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NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE FOR RELATIONS BETWEEN SPAIN AND CENTRAL ITALY AT THE TURN OF THE SECOND AND FIRST CENTURIES BC

I wish to draw together three bodies of numismatic evidence that shine a light on relations between Spain and central Italy at the turn of the second and first centuries BC. If we can make sense of them, they promise to add considerably to our historical understanding. These are:

• the unique iconography shared by certain little known local coinages in Baetica and central Italy, and a purse-hoard from the Isla Pedrosa shipwreck;
• the huge numbers of Ebunian bronze coins in central Italy, and the relative rarity of other Spanish coinages; and
• the massive copying in central Italy of Ebunian bronze.  

Iconographic parallels between Baetica and central Italy

In 1995, I showed the use in Baetica and central Italy of a set of otherwise unknown types; I call these the 'Italo-Baetican types', the issues that use these in Baetica the 'Baetican assemblage', and those in central Italy the 'central Italian assemblage'. 3 I want to insist upon this numismatic fact, which cries out for a historical explanation.

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1 An earlier version of this paper was read at the XIIIth International Numismatic Congress in Madrid; Suzanne Frey-Kupper then brought to my notice a number of further Pseudo-Ebusus issues from excavations in Sicily, which are incorporated here; I thank her for her generous assistance.

2 I dealt with the last two themes (with information, as well, on the copying of coins of Massalia and Termessos) in Imitations and in Monetary stock.

3 See Parallels.
The central Italian assemblage is largely unpublished. It is mainly bronze, but includes struck lead issues, sometimes from the same dies as the bronze; there are divisional pieces with uncial values, and coordinated denominations. All legends are Latin, often the names of members of the Annia gens, using the ligate letters, "¥", alone, and in a variety of expanded forms. Overstrikes – including on post-Lex Papiria Roman bronze – give dates in the early part of the first century BC. The mint site or sites are probably in southern Latium and northern Campania.

Huge lead pieces – the so-called "plomos monetiformes" – characterise the Baetican assemblage, and there are divisional pieces with uncial values. The iconography, such as the deities, the theatre and the gymnasium, is Italian, not Spanish, and all

In many major cabinets, these pieces represent up to a fifth of the unidentified coins. I described some of the issues in *Parallels*, and others in *Imitations*, when they are struck over, or overstruck by Roman issues; I hope to publish them systematically within a few years. Many of Group III in: M. von Bahrfeldt, Die römisch-sicilischen Münzen aus der Zeit der Republik, SNR 12, 1904, are in fact central Italian issues.

I use the abbreviation, ‘PhS’, for struck lead.

Legends of this gens include "¥", "L·¥", and "L·¥·", and "¥/SEX".

I first became aware of the existence of the assemblage while studying coins from the river Liri, or Garigliano, at Minturnae; there are also a few provenanced specimens from Pompeii.

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Legends are Latin. This is not surprising, given the scale of Roman and, even more, Italian immigration to mineral and agriculturally rich Baetica in the late Republic; the implication is that these issues were used primarily amongst the Italian colonists. A common legend is PS (see no. 6); expanding this to Publica Societas, Maria Paz García-Bellido has advanced the hypothesis that the grandes plomos were a ‘company coinage’, issued by those exploiting the Spanish mines and oil-production. Mercury standing with a purse is a common type in the central Italian assemblage (see no. 19); this reference to his role as the patron of commerce supports the argument that the Italo-Baetican assemblages are company coinage.

Despite the shared iconography, the Baetican and central Italian assemblages are separate and distinct: most central Italian issues are bronze, while there are few bronze issues from Baetica; the central Italian bronze includes overstrikes on Republican pieces, and on a variety of foreign mints (none Spanish), more likely to have travelled to Italy than to Spain; in each area, the Italo-Baetican types are associated with types not found in the other; there appear to be no issuers common to both assemblages; the central Italian lead is of relatively small diameter, unlike the huge grandes plomos; and there are very few cases where specimens of an issue can with certainty be provenanced to both areas; but what is clearly common and unique to these assemblages is the use of the following Italo-Baetican types, of which I shall illustrate characteristic examples:

9 The weights of the grandes plomos (presumably asses) vary widely, between about 110 and 240 g; so do the weights of the quadrantes, 68.6 g (no. 29 of Parallels), 40.7 g (no. 30 of Parallels), and 19.03 g (no. 53 of Parallels), which extrapolate to as standards of about 275 g, 160 g and 76 g respectively; such a range of weights suggests that lead coins were not made to strict standards. The Æ:Pb ratio in Diocletian’s price edict was 1:34; see C. Morrisson, Les usages monétaires du plus vil des métaux: le plomb, RIN 95, 1993, pp. 79-101; if a similar ratio prevailed in the first century BC, the lead equivalent of copper Lex Papiria asses would have been about 460 g.

10 I now think that the coin with a Punic legend that I listed as no. 97 in Parallels – Head of Vulcan right / Bull right, Punic ‘Ibt’ below, CNH p. 115, Emisión con leyenda Fenicia ‘LBT’, 3, SNG Cop. Spain-Gaul, 75-76) – is, in fact, from an uncertain Punic mint, and, although it uses a Vulcan type, not a part of the Baetican assemblage, even though the Milan piece illustrated there has a Liri provenance. The issue appears always to be struck over Ebusus Group XIX, c. 91-c. 27 BC, semis: Bes / ’yshm - IHH (no. 43). It would be the only issue in either assemblage to use other than a Latin legend, which seems unlikely. There are two other denominations, which are not struck over Ebusus, and do not use Italo-Baetican types (CNH 1 and 2, and SNG Cop. 73 and 74).

11 M.A Marín Díaz, La emigración itálica a Hispania en el siglo II A. C., Studia Historica IV-V, 1986-87.

12 Loc. cit., pp. 29 f.; G. Chic García (supra, n. 8), attempts to tie various of these pieces to the oil-trade by the coincidence of their inscriptions with amphora-stamps from Monte Testaccio in Rome; this would imply a date in the first century AD, whereas I think these pieces are from the turn of the second and first centuries BC.

