoc quoque, ut alios taceam, testator est, qui in IIII libro inquit: Κτίσμα δ' ἐστὶ Φωκέων ἡ Μασσαλία [Str. *Geogr.* 4.1.4]. In recognising analogous iconographic elements and connecting them with the colonial origin of the two cities found in the literary sources, Vettori concluded that similar types corresponded to similar institutions, establishing that both the Greek cities had analogous colonial origins [figs 39-40]. This conclusion directly derived from the study of Roman colonial coins, which employed iconography related sources to specific rituals and institutions generally attributed to the mother-city. For Vettori's methodology see Drusi 2012a, 15-38.

59 The types are as Sofaer, pl. 24, 26; Kadman (Caesarea) 27; Rosenberger 24.

ly compatible with Borghini's antiquarian needs. A prototype of a colonial coin with similar characteristics [fig. 38] can be found in a drawing of a manuscript coin-book put together by Borghini himself. This work included a wide range of colonial specimens, many with faithful illustrations, all drawn by Borghini himself.⁶⁰ Thus he may have had reason to put faith in the information given to him by Panvinio, in consideration of his personal experience.

Borghini's meditations became useful in a controversy with Girolamo Mei (1519-1594), a Florentine scholar living in Rome, that took place during the years 1566 and 1567. Mei disputed Borghini's idea that Florence had a Roman colonial origin.⁶¹ In the end Borghini prevailed in the debate probably relying also on the colonial coin (even if he did not explicitly mention it in the epistolary exchange). The whole issue of the founding of Florence probably grew out of the studies for the iconographic programme devised by Giorgio Vasari to decorate the vault of the Palazzo Vecchio in 1563-65. In both Vasari's preparatory cardboard sketch and in the painting [figs 41a-b, 42a-b],⁶² the figurative repertoire adopted (oxen with plow that trace the furrow delimiting the *pomerium*) is inextricably connected to the research on colonies. The years in which the debate on colonies reached a turning point (1557-60) represent a cultural *terminus post quem*, in which the role of numismatic studies emerged as an essential source. Vasari himself talked about this iconography in a letter to Cosimo I de' Medici dated 3 March 1563, and in his later treatise, *Ragionamento*, published posthumously in 1588, in which he explained the meaning of his work to Duke Francesco I, son of Cosimo.⁶³ In both texts, Vasari used

60 BMLF Antonori 143, f. 22r. I am grateful to Rik Scorza for providing the image; see also Scorza 1987. The description of the manuscript is given by Eliana Carrara in Belloni-Drusi 2002, 89-91.

61 On this matter, see Carrara 2007.

62 The preparatory cardboard draft can be found at the Harvard Art Museum, placement no. 1932.157 B. I am grateful to Isabella Donadio for providing the image.

63 Frey 1934, 724: "Ne tre quadri grandi di mezzo farej: in un de dua dal lato la prima edificazione di Fiorenza col segno de Romani". The images are described synthetically: it is possible to find a polysemic connotation in the word *segno* that can refer either to the banner (*vexillum*) or to the boundary (*terminus*), as witnessed also by the Accademia della Crusca, and serving as a reliable parameter for the literary use of this word; see VAC 1612, 781: "Segno [...] ¶ Per insegna. Dan. Par. 6. Perchè tu veggi, con quanta ragione, Si muove contra 'l sacrosanto segno. E di sotto. Ma ciò, che 'l segno, che parlar mi face, Fatto avea prima, e poi era fatturo [Pd 6.31-2 and 82-3]. [...] ¶ Per termine. Lat. terminus. Bocc. Introd. no. 37. Senza trapassare in alcuno atto il segno della ragione [Bocc. Dec. 1.1. (Intr.)]. M. V. 9.87. E appresso cominciata hanno così aspra giustizia, che passano i segni, per troppa rigidezza [M. Villani Cron. 9.87]. Petr. cap. 10. Che in quella schiera andò più presso al segno, Al quale aggiunge, a chi dal Cielo è dato [Petr. Triumph. 3.3.5]". Vasari returns on the issue twenty five years later, in his description of the iconographic programme of Palazzo Vecchio; see Vasari 1588, 172-3: "Dico dunque che in questo quadro grande, ho fatta la edificazione et fondatione di Firenze sotto il segno dell'Ariete, e vi ho dipinti drento Ottaviano, Lepido e Marcantonio,