13 The listing here is not exhaustive; Parallels lists and illustrates all the incidences I then knew of the use of these types, in both assemblages.
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- a man with a ‘shovel’\textsuperscript{14} on his shoulder, often carrying an \textit{askos}, or the \textit{askos} alone;\textsuperscript{15}
- a pair of strigils and an \textit{aryballos} hanging from a carrying-ring, or tied together,\textsuperscript{16} alone, or carried by a dog\textsuperscript{17} or a man;
- Vulcan; and
- flies.

The Isla Pedrosa shipwreck off Gerona in Catalonia adds two further types:\textsuperscript{18}
- a boy kneeling to lace or unlace a stooping man’s sandals, and
- a mouse and lamp.

\textit{The man with the ‘shovel’ in central Italy}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{images}
\end{figure}

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textbf{Obv.} Man striding left, a sack over his shoulder, and his right hand raised; D\textsuperscript{POR} to left; border of dots.
\textbf{Rev.} Man wearing tunic striding right, carrying an \textit{askos} in his right hand, a ‘shovel’ on his shoulder; border of dots.
\textit{Æ} 19 mm 9 5.80 g 0.497 \textit{Parallels} no. 3 = Madrid

\item \textbf{Obv.} Head of Janus; border of dots.
\textbf{Rev.} Same as last; \textbf{N} to left,\textsuperscript{20}
\textit{Æ} 17 mm 5 2.51 g 0.146 \textit{Parallels} no. 8 = Paris, Z3151
\end{enumerate}

\begin{itemize}
\item ‘Shovel’ is a conventional term; it may be a winnowing-fan.
\item For the \textit{askos} alone, \textit{cf}. no \textbf{17} and \textit{Parallels} nos. 18 to 21.
\item These can be displayed in two ways: with the ring facing, and the strigils splayed symmetrically to either side (\textit{cf}. nos. \textbf{10} and \textbf{16}), or tied together and seen from the side, with the two strigils pointing the same way (\textit{cf}. nos. \textbf{14} and \textbf{31}, and the strigils carried by the dog in figure 2).
\item The dog with strigils is found in central Italy only.
\item J.-C. Richard/L. Villaronga, Las monedas, in: El yacimiento arqueológico submarino ante Isla Pedrosa (Gerona), Inmersión y Ciencia, Nos. 8-9 (June 1975); I republished the coins in \textit{Parallels}.
\item This column in coin descriptions is the accession number in my \textit{Liri} database. References in the coin descriptions are not to type specimens, but to actual coins.
\item An example of the ligate \textbf{N}.
\end{itemize}
3 Obv. Bust of Hercules from behind, with head turned left, and a club on his right shoulder; border of dots.\textsuperscript{21}
Rev. Man striding left with a 'shovel' on his shoulder; \textbf{C·AVE} to left. 
\AE \ 21 mm \ 7 \ 6.77 \text{g} \ 0.499 \ \textit{Parallels} no. 14 = Madrid

\textit{as, after c. 91 BC.}\textsuperscript{22}

4 Obv. Forepart of lion right.
Rev. Same as last; no legend.
\AE \ 28 mm \ - \ 11.29 \text{g} \ 0.164 \ Paris, Ailly 977

5\textsuperscript{23} Obv. Head of Janus; \textbf{Ç} to left; border of dots.
Rev. Same as last striding right, but with a large pendant phallus.
\textit{PhS} \ 21 mm \ 9 \ 7.35 \text{g} \ 30.009 \ \textit{Parallels} no. 15

\textit{The man with the 'shovel' in Baetica}

\textsuperscript{21} The obverse copies RRC 297/1, denarius, \textbf{TLQ}, of c. 112-111 BC.
\textsuperscript{22} This issue is struck over Roman \textit{asses}, in this case, RRC 339/1 of 91 BC.
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6 Obv. Naked man striding left, a ‘shovel’ inscribed PRUM over his left shoulder, holding out a bell in his right hand; PbS on either side; all in a laurel-wreath tied below.

Rev. Naked man, half kneeling right, his left leg forwards, pouring liquid from an askos; a phallus decorated with fillets downwards to right; Q·CO·ILI·Q· around; LVSO in linear tablet in exergue; all in a laurel-wreath with berries, tied below.

PhS 53 mm 6 123.39 g 0.503

as?

7 Obv. Man striding right with large erect phallus and no inscription on the ‘shovel’; NONIO MINVS around; SJ between legs; no visible border.

Rev. AAT LAN in two lines; border of dots.

PhS 51 mm 4 31.010 Parallels no. 25 = Plomos p. 27, no. 4; Col. Cayón24

quadrans

8 Obv. Head of Vulcan, wearing pileus right, tongs on shoulder; border of dots.

Rev. Same as last; Σ to right.

Æ 18 mm 3.83 g 0.033 Parallels no. 31 = CNH p. 420;25 Lindgren, European Mints 625

9 Obv. Naked man striding right, a ‘shovel’ over his left shoulder; before him a ring, from which are suspended two strigils and an aryballos.26

Rev. CELTE; askos (?) below; wreath (?) above; border of dots.

PhS 26 mm 7 8.69 g 0.576 Parallels no. 33 = Plomos p. 8 (Celti), no. 2 = Col. Gago 138, Seville

Figure 1: Athlete’s bronze toilet set — a carrying ring from which are suspended an aryballos for oil, and two strigils. Roman, second or first century BC.27

This issue is struck both in lead and bronze (14 mm), from the same dies.

23 J.R. Cayón’s collection, which he kindly showed me.

24 From the area of Alcalá del Río, in the Province of Seville.

25 This is the only issue I know in either assemblage to carry both the man-with-a-shovel and strigils-and-aryballos types.