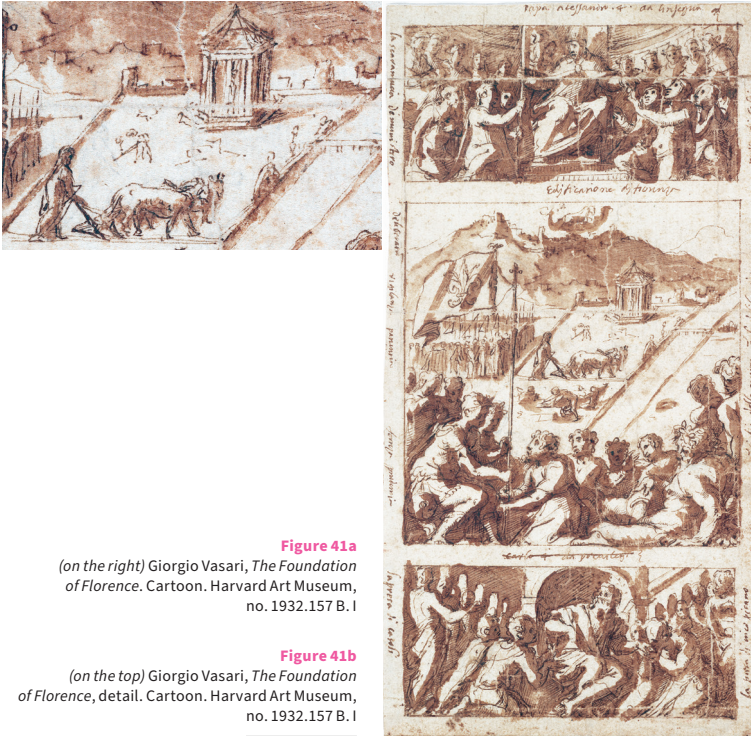


Figure 41a
(on the right) Giorgio Vasari, *The Foundation of Florence*. Cartoon. Harvard Art Museum, no. 1932.157 B. I

Figure 41b
(on the top) Giorgio Vasari, *The Foundation of Florence*, detail. Cartoon. Harvard Art Museum, no. 1932.157 B. I

the same terminology that derived from the colonial coinage debate (*segnio - insegna - primo cerchio*). What emerges is that the painted imagery was the product of a cultural sedimentation of the colonial discussion that intersected different disciplines and became an expression of the ‘rebirth of antiquity’ in modern times.

che danno l’insegna del giglio bianco a’ Fiorentini loro Colonia, et ho ritratto la Città antica, come stava allora solamente nel primo cerchio, e similmente la città di Fiesole, e secondo si legge in alcuni, Firenze fu edificata anni 682, dopo la edificazione di Roma, et anni settanta innanzi la natività di Cristo [G. Villani *NC* 38], però considerata questa origine ho scritto sotto: *Florentia Romanorum Colonia lege Julia a III viris deditur*”. However, Vasari is not in line with what Borghini earlier established in his *Discorsi*, placing the foundation of Florence about thirty years later; see Borghini 1584, 104: “Fu dunque la Colonia nostra nel Triumvirato, e per ordine del Triumvirato Condotta da Augusto, e da lui molto vezzeggiata; e si può sicuramente tenere la sua prima fondazione appresso la vittoria Filippense, quando non era seguita ancora la deposizione di M. Lepido, e la rottura con M. Antonio, convenendoci i nomi di tutti e tre parimente, e ciò fu l’anno di Roma DCCXII e innanzi alla natività di nostro Signore anni XL, ancorché generalmente questo computo degli anni non si possa sempre pigliare tanto per l’appunto, che, come già si è detto, non vi possa esser differenza d’un anno o due”.

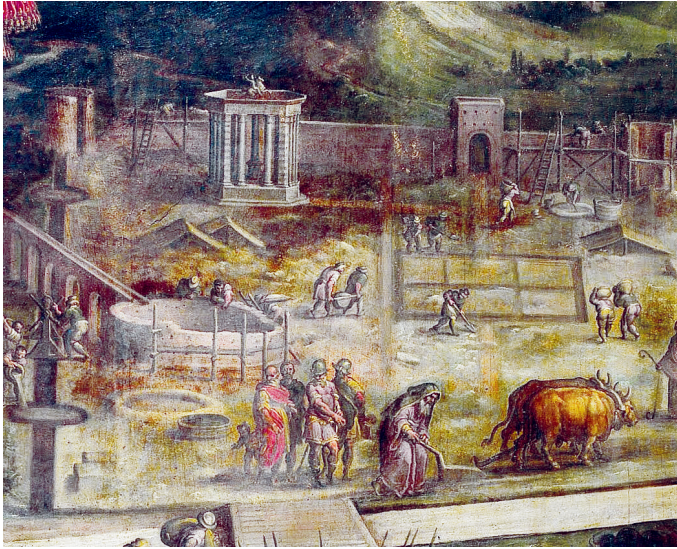


Figure 42a Giorgio Vasari, *The Foundation of Florence*. Oil on board. Salone dei Cinquecento. Palazzo Vecchio. Florence. c. 1563

Figure 42b Giorgio Vasari, *The Foundation of Florence*, detail. Oil on board. Salone dei Cinquecento. Palazzo Vecchio. Florence. c. 1563



Figure 43 RPC I, 261. Aeriis. Lepida Celsa. 44-36 B.C. L1: C(OL) V(IC) I(VL) L(EP); head of Victory, r., palm over l. shoulder. L2: M FVL C OTAC PR QVIN; colonist ploughing with yoke of oxen, r.