27 I thank the British Museum for permission to use the photograph.

52
10 Obv. Bearded head of Vulcan in wreathed pileus right; tongs behind; P·CAIO before; border of dots.
Rev. Ring, from which are suspended two strigils and an aryballos; caduceus to left; F to right; border of dots.
Æ 19 mm 8 4.07 g 4.189 Parallels no. 39

11 Obv. Bearded, long-haired male figure standing left, leaning on a staff in his left hand, and holding a patera in his outstretched right hand.
Rev. Dog standing right, carrying a ring in mouth, from which are suspended two strigils and an aryballos; border of dots.
Æ 28 mm – 6.64 g 8.003 Parallels no. 41 = SNG Cop., uncertain of Etruria 44-45

12 Obv. Panther standing right, its left forepaw raised to hold a thyrsus over its shoulder;²⁸ border of dots.
Rev. Same as last.
Æ 14 mm 3 2.64 g 0.080 Parallels no 43 = BM uncertain SP pl. 2872 5/7

quadrans

13 Obv. Male figure, wearing pileus, and holding long-handled spear (?)²⁹ forwards, advancing right; TI to left, P·CA·P to left; border of dots.
Rev. Same as last, but I above.³⁰
PhS 15 mm – 32.020 Parallels no. 44

²⁸ This is the reverse type of the commonest bronze issue in the central Italian assemblage: the obverse has an ivy-crowned head of Dionysus right; Imitations, pp. 13-14 and pl. 31, nos. 15-19.
²⁹ Perhaps the ‘shovel’.
³⁰ An example of lead with uncial value-marks in central Italy.
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14 Obv. Mule’s head right; star and crescent before; border of dots.
Rev. Foot right,\(^{31}\) wearing sandal, with tie-strings at mid-calf; two strigils and an aryballos, bound together for carrying, to right; \textbf{P·C·A\textit{N}M·C} around; border of dots.
PbS 17 mm 2 \(31.004\) Parallels no. 52, cf. Plomos p. 24, no 9’’; Col. Cayón

\textit{Triens}

15 Obv. Same as last, but \textbf{NL} below, \textbf{DE L} below; \(\$\) before.\(^{32}\)
Rev. Same as last.
PbS 23 mm 4 \(31.006\) Parallels no. 53, cf. Plomos p. 24, no. 9’; Col. Cayón

16 Obv. Split ring, from which are suspended two strigils and an amphora-shaped aryballos; star to left; wheel to right; border of dots.
Rev. Foot right, wearing sandal with tie strings at mid-calf; border of dots.
PbS 22 mm 0 \(100.261\) cf. Parallels 55; cf. Plomos 12; CNG 67, 2004, 1076

17 Obv. Askos right;\(^{33}\) border of dots.
Rev. Same, but no symbol, and elliptical aryballos.
PbS 23 mm – 8.63 g 100.056 Parallels no. 57, Aureo, 15 Dec. 1994, no. 2309

\textit{Quadrans}

18 Obv. Amphora; \textbf{Q·PACCI} up to left; unidentifiable object to right; border of dots.
Rev. Same, but ball-shaped aryballos; \(\$\) to left; border of dots.\(^{34}\)
PbS 27 mm 9 19.05 g 33.004 Parallels no. 58, Pliego

\(^{31}\) The foot type, common in Baetica, is not found in central Italy.
\(^{32}\) An example of lead with uncial marks in Baetica.
\(^{33}\) The \textit{askos} is an attribute of the man with the ‘shovel’; here it appears as a separate type.
\(^{34}\) An example of lead with uncial marks in Baetica.
19 Obv. Vulcan standing left, wearing *pileus*, a cloak over his left arm and a hammer in his right hand; N behind; border of dots.
Rev. Mercury standing, holding out a purse to left in his right hand, and a *caduceus* on his left arm; N to right; border of dots.
Æ 16 mm 8 1.36 g 0.326 Parallels no. 67 = Berlin, Löbbecke

20 Obv. Bearded head of Janus; border of dots.
Rev. Head of Vulcan, wearing *pileus*, right, tongs on shoulder; L·N·N·I behind; border of dots.
Æ 18 mm 1 3.90 g 14.002 Parallels no. 72

21 Obv. Head of Mercury, wearing winged *petasus*, right, *caduceus* on shoulder; N below.
Rev. Vulcan, kneeling left, and holding a large pair of tongs at ground level; border of dots.
Æ 18 mm – 2.00 g 16.006 Parallels no. 77

22 Obv. Head of Vulcan, wearing *pileus*, right, tongs on shoulder; border of dots.
Rev. Lion running right; M above; linear border.
Æ 14 mm 2 1.63 g 6.036 Parallels no. 85

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35 See also no. 8; nos. 19–21 are all of the Annia gens.
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The unifacial tessera, with a fly seen from above, is found both at Minturnae in central Italy and in Baetica. There are no common dies in pieces from the two areas, and they seem to differ stylistically, which suggests parallel issues, rather than a single issue.

23 Obv. Bearded head of Vulcan wearing pileus right; S before; all in wreath tied below.
Rev. Vulcan wearing pileus seated left, holding out some object in his right hand; AES to left; CED to right; all in wreath tied below.
PBS 47 mm 0 31.012 Parallels no. 91 = Plomos p. 30, no. 18; Col. Cayón

24 Obv. Same as last, but Vulcan beardless, no S, and wreath tied above.
Rev. Axe, with handle left, in wreath tied right.
PbS 48 mm 8 116 g 100.085 Parallels no. 92 = Aureo, 28 Sept. 1995, no. 303

The unifacial tessera, with a fly seen from above, is found both at Minturnae in central Italy and in Baetica. There are no common dies in pieces from the two areas, and they seem to differ stylistically, which suggests parallel issues, rather than a single issue.

56 This unique piece, said to have been found in Catalonia, was published by L. Villaronga, Plomos monetiformes de la Cítor de época romano-republicana, RIN 95, 1993, p. 318, no. 19.
57 The fly is also used as an ancillary type in Baetica; see Parallels nos. 101-103.
**Central Italy**

- **Obv.** Fly seen from above.
- **Rev.** Blank.

- **25**
  - PbS 19 mm 2.68 g 28.005  Parallels no. 99

**Baetica**

- **26**
  - PbS 16 mm 4.20 g 31.001  Parallels no. 100 = Col. Cayón

**Central Italy**

- **27**
  - **Obv.** Head of Apollo right; * behind.
  - **Rev.** Boy facing left, tying the sandals, or washing the foot, of a stooping man, facing right; the man’s left knee is lifted, and his left hand is on the boy’s head; * to right.
  - PbS 17 mm 3 4.22 g 18.064  Parallels no. 106

**Isla Pedrosa shipwreck**

**quadrans**

- **28**
  - **Obv.** Head of Vulcan wearing pileus right; tong on shoulder; **ZVR(?)** behind.
  - **Rev.** Same, but the man’s hand not on the boy’s head and 1 to right; * in field above value-mark.
  - PbS 20 mm 1 4.80 g 0.506  Parallels no. 108 = Isla Pedrosa (n. 18)

**Obv.** Bearded longhaired theatre mask right; linear border.
- **Rev.** Oil-lamp, nozzle right; a mouse to right, standing up, left, with its forepaws on the lamp.
The Italo-Baetican types are not used outside the central Italian and Baetican assemblages, with two exceptions: the single use of the strigils and aryballos at Rome, and Vulcan more generally.

The strigils and aryballos, bound together with a cord, is the reverse type of the rare Roman quadrans of Ti. Veturius, RRC 234/2 (no. 31); the issue, which Crawford gives to 137 BC, also includes a denarius, RRC 234/1 (no. 32); we need to consider together the iconography of the two denominations, in the light of the new understanding, that the reverse of the quadrans – which is unique in the Roman coinage – uses an Italo-Baetican type.

Nos. 29 and 30 are from the same dies. There is a later state of the reverse die (Parallels 110, with a central Italian provenance), where a handle has been cut through the deteriorated oil-lamp, to make it into an axe, and where the mouse is unrecognisable.
Crawford’s dating makes the denarius the earliest to break with the traditional Roma-head/chariot types: the obverse has a head of Mars;40 the reverse copies the oath-scene from the gold stater of 225-214 BC, RRC 28/1 and 29/1 (no. 33). This date depends on the hypothesis that on both issues the oath-scene refers to the trapping by the Sabines in 321 BC of a Roman army at the Caudine Forks, upon which the Roman commander made a foedus with the Sabines, under which his army went free. In 137 BC, C. Hostilius Mancinus made a similar foedus with the Numantines; Tiberius Gracchus was his quaestor; the senate subsequently repudiated the foedus, and in consequence gave Mancinus over to the enemy. Crawford argues that, before 137 BC, the story of the Caudine fork did not include the repudiation of the agreement, and therefore that, «if a story of the Caudine Forks current in 137 was one in which an unfavourable agreement made in disastrous circumstances was nonetheless honoured, the scene of the denarius stands as a simple statement of an exemplum to be followed and a powerful appeal to the concept of fides Roma».41 On this assumption, he argues that the denarius supports «the ratification of the foedus Numantinum of 137, in the negotiation of which T. Sempronius Gracchus... was closely involved»;42 that the decision to repudiate Mancinus’ foedus and surrender him to the enemy caused this element of 137 BC to accrete to the story of the Caudine Forks, and therefore that the oath-scene «portraying the foedus after the Caudine Forks cannot possibly... have been produced after 137, in which year the unfavourable version of the story of the Caudine Forks became current».43 But there is no certainty that the oath-scene at any stage referred specifically to the Caudine Forks; nor does the argument take into account the copying of the obverse (no. 34) and reverse (no. 35) types of the denarius by the insurgents in the

39 The coins illustrated in this section (nos. 31-36) are:
- no. 31, RRC 234/2b, Æ quadrans: Obv. Head of Hercules wearing lion’s skin, right; ß behind. Rev. Strigils and arballos hanging from a carrying-ring, ROMA and TL. VETVR on either side; CNG Mail Bid Sale 58, 1015;
- no. 32, RRC 234/1. Æ denarius: Obv. Helmeted head of Mars, right, TL. VETVR behind. Rev. Oath-scene, ROMA above; ANS (1937.158.593);
- no. 34, A. CAMPA. A. C. Campagna. La monetazione degli insorti italici durante la Guerra sociale (Soliera 1987), 83 = SYDENHAM 637 = BMCRR 55. Æ denarius, C. Papius in Campania (90 bc): Obv. Same as no. 32, but VITIEL in Oscan behind. Rev. Same as no. 31, but four oath-takers, and C.PAAPII in Oscan in exergue; Paris, Luynes 33.
- no. 35, Campagna 96 = SYDENHAM 640, Æ denarius: C. Papius in Campania (90 bc): Obv. Head of Mars in created helmet, left (copied from RRC 319/1, Q.THERM M.F of 104 bc, or RRC 320/1 L.IVLI L.F CAESAR of 103 bc), MVTL.EBRATVR in Oscan around. Rev. Same as no. 32, but C.PAAPI in Oscan in exergue; Leu 17, 294.
- no. 36, Campagna 35 = SYDENHAM 620, Æ denarius, Corfinium (90 bc): Obv. Laureate head of Italy, left, ITALIA behind. Rev. An oath being sworn by eight warriors, a pennant behind; Paris, Luynes 40.