4.6 Colonial Coins from Spain to Bologna

As a last step to reconstruct all facets of the colonial coinage discussion, the *Diálogos de medallas* of Antonio Agustín must be considered. Published for the first time in Spain in 1587 after 30 years of numismatic studies,⁶⁴ it is perhaps the most important and detailed work on the subject written in the sixteenth century.⁶⁵ Colonial coins were specifically treated in Book 6, starting with the interpretation of a piece thought to be from the African city Leptis Magna, but which is actually an issue of the Iberian city of Lepida-Celsa [RPC I, 261]. The Spanish humanist entered in the heart of the debate on this coin type, touching on both iconographic aspects and those tied to institutional mechanisms. This coin was recognised as colonial, first through the obverse legend COL·VIC·IVL·LEP· and then through its design representing a man driving two oxen with a plow [fig. 43]. From the legend, Agustín was able to resolve the acronym C·V·I. as an abbreviation of COL·VIC·IVL, just as Ligorio did with C·C·A. He also tried to interpret the bovine iconography, demonstrating great originality: when he specified the bovine gender during the colonial founding ritual, he enriched this notion with details, which were based on neither literary nor archeological evidence.⁶⁶ He claimed that the shape

⁶⁴ Carbonell 1991, *passim*.

⁶⁵ See Stenhouse 2009a.

⁶⁶ Agustín 1587a, 226: “A. De la colonia Leptis se hallan medallas donde esta de la una parte una cabeça de donzella con una palma detras y una parte de una ala en las espaldas, que deve ser Vitoria, con estas letras COL. IVL. VIC. LEP. que quieren dezir Colonia Victrix Iulia Leptis; y de la otra M. FVL. C. OTAC. PR. QVIN. y hai dos bueys y un hombre detras. B. Que quieren dezir essas letras ? A. Marco Fulvio, Caio Otacilio

of the horns of the ox/cow was linked to gender: inward for the female and outward for the male, adding that in the Flanders nobody bought an ox/cow without checking their horns first.⁶⁷ An early visual counterpart of this proverb could be found in the painting by the Flemish artist Simon de Myle, *Noah's Ark on Mont Ararat* (ca. 1570), where a cow and a bull are differentiated one another thanks to the shape of the horns [figs 44a-b].

The zoological distinction of ox from cow through horn shape may have derived from the antiquarian culture of the period but also from new scientific publications issued throughout the sixteenth century. On the one hand, Agustín could have been inspired by the Latin grammarian Festus. In his *De verborum significatione*, which Agustín edited himself in 1559, Festus reported that bovines had horns that extend in different directions.⁶⁸ On the other hand, Renaissance zo-

Pratorib. Quinquennialib. B. Porque no se llaman Duumviro? A. No lo sabre dezir, pero bien se que los de Capua se llamavan Pretores segun dize Ciceron en una de las oraciones contra Rullum de lege agraria [Cic. 2 *De Leg. Agr.* 34]. Hase de notar en esta medalla que lo que en otras medallas esta C.V.I. en esta con mas letras COL. VIC. IVL. B. Por que estan los dos bueyes y aquel hombre? A. Por señalar como era colonia, que como diremos otra vez, quando se hazia de nuevo la colonia, atavan una vaca y un buey y hazian un sulco por donde havian de yr los muros de la colonia, salvo a las puertas”.

67 Agustín 1587a, 273-4: “B. Los dos bueyes con el que los sigue porque estan en esas y en otras medallas ? A. Por señalar que es colonia, y Immune la llama Plinio [Plin. *nat.* 3.18.127], y hallanse ciertas palabras de un escritor antiguo [Plut. *Rom.* 11.1-3] que dizen como se ha de hazer la colonia, juntando un buey y una vaca, y poniendo la vaca hazia la parte de la colonia que se quiere hazer de nuevo, y el buey a la parte de fuera, y llevan un arado y rodean et termino de la colonia por donde ha de yr de ester la puerta. B. Porque ha de yr la vaca de la parte de la poblacion? A. Porque sean las mugeres en sus casas fertiles como la vaca. B. Y el buey de fuera por que causa? A. Porque los hombres sean fuera trabajadores y fuertes como el buey. B. Segun essa razon de los que estuvieren en la medalla el uno ha de ser buey y el otro vaca. A. Lo mismo digo yo, pero como se conoceran? B. Si se viessen las tetas de la vaca. A. En los cuernos he oido dezir que se conocen, y que en Flandes no compran cuernos sin los cuernos, por los quales conoces si es cuero de buey o de vaca. C. Que diferencia hai en los cuernos? A. Los de la vaca son como los cuernos de la luna, y no faltara alguna fabula a este proposito, y como le sacrificavan por esto vacas; los de los toros y bueyes salen mas a fuera, y assi hazen mas daño con las puntas hazia arriba, o a los lados”.