40 I have no immediate suggestion why this type was used.
42 RRC p. 266.
43 Ibid., p. 47.
Social War, to which time we can date much of the central Italian assemblage. Why should the insurgents have chosen to adopt the oath-scene as a major type for their coinage, if it referred to the Caudine Forks, now understood as an example of Roman duplicity? Moreover, the oath-scenes on no. 34, and reverses such as no. 36, show larger groups of oath-takers, with difficulty assimilated to the story of the Caudine Forks. I therefore think it more likely that the sense of the type is simply a pact, originally between Rome and her allies against Hannibal, and later between the allies against Rome. I further suggest that its use by Ti. Veturius is a plea for Italian support for the policies of Gaius Gracchus, by reference to this earlier unity, and that the issue must be dated down accordingly, which would also resolve the anachronism of the otherwise over-early use of non-traditional types. If so, the Italo-Baetican strigils and aryballos type on the quadrans—which seems to have been used on a ‘company coinage’ in Baetica, where most immigrants and negotiatores were Italians rather than Romans—probably refers to the support Gaius sought from the publicani, including those exploiting the metal and oil of Baetica.

The strigils and aryballos carried in a Maltese dog’s mouth (see nos. 11-13) is also found on a Calenan black ware tondo from Gravisca (p. 15, figure 2), dated to the mid-fourth century BC (?); the persistence of the image over hundreds of years in central Italy shows that it was a formal icon, presumably of ritual significance, which we cannot yet read.

Vulcan is the only other Italo-Baetican type used outside these assemblages; it is a rare type in Sicily and Italy generally; in republican Rome a head of Vulcan occurs only in the late second century BC, on the unusual dodrans denomination, which was struck twice, RRC 263/2, m·metellvs m·f, of 127 BC, and RRC 266/2, c·cassi, of 126 BC; on a denarius serratus, RRC 314/1, l·cot, of 105 BC; and, in miniature, above the Lares Praestites seated facing, a dog between them, on a denarius.
of L·CÆSÆ, RRC 298/1, of 112 or 111 BC. There are also a few occurrences of Vulcan on the imperial coinage. In Spain, outside the Baetican assemblage, the coins of Malaka carry a very Punic Vulcan.

I know of no other use of the man with the ‘shovel’. He is the same personage in both places, though there are slight differences in iconography: in Baetica, he frequently rings a bell, and is more clearly ithyphallic; in Parallels, I suggested that he may be a mime.

I know of no other occurrence of the boy kneeling to tie a stooping man’s sandals. The mouse and lamp issue is probably central Italian. The fly tesserae are relatively common in both central Italy and Baetica; they were probably struck in both places.

**Spanish coins in Central Italy**

Despite these iconographic parallels, coins of the Baetican assemblage are very rare, and Spanish coins other than Ebusan are relatively uncommon in central Italy; my database of non-Roman coins from the River Liri at Minturnae contains about 8% of Spanish coin, of which 4% are canonical Ebusan.  

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Figure 2: Callena black ware tondo, with the dog carrying the aryballos and strigils.  
_Mid fourth century BC (?)_  

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51 N = 1206 coins, including three coins of the Baetican assemblage, and not including 774 coins of the central Italian assemblage.
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Spain, including Ebusus\textsuperscript{52} 8\%  
Other Italy 27\%

Gaul, including Massalia and Sicily 12\%

Pseudo-Massalia\textsuperscript{53} 11\%  
Greece 11\%

Pseudo-Ebusus 5\%  
Asia 11\%

Pseudo-Panormus 5\%  
Carthage and Africa 11\%

Over half of the Spanish material from Minturnae is canonical Ebusan; the Baetican assemblage itself is rare:

East Citerior\textsuperscript{54} 22\%

West Citerior\textsuperscript{55} 2\%

Ulterior\textsuperscript{56} 19\%

Baetican Assemblage\textsuperscript{57} 3\%

Ebusus 54\%

The finds evidence does not suggest that the Baetican and Ebusan materials came to Italy as part of a single phenomenon; moreover, there is no evidence linking the Baetican assemblage and Ebusus.

**Canonical Ebusan coins with central Italian Provenance**

The extensive imitation of Ebusus in central Italy need not be part of the same phenomenon that brought in such quantities of Ebusan minor coin in the first place; when and how did this happen?

Ebusan and Pseudo-Ebusan coins are found at many Italian sites, above all in central Italy; they seem commonest at Pompeii, and represent the bulk of the non-Roman monetary stock there at the turn of the second and first centuries BC.\textsuperscript{58} The canonical Ebusan material present in central Italy does not appear to contain many early pieces: only 6.5\% of the pieces I studied in preparing *Monetary stock* date to before c. 200 BC, while 87.5\% date to c. 200-100 BC. The rarity in Italian finds of

\textsuperscript{52} The imitations of Ebusus are not included here.

\textsuperscript{53} I have not yet tried to segregate canonical Massalia from Pseudo-Massalia in my database, and so cite them together.

\textsuperscript{54} Untikesken-Emporiae, CNH 5, 67-70, 64\% (2), as\%; Kese-Tarraco, CNH 48, 86, ? (3); Iluro, CNH 16; Baitolo, CNH 5; Bolscan, CNH 8; Sekia, CNH 5; Kelse, CNH 9? (2); Arse, CNH 31-3, 33\%; Ikalkusken, CNH 6\%; Ilirikesken, CNH 1.

\textsuperscript{55} Bilbilis, CNH 12; Tanusia, CNH 1.

\textsuperscript{56} Kastilo-Castulo, CNH 43, ?; Gadir, CNH 40-41? (2); Malaka, CNH 4 (2), 21; Cartagonova, CNH 2; Ilici, RPC 192; Lastigi, CNH 5; Carteia, CNH 71\%; Cordoba, cf. CNH 1-8 (3); Inciertas con escritura libico-fenice, CNH 20; imitative semis, cf. CNH p. 427, 1-3.

\textsuperscript{57} *Gran Plomo* (toad), *Parallels* 112; Foot/strigils, *Parallels* 55, CNH p. 115, 3.