68 Fest. 229.5-7: “Propatulum late patens atque apertum, et patuli boves, quorum cornua in diversum super modum patent”. Slightly different is the reading given in Agustín 1559, 383: “Et patuli boves, quorum cornua in diversum supra † modum patent”. On *propatuli boves*, see also Meursius 1599, 250-1: “Ut ego me ruri humaxari mavelim patalem bovem [Plaut. *Truc.* 277]. Haec lectio a Scaligero profecta, propter auctoritatem tanti viri in textum recepta est. Ego viri tanti, quem unica, ut debeo, colo, auctoritati detractum ire nolo, sed heic tamen eum sequi non possum, quum omnes veteres constanter habeant Patulum. Et sane meliores Festi editiones ita praeferunt, non Patalem. Deinde ex Iunio Philargyrio et Servio ad Georg. III scimus *patulos* boves adpellatos [Serv. *georg.* 1.375], qui cornua late distantia habeant, qui Graecis poetis εὐρυμέτωπος [Hom. *Il.* 10.292 and Hes. *Theog.* 291]. Iidem quoque *propatuli* dicti, teste hoc ipso Festo in *propatulum*. Sed, ut quod super hoc loco censeo semel dicam, scripsit Plautus *patulem* ἀρχαϊκῶς, nam veteres nomina secundae declinationis etiam tertia indifferenter efferebant. Hoc Festus antiquitatis diligentissimum scientissimusque adnotaverat, sed locus postea corruptus, et *patulem* in *patalem* mutatum est. Confirmat et hoc coniec-

logical treatises also classified bovine gender according to horn shape. Many examples can be adduced, but the most relevant are the *De differentiis animalium* (1551) of the English scholar Edward Wotton (1492-1555), where the question of classification is discussed in detail, and the four-volume *Historia animalium* (1551) written by the Swiss humanist Conrad Gesner. Both works treated the shape of the horns as a trait related to gender, but only Gesner seems to provide a potential parallel occurrence for Agustín interpretation, mentioning a German proverb (“Got gibt einem wol ein ochsen | aber nit bey den hörnen”).⁶⁹ Gesner’s treatise is notable for its many illustrations. Curiously enough, in the pictures of the ox and cow [figs 45a-b], the horns could fit the description given in Agustín’s *Diálogos*:⁷⁰ the horns of the male curve outward while those of the female curve slightly inward. However, there is no proof that Agustín’s statement was derived from this illustration, even though it seems to be the only iconographic model to support his view.

There are no signs of this particular iconography in the numismatic treatises of the time, not even in the *Diálogos*, since the illustrations end at Book 4. However, in the translation made by Dionigi Ottaviano Sada in 1592, this detail of horn shape was faithfully included in the drawing of a coin of Caesar Augusta following the description in the text, even though it is not present on the original

turam meam, quod si *patulum* Plautus dixisset, iam hoc non novum nec adnotatione dignum sit”. While talking about previous readings on this passage, Meursius mentions Scaliger 1575, 117 [Comm.]: “*Patalem*] Locus Plauti est in Truculento, quam Comoediam nos maiore ex parte a mendis vindicavimus: ut ego me ruri hamakari mavelim patalem bovem | cunque eo ita noctem in stramentis pernoctare perpetem | quam tuas centum cenatas noctes mihi dono dari [Plaut. *Truc.* 277-9]”.

69 Wotton 1551, 73^b: “Haec maris forma spectanda est: neque enim alio distat bonus taurus a castrato, nisi quod tauris in aspectu generositas, tarva fronte, auribus setosis, torosiore cervice, ventra paulo substrictiore, cornibus brevioribus et in procinctu dimicationem poscentibus, sed tota comminatio prioribus inpedibus stat, ira gliscente alternos replicans, spargensque in altum arenam, et solus animalium eo stimulo ardescens. Vaccae probantur altissimae formae longaeque, maximus uteris, frontibus latisimisque, oculis nigris et patentibus, cornibus venustis, et levibus et nigricantibus, pilosis auribus, compressis malis, palearibus et caudis amplissimis, unguibus modicis et cruribus”; Gesner 1551, 27: “Cornua tauris robustiora quam vaccis, Aristot. circa finem libri 4 de histor. animalium [Arist. *Hist. An.* 538b]; quo in loco Albertus Magnus contrarium habet, his verbis: Cornua vaccarum fortiora et maiora et longiora sunt cornibus taurorum [Alb. Magn. *Animal.* 4.2.4], deceptus forte Plinij verbis, qui tauris minora quam bubus tenuioraque esse cornua scribit [Plin. *nat.* 8.179], cum Plinius boum nomine non vaccas, sed doves exectos intelligat. Similiter et Rasis errat cornu robustius vaccis attribuens. Gerunt autem boves ectomiae, id est castrati, cornua maiora, eadem ratione qua spadones calvis effecti nequeunt”; the proverb is mentioned at page 103: “Germani, Got gibt einem wol ein ochsen | aber nit bey den hörnen, Deus bovem aliquando donat, sed non cornibus apprehendendum”.

70 Gesner 1551, 24-5.

coin [RPC I, 305] [fig. 46a].⁷¹ In two other translations of the same work⁷² – an anonymous Italian version dated 1592 and a Latin one by Agustín's secretary, Andreas Schott (1552-1629), dated 1617 – this treatment of the horns was not carried through in the accompanying drawings. The illustrations in Agustín's original work were placed at the end of every section, while those of all three translations were created *ex novo*.⁷³ In the anonymous Italian and Schott's Latin versions, the illustrations were placed at the beginning or at the end of the treatises, and the relation between image and description was not immediately clear. On the contrary, the images in Sada's translation followed one by one the corresponding text descriptions for ease of reference. Probably, the omission of the iconographic detail of the horns in the other two editions was due to the disposition of the images in the text: when it was necessary to create a link between word and image, the collaboration between translator and illustrator was better controlled, as emerges from [fig. 46b].⁷⁴ Not all colonial coins with oxen and plow illustrated in the Italian translation of Sada distinguished two different horn types, reinforcing the hypothesis that the iconography of this work was extremely faithful to Agustín's description in the text, and the adoption of different horns for the colonial coins was not a free choice of the illustrator but the consequence of a specific textual situation.⁷⁵

71 Agustín 1592a, 208: "B. I due buoi con quello, che lor va dietro, che si veggono in coteste, et in altre medaglie, che significan eglino? A. Sono per dimostrare che è colonia, et Plinio la chiama immune [Plin. nat. 3.18.127], et si truovano certe parole d'uno scrittore antico [Plut. Rom. 11.1-3], che mostrano il modo come s'habbia da far la Colonia, congiungendo insieme un bue et una vacca, et mettendo la vacca verso la colonia che si vuol far di nuovo, et il bue dalla banda di fuori, et tirando un aratro et circondando il territorio della colonia, dove s'ha da far muraglia, alzando l'aratro nel luogo, dove ha da esser la porta di essa. B. Perché la vacca ha da ire dalla banda dell'habitatione? A. Accioché le donne habbiano da essere nelle case loro così feconde come le vacche. B. Il bue perché si mette dalla banda di fuori? A. Perché gli huomini siano fuori lavoratori et forti come il bue. B. Secondo cotesta ragione, nella medaglia uno animale ha da esser bue et l'altro vacca. A. Il medesimo dico io, come si conosceranno? B. Vedendosi le poppe della vacca. A. Ho inteso dire che si conoscono ancora alle corna, et che in Fiandra non si comprano le pelli senza le corna, per conoscere se sia pelle di bue o di vacca. C. Che differenza è fra le corna loro? Quelle della vacca sono a guisa delle corna della luna, et non ci mancherà qualche favola in questo proposito che dimostri etiamdio che perciò le sacrificassero le vacche; quelle de' tori et de' buoi escono assai più in fuori, et perciò, havendo le punte all'insu o dalle bande, urtando fanno maggior male".

72 The translator is thought to be thought to have been Alfonso Chacón; see Missere Fontana 2009, 61-72.

73 Missere Fontana 2009, 61-72.

74 Agustín 1592b, pls 69-70; Agustín 1617, pl. 16.

75 Agustín 1592a, 215 and 238.



Figure 44a

Simon de Myle, *Noah's Ark on Mount Ararat*.
Oil on panel. Private collection. 1570



Figure 44b

Simon de Myle, *Noah's Ark on Mount Ararat*,
detail. Oil on panel. Private collection. 1570



Figure 45a Ox. Engraving. In *Conradi Gesneri medici Tiguri Historiae animalium. Lib. 1. de quadrupedibus uiuiparis. Opus philosophis, medicis, grammaticis, philologis... utilissimum simul iucundissimumque futurum.* Tuguri, apud Christ. Froschouerum, 1551, 24