\textsuperscript{58} For example, of the coins recovered in the British School excavations in the House of Amarantis (1.9.11-12), the Republic accounts for 40.8\%, the Empire 13.8\%, Ebusus 10\%, Pseudo-Ebusus 9.2\%, Massalia 3.1\%, and other Greek 23.1\%; without the Roman coins, the Ebusan and Pseudo-Ebusan materials represent 42.3\% of the whole. Of the
**NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE**

*Ebusus* Group XIX, a relatively common type in Spain, dating to after c. 91 BC, shows that Ebusan coin no longer arrived in quantity after this date. I think we need to consider two separate, super-imposed origins for the Ebusan material: a small, regular trickle over time, and some extraordinary event or events that brought in a sudden flood of coin, containing a sample of the contemporary circulating medium in Ebusus, including older coins; whatever the mysterious cause of this influx of Ebusan coin, I suspect it is to be dated to the late second century BC. It is not clear how or why this block of coins entered the circulating medium in central Italy, but it was soon augmented by a large number of local copies.

*Ebusus* Group II, *before c. 300-214 BC*, unit

37  *Obv.*  Bes, nude, a hammer in his raised right hand, a serpent in his left.
*Rev.*  Bull walking left on exergual line.
\[\text{Æ} 15 \text{ mm} \quad \text{Liri 100.184} \quad \text{Monetary stock}\]

*Ebusus* Group VIII, 8, *before c. 214 BC*, unit

38  *Obv.*  Same.
*Rev.*  Same as obverse.
\[\text{Æ} 15 \text{ mm} - 2.67 \text{ g} \quad \text{Liri 27.114} \quad \text{Monetary stock}\]

In citing the Ebusan and Pseudo-Ebusan coins, I refer both to *Monetary stock* and to the groups I studied in preparing that paper, namely: my databases of coins from the Liri (Liri); sporadic finds conserved in the Uffici Scavi at Pompeii (Pompeii sporadic); coins conserved in the Uffici Scavi at Pompeii, from sporadic finds and excavations in the forum area under the AD 79 level, the Republic accounts for 18.7%, the Empire 6%, Ebusus 31.3%, Pseudo-Ebusus 14.7%, Massalia 3.1%, and other Greek 29.1%; without the Roman coins, the Ebusan and Pseudo-Ebusan materials represent 37.5% of the whole (*Monetary stock*).
There are three large groups of imitative coins in central Italy: Pseudo-Ebusus, Pseudo-Massalia and Pseudo-Panormus; all seem to date from the early first century BC; in this paper, I deal only with Pseudo-Ebusus.

Pseudo-Ebusus

There are three large groups of imitative coins in central Italy. Pseudo-Ebusus, Pseudo-Massalia and Pseudo-Panormus all seem to date from the early first century BC; in this paper, I deal only with Pseudo-Ebusus.

59 from excavations undertaken in the forum area of Pompeii by Paul Arthur in preparation for the installation of electric lighting (Pompeii forum); material from old excavations at Pompeii conserved in the National Archaeological Museum in Naples (Pompeii old excavations); a purse-hoard from the sewers of a bathhouse at Pompeii VIII.5.36 (Bathhouse); and coins from a votive well at Gragnano, partly published by R. Cantilena, Le Monete, in: P. Miniero et al., Gragnano: Il Santuario Campano, Rivista di Studi Pompeiani 8, 1997, pp. 39-50 (Gragnano).

60 Suzanne Frey-Kupper and I have also identified some Pseudo-Paestum pieces, die-linked to Pseudo-Panormus, which we have not yet published.
The classification of the Pseudo-Ebusan material, which I now present, results from a study of large numbers of coins from excavations at Pompeii, as well as in my Liri database, while preparing *Monetary stock*, and includes a number of new Pseudo-Ebusan issues from excavations in Sicily, which Suzanne Frey-Kupper brought to my notice. The Pseudo-Ebusan issues could not have been isolated without the thorough analysis of the canonical Ebusan issues by Marta Campo. I identify the Pseudo-Ebusan issues by the following criteria:

- a central Italian provenance;
- their non-existence or rarity in the copious material assembled in *Ebusus*, mostly from Spanish museums and collections, but where some of the rarest types – which are, in fact, central Italian – are cited from non-Spanish collections;
- the frequency of die-linking, which suggests that the coins have not travelled far from their origins, and been diluted in the monetary mass;
- type- and die-links to non-Ebusan materials;
- questions of style, flan size and weight; and
- the evidence of the bathhouse purse-hoard, which samples the circulating medium in Pompeii, probably in the early 80s BC: almost half of the coins are Pseudo-Ebusan.

Group I, 1

Group I: Bes/Horse, late second, early first century BC?

Group I, 1 was earlier known from a single specimen in Berlin; a second was found in the excavations at Lilybaeum, Sicily. The lack of a Spanish provenance for

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62 The classification replaces that I earlier gave in *Imitations*, where I classed as canonical Ebusan a number of issues I now regard as Pseudo-Ebusan; moreover, the numbering of groups does not follow the arrangement in *Monetary stock*, because of new imitative issues I have had to integrate since preparing that paper.


64 First published by A. Maiuri, Pompei – Scoperta di un edificio termale nella Regio VIII, Insula 5, nr. 36, Notizia Scavi (1950), pp. 116-136, commented on by A. Stazio, Rapporti tra Pompei ed Ebusus nelle Baleari alla luce dei rinvenimenti monetali, AIIN 2, 1955, pp. 53-57), and re-analysed in *Monetary stock*. The bathhouse purse-hoard also includes a number of pieces, which I discuss in *Monetary stock*, that can be identified as Pseudo-Massalia; the Roman Republic accounts for 26.7% of the hoard, Ebusus 11.1%, Pseudo-Ebusus 43.3%, Massalia 6.7%, Pseudo-Massalia at least 8.9% and probably 12.2%, and other Greek 3.3%.

65 Illustrated here.
this issue, and the new Sicilian provenance, suggest strongly that the issue is Pseu-
do-Ebusan.

Group I, 1, half?