Figure 45b Cow. Engraving. In *Conradi Gesneri medici Tiguri Historiae animalium. Lib. 1. de quadrupedibus uiuiparis. Opus philosophis, medicis, grammaticis, philologis... utilissimum simul iucundissimumque futurum.* Tuguri, apud Christ. Froschouerum, 1551, 25



Figure 46a Vives 162-4. Aerius. Caesaraugusta. After 19 B.C. L2: CAESAR – AVGVSTA Sacerdos, holding whip, ploughing with yoke of oxen to r.; in exergue, II VIR / Q LVAT M FABIO

Figure 46b Colonial coin. Engraving. In *Dialoghi di don Antonio Agostini arcivescovo di Tarracona intorno alle medaglie inscrittioni et altre antichita tradotti di lingua spagnuola in italiana da Dionigi Ottauiano Sada & dal medesimo accresciuti con diuerse annotazioni, & illustrati con disegni di molte medaglie & d'altre figure.* In Roma, appresso Guglielmo Faciotto, 1592, 208

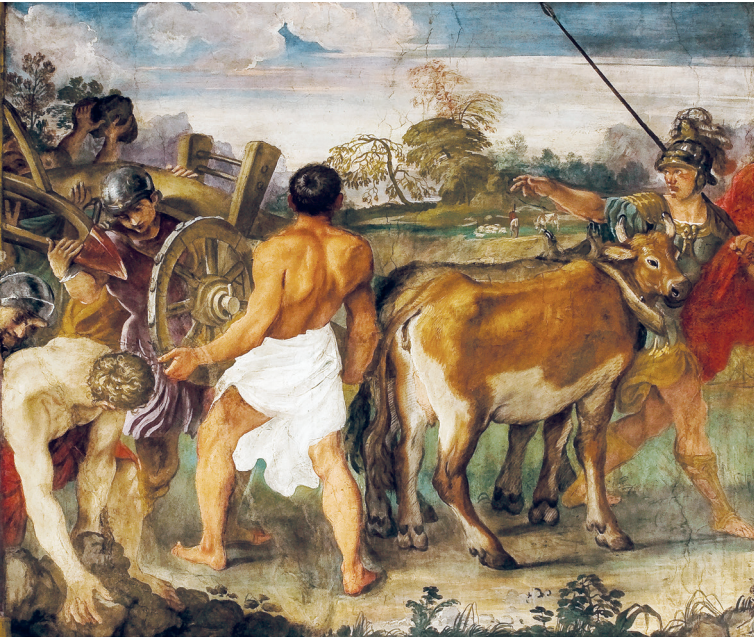


Figure 47a
Annibale Carracci, *Foundation of Rome*.
Fresco painting. Palazzo Magnani,
Bologna. c. 1589-92



Figure 47b
Annibale Carracci, *Foundation of Rome*, detail.
Fresco painting. Palazzo Magnani,
Bologna. c. 1589-92

This treatment of horns deriving from the study of colonial coins evolved into a tradition of its own in contemporary figurative art, as indicated by the frescos of the *Foundation of Rome* cycle at Palazzo Magnani in Bologna painted by the Carracci brothers from ca. 1589 to 1592. In the scene with the motto *In urbe robur et labor*, where Romulus uses the plow to trace the furrow delimiting the *pomerium*,⁷⁶ the two oxen are depicted with two different types of horns - one with an inward-curving shape in the foreground, representing the female, the other in the background with an outward-curving shape,

⁷⁶ On the fresco in general see Vitali 2011; Bettini 2009; Emiliani 2000; Stanzani 2000; Rubinstein 1979.

representing the male [figs 47a-b]. The archetype could have been taken directly from the Spanish *Diálogos* of 1587. However, considering the low circulation of this work (only 60 copies were published in Tarragona),⁷⁷ it is possible that the fresco found its model in Sada's version, where the differences in the bovine gender are also indicated by horn shape.

One must also consider that the coins used as examples for this Italian edition belonged to the collection of the Bolognese antiquarian Lelio Pasqualini (1549-1606), who moved to Rome as canon of Santa Maria Maggiore. He retained close relations with his city of origin and with its artistic environment, including the Carracci brothers, whom he included among his closest friends.⁷⁸ Notes in the manuscript BAV Barb. Lat. 2113 prove that Pasqualini knew very well the original work of Agustín, as he was also author of the appendix of Sada's translation.⁷⁹ In light of this, he may have contributed to the Carracci brothers' conceptions of the iconographic programme of the Palazzo Magnani, where the influence of a numismatist appears almost certain to justify the imagery.⁸⁰

It was confirmed that the main source for the Carracci brothers was the Italian version of the *Vitae Parallelae* of Plutarch translated by Battista Alessandro Jaconello in 1492,⁸¹ in which Romulus traced the furrow of the city of Rome with a plow pulled by two oxen whose horn shapes are not specified.⁸² The classical source does not fully

⁷⁷ Missere Fontana 2009, 61; see also Stenhouse 2009a, 50-1.

⁷⁸ Missere Fontana 2009, 72.

⁷⁹ Missere Fontana 2009, 72.

⁸⁰ However, Giovanni Pietro Bellori and Carlo Cesare Malvasia, do not mention a possible relation between Pasqualini and the Carracci brothers. Even the most recent studies do not mention consultants called to contribute ideas for the decorations, following the order of Lorenzo Magnani. Nevertheless, if the detail of the horns does carry a humanist thought, it would be necessary to identify its paligenesis in the discussion of Roman colonies and colonial coins. See Bellori 1672; Malvasia 1678; Rubinstein 1979. Samuel Vitali, who recently completed a detailed analysis of the frescos in Palazzo Magnani, does not recognise a precise model for the painting, connecting it only with an image of Neptune leading a plow in Vincenzo Cartari's iconographic repertoire. He defines it only as a "figurative option" and not as a "programmatic choice" (Vitali 2011, 140-3).

⁸¹ Stanzani 2000.

⁸² Jaconello 1537, 27-8: "Dapoi in figura di uno circolo signò la città, et lui como principale ad far quella da novo uno vomere de rame mise in lo aratro, et gionse insieme un bove et una vacca, lui guidandoli fermò li termini et fece a torno uno solcho assai profondo. Quelli che seguitavano, havevano tal caricho che le toppe mosse dall'aratro le rebuttavano nella parte dentro. Né nulla permettevano cascasse fuora, terminando il loco per le mura con una linea; et quello spatio che dentro se lassa è chiamato Pomerio, levando de mezzo per sincope le lettere, che vol significare quasi post murum, cioè deretro a muro; et dove volevano ordinare le porte, li levando il vomere ne alzando l'aratro, lassarono uno certo spatio di terreno non toccato dal vomere. Onde tutto il muro eccetto le porte è riputato sacro".

explain the imagery, which, at this point, could have derived from the development of the debate between institutions and numismatics, in particular colonial studies.

As already seen in the case of Florence, the theme of this fresco could also find an ideal correspondence in the *Historia Bononiensis* of Sigonio, published for the first time between 1571 and 1574, in which it was stated that Bologna was a Roman colony.⁸³ Thus the depiction of the founding rite of Rome becomes a concrete reference to the shared identity of colony and mother-city. The fact that Bologna had Roman origins also justified the use of this iconographic theme that, echoing Biondo, made the colony in the image and a likeness of Rome.⁸⁴

The detail regarding the shape of the horns took on a life of its own, in a fresco depicting an episode of the *Storia di Coriolano* (sixteenth-seventeenth century) painted by an apprentice of the Carracci brothers, Lucio Massari (1569-1633), in the Palazzo Bonfiglioli Rossi in Bologna. In the scene with the motto *Vincuntur praelio Volsci*, two bovines with horns of different shapes (curving inward on the left and outward on the right) are depicted from behind.⁸⁵ This feature could be identified as the sex-linked trait used to distinguish the ox from the cow. The fact that here it is represented outside a colonial context, may show the freestanding life of this iconographic element.

Lastly, one could see further repercussions of this cultural dynamic in Bologna, but in a different context. In 1621, when the extensive zoological treatise, *De quadrupedibus bisulcis*, was published by the naturalist and scholar Ulisse Aldrovandi, the horns as a trait for distinguishing gender returned in a very curious way. Aldrovandi, in describing the differences of the horns between male and female bovines, affirmed that the horns of cows can be recognised by their inward curve, recalling a rising moon (“et uno flexu conspicua,

83 Sigonio 1571, 6-7: “Victis inde pulsisque Gallis reliquis totam regionem in provinciae formulam redere, atque ad eam regendam quotannis praetorem cum imperio misere, qui ius diceret et conventus haberet. Conventui vero agendo ipsa est destinata Ravenna, eodemque tempore Bononia colonia deducta. Quae res est, ut inquit Livius, in hunc modum administrata: C. Laelius consul, anno Urbis DLXIII, cum ex Gallia Cisalpina Romam redisset, ut novae coloniae duae in agrum, qui Boiorum fuisset, deducerentur, et rettulit, et auctore eo partes censuerunt, Itaque postero anno ante diem tertium Kal. Ianuarias Bononiam Latinam coloniam ex S. C. L. Valerius Flaccus, M. Atilius Serranus, L. Valerius Tappus triumviri deduxerunt. Tria millia hominum sunt deducta, equitibus septuaginta iugera, ceteris colonis quinquagena sunt data. Ager captus de Boijs fuerat, Galli Tuscos expulerant [Liv. 37.57.8]”. The editorial history of the work, and the controversies with the local inquisition, are narrated in Bastia 1993; Manfrè 1993; 1994.