44 Obv. Bes, wearing a tunic (?), a hammer held upright in his raised right hand and a snake in his left. Neo-Punic mem (?) to left
Rev. Horse, right hoof raised, walking right.
Æ 11 mm 5 0.76 g Berlin 1878/1312 = Ebusus Gr. X, 12
=A. Vives y Escudero, Estudio di arqueología cartagenisea (Madrid 1917), CV-6 = idem, La moneda hispánica (Madrid 1926), XI-15

The model for Group II is probably Ebusus XII, 14-17. The small flan size is characteristic of the Pseudo-Ebusan issues in general. There are a number of die-links, suggesting that the coins have not travelled far from their origins. Groups II, 2 and II, 3 have symbols in the exergue, a characteristic absent in the canonical Ebusan issues. Nos. 50 and 51 are both unique specimens in Ebusus. The strong, squat figure of Bes standing firmly on the exergual line is easily recognisable, and links to Group III.

66 Not, I feel, earlier, small-flan Ebusus Group VII, 7, of which I know no specimens from Italy.
67 For die-links in this and other Pseudo-Ebusan issues, as well as the number of known specimens of issues, see Monetary stock.
I next group together a number of anomalous types. There are no Spanish provenances in Ebusus for these groups. Group III has, in most cases, Pompeian provenances; the obverse die of no. 52 is stylistically similar to Group II; the reverse
die is shared with no. 53; nos. 53-56 use Apollo obverses, for which there are no canonical Ebusan models. Group IV is brought together on the basis of a number of stylistic peculiarities, including small heads and borders of large pearls. In Group V, nos. 60 and 61 – linked by the shared image of a toad – are both from the Pompeii Bathhouse purse-hoard, and the degenerate image of Bes on no. 61, which may be compared with that on no. 57, is Pseudo-Ebusan. The attribution of no. 62 is conjectural, on the assumption that the butting bull links to Group II; like no. 58, it is from the Entella Excavations,73 and it seems to use similar large-pearl borders.

Groups III-VI: Anomalous Types Horse-head, Apollo, Mars, Toad late second, early first century BC?

Group III, 1, unit

52 Obv. Bes, wearing a tunic, a hammer in his raised right hand, a snake in his left. 
Rev. Horse-head right. 
Æ 13 mm 3 1.71 g Pompeii forum 59155 Monetary stock 29

Group III, 2, unit

53 Obv. Laureate head of Apollo right; possibly O below right and monogram to left. 
Rev. Same as last. 
Æ 15 mm 9 2.37 g Pompeii, from a cinery urn in tomb 7 OS Columella 2 Monetary stock 30

73 In addition to these two Pseudo-Ebusan pieces, there are two canonical Ebusan coins from Entella, both of Ebussus Group XVIII, 50-60 and 52-70: Inv. 3904 and Inv. 3907.
NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

Group III, 3, unit
54 Obv. Same as last, but no visible symbols.
Rev. Bes, wearing a tunic, a hammer in his raised right hand, a snake in his left.
Æ 14 mm 1 1.35 g Naples Pompeii old excavations P 10739 Monetary stock 31 (broken)

Group III, 4, half?
55 Obv. Same as last.
Rev. Same as last.
Æ 13 mm 1.31 g Bathhouse 43 Monetary stock 32

Group III, 5, unit
56 Obv. Same as last, but Apollo left.
Rev. Same as last.
Æ 16 mm 12.05 g Berlin, Imhoof-Blumer Monetary stock 33
= Ebusus XVI, 21

Group IV, 1, unit?
57 Obv. Head of Diana, a bow and quiver on her shoulder.
Rev. Bes standing facing, his left hand raised, a cornucopiae on his right arm.
Æ 14 mm 1 1.69 g Paris, BnF MMA Muret-Chabouillet 1969 = Luynes G 548

Group IV, 2, half?
58 Obv. Head of Apollo (?) right.
Rev. Bes, wearing a tunic, a hammer in his raised left hand (?), a snake in his right (?).
Æ 12 mm 3 0.92 g Entella excavations, Inv. E 3873

Group IV, 3, half?
59 Obv. Small, bearded head right.
Rev. Same as last, but left hand raised.
Æ 12 mm 3 0.92 g Berlin, Imhoof-Blumer Monetary stock 34
= Ebusus XVI, 23

Group V, 1, unit
60 Obv. Helmeted head of Mars right.
Rev. Toad.
Æ 15 mm 1 2.01 g Bathhouse 41 Monetary stock 35

Group V, 2, half?
61 Obv. Bes standing facing, leaning right arm on staff.
Rev. Toad.
Æ 11 mm 4 1.38 g Bathhouse 42 Monetary stock 36

Group V1, 1, half?
Rev. Eagle with wings open standing right on exergual line.
Æ 13 mm = 1.01 g Entella excavations Inv. E 3876
I class the issues of Group VII as imitative because of their characteristic small flans, their appearance in the bathhouse purse-hoard from Pompeii, and their lack of Spanish provenances. These relatively normal Pseudo-Ebusan issues are in some ways the most difficult to identify, except when they carry symbols not present in the canonical Ebusan material, but nos. 67 and 68 have symbols also found on canonical Ebusus. I suspect that there are other – perhaps many other – relatively accurate local imitations of Ebusus in the coins found in Italy: those that are too accurate, we shall never be able to identify; those that we suspect to be imitations will need checking against the mass of coins found in Spain, before we can be sure.