84 Stanzani 2000, 21.

85 Negro, Pironcini 1995, 1: 236.

cuiusmodi fere sunt novae lunae cornua”).⁸⁶ This expression, as seen before, apparently does not derive from previous zoological publications, but evokes the words Agustín used to distinguish the gender of cows in his numismatic work (“Los de la vaca son como los cuernos de la luna”). This situation shows how this detail continued its history beyond numismatics into other disciplines; and probably it could indicate the vitality of a cultural environment that shared information and readings, constructing the antiquarian narrative through a strong multidisciplinary approach.

4.7 Conclusions

In conclusion, it is possible to say that Roman colonial coins during the Renaissance period were identified according to two criteria: their legends and their iconography. The legend had to have the inscription COL or at least the abbreviation C – sometimes an acronym as in the case of C·V·I (*Colonia Victrix Iulia*) or C·C·A (*Colonia Caesarea Augusta*) – and the name of the magistrates; during the Roman Empire, the names of the emperors and the names of their families were also engraved.

With regard to the imagery, the first element that acted as a distinguishing element was the oxen with plow and the priest delimiting the *pomerium*. The second element was the depiction of military banners, the eagle of the legion, the plow and the agrimensorian *pertica*. Further unconventional imagery was also identified by Pirro Ligorio. Without the reconstruction of the relation between colonies and public treasury established by Onofrio Panvinio, it probably would have been more difficult to connect colonial institutions to coins. However, the revolutionary turning point for the study of colonies that opened the doors to the numismatic world was the critical analysis of the passage on urban founding of Varro’s *De lingua latina*. Those who gave impulse to the new interpretation of this work were Antonio Agustín, Carlo Sigonio, and Enea Vico, who, most probably, were in contact with one another. Sigonio offered a more structured contribution in juridical antiquarian studies, consolidating the connection between coinage and institutions; Vico provided a broad representation of coins confident in the views of Sigonio, who saw the colony as an independent entity, but submitted to specific mechanisms; Agustín found confirmation of these phenomena starting from the geographical sphere.

All of this pushed forward research and a renewed understanding of the sources, which also created an intersection of viewpoints,

⁸⁶ Aldrovandi 1621, 36-7: “Horum vero cornua a vaccinis sic distinguuntur, quippe quod illorum et maiora et tortuosiora sint, harum minora et uno flexu conspicua, cuiusmodi fere sunt novae lunae cornua”.

emerging remarkably from the use of geographical texts, like the *Liber Coloniarum* attributed to Frontinus and the anonymous *Itinerarium Antonini*. Once the relation between oxen, plow, and colonies was established the entire iconographic system that had developed previously around these elements had to be reconsidered. The new antiquarian knowledge modified the earlier accepted views of scholars like Valeriano and Erizzo.

In the cases of Vasari and the Carracci brothers it is clear that their projects would have not been possible without decades of sedimentation of scholarly and antiquarian views on the subject. For the decoration of Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, it emerges that the entire figurative arrangement derived from the studies on colonies – especially the detail of the plow delimiting the territory of the first city. In fact, it did not have to do with just an ordinary city, but with a colony regulated by its own mechanisms with its own specific characteristics. All of this is well outlined in the experience of Vincenzo Borghini. An inverse path is made for the Palazzo Magnani in Bologna, where it was the theme (*The Founding of Rome*) that evoked a colonial context, in virtue of the fact that the colony wanted to reproduce the layout and image of the mother-city. Thus Bologna, identified as a Roman colony by Sigonio, became a tacit reference point for the entire cycle.

Lastly, that the iconography of colonial coins, particularly the ones with oxen, could have been influenced by zoological reasoning is an appealing assumption. From an anatomical detail (the shape of the horns), unexpected pathways of circulation of culture (theoretical and figurative) could have perhaps been opened, starting from the Spanish work of Antonio Agustín and its Latin and Italian translations (especially that of Sada and Pasqualini), to the frescos in the Palazzo Bonfiglioli in Bologna and the work of Ulisse Aldrovandi.

From this cultural journey of European numismatics during the Renaissance, it emerges that a series of dynamics were activated thanks to the progressive growth of antiquarian studies, modifying throughout the decades the perspectives of humanists on the subject; even underground flows can be denoted, which sometimes contributed, only dimly, to broaden the possibilities of a critical interpretation of the past.