Group VII, 1, unit

63 Obv. Bes, wearing a tunic, a hammer in his raised right hand, a snake in his left; four-petalled flower to left.
Rev. Same as obverse, but Ḥayn to left, Ḫeth to right.
Æ 13 mm 6 2.55 g Liri 0.65274 Monetary stock 37

Group VII, 2, unit

64 Obv. Same as last.
Rev. Same as obverse.
Æ 13 mm 7 1.59 g Berlin, Löbbecke = Ebusus XVIII, 61 Monetary stock 40

Group VII, 3, unit

65 Obv. Same as last, but probably no symbol.
Rev. Same as obverse.
Æ 13 mm 9 1.38 g Pompeii forum 59154 Monetary stock 42

Group VII, 4, unit

66 Obv. Same as last, but ʕ to left.
Rev. Same as obverse.
Æ 14 mm 7 1.79 g Gragnano 6852

74 Said to be from Sicily.
In Group VIII, I list the many variants of the commonest of the Pseudo-Ebusan issues, with a very stylised and crude Bes; contrary to all other issues, Bes here most frequently raises his left hand, rather than his right, most often without the usual hammer; most have a 'T' symbol, which I think derives from the cornucopiae symbol on canonical issues, and the border, when present, is linear, rather than of dots. Group VIII contains some very rudimentary pieces, on small flans; these may well mark the end of these issues.

Group VIII, 5,\textsuperscript{75} unit

67 \textit{Obv.} Same as last, but \textit{caduceus} to left.
\textit{Rev.} Same as obverse.
Æ 14 mm 7 1.78 g Naples Pompeii old excavations P5671

Group VIII, 6,\textsuperscript{76} unit

68 \textit{Obv.} Same as last, but \textit{cornucopiae} to left.
\textit{Rev.} Same as obverse.
Æ 14 mm 9 1.30 g Bathhouse 44

In Group VIII, I list the many variants of the commonest of the Pseudo-Ebusan issues, with a very stylised and crude Bes; contrary to all other issues, Bes here most frequently raises his left hand, rather than his right, most often without the usual hammer; most have a 'T' symbol, which I think derives from the cornucopiae symbol on canonical issues, and the border, when present, is linear, rather than of dots. Group VIII contains some very rudimentary pieces, on small flans; these may well mark the end of these issues.

\textsuperscript{75} Cf. \textit{Ebusus} XVIII, 58-60.

\textsuperscript{76} Cf. \textit{Ebusus} XVIII, 62-63; it is this rudimentary cornucopiae, I think, that is at the origin of the 'T' symbol in Group VIII.

\textsuperscript{77} I can only suggest that this originated from an initial mechanical copying of the type, which the engraver failed to reverse when sinking the die.
CLIVE STANNARD

Group VIII, 1, unit

69  
Obv.  Bes,\(^{78}\) a hammer in his raised right hand, a snake in his left.

Rev.  Same as obverse.

\(\Phi\) 16 mm  \(=\) 1.45 g  Bathhouse 45  Monetary stock 49

Group VIII, 2, unit

70  
Obv.  Same as last.

Rev.  Same as obverse, but T to left.

\(\Phi\) 16 mm  3  2.34 g  Liri 18.020  Monetary stock 50

Group VIII, 3, unit

71  
Obv.  Same as last.

Rev.  Same as obverse, but right hand merely raised and T to left.

\(\Phi\) 16 mm  0  2.10 g  Liri 5.001  Monetary stock 51

Group VIII, 4, unit

72  
Obv.  Same as last.

Rev.  Same as obverse, but left hand merely raised and T to right.

\(\Phi\) 16 mm  2  1.92 g  Liri 4.001  Monetary stock 52

Group VIII, 5, unit

73  
Obv.  Same as last, but right hand merely raised, no T.

Rev.  Same as obverse, but left hand raised and T to right.

\(\Phi\) 15 mm  9  1.70 g  Liri 27.125  Monetary stock 53

Group VIII, 6, unit

74  
Obv.  Same as last.

Rev.  Same as obverse, but no T.

\(\Phi\) 15 mm  2  1.72 g  Liri 34.027  Monetary stock 54

Group VIII, 7, unit

75  
Obv.  Same, but left hand raised, T to right.

Rev.  Same as obverse.

\(\Phi\) 15 mm  \(=\) 1.97 g  Liri 5.003  Monetary stock 57

Group VIII, 8, unit

76  
Obv.  Same as last.

Rev.  Same as obverse, but also wreath to right.

\(\Phi\) 16 mm  6  1.88 g  Berlin 7902

The obverse of no. 77 belongs stylistically with the more rudimentary issues of Group VIII, where Bes raises his left hand, but the reverse type links to types that have no obvious Ebusan reference. No. 78 appears to be a double-unit, with a two-dot value mark. No. 79 is a unifacial lead strike from a die of the double, not, it

\(^{78}\) In Group VIII, the figure of Bes is so rudimentary, that it is often uncertain whether he is intended to be wearing a tunic or not.
NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

No. 77 appears be reverse die-linked to no. 80, with the obverse head of Mercury, and a very similar obverse die carries the group further, to include a reverse with a dolphin on a tiller, no. 81.

Group IX, 1, unit

77 Obv. Bes, wearing a tunic, a hammer in his raised left hand, a snake in his left, T to right.
Rev. Standing man with upright palm-frond in right hand and left hand on hip; border of dots.
Æ 13 mm 1 1.63 g Liri 100.192 Monetary stock 61

Group IX, 2, double unit?

78 Obv. Horse’s head right; behind.
Rev. Same as last, but : to right.
Æ 22 mm 5 5.25 g Paris, Greek uncertain Z 207 Monetary stock 62

Group IX, 3, lead trial?

79 Obv. Blank.
Rev. Same as last, but no visible value-mark.
PbS 17 mm 1.93 g Liri 34.035 Monetary stock 63

Group IX, 4, unit?

80 Obv. Head of Mercury wearing winged petasus right; border of dots.
Rev. Same as last.
Æ 15 mm 8 1.38 g Liri 15.001 Monetary stock 64

A good number of lead pieces have been found in the River Liri at Minturnae, some of which use Italo-Baetican types, and some of which have value marks; struck lead is characteristic of the Baetican plomos monetiformes; but I imagine this to be only a die-trial.

The obverse type of a horse-head right may associate this issue with Group II, 1 and 2, but the type is too common to bear much of an argument.
CLIVE STANNARD

Group IX, 5, unit?

81  Obv. Same as last.  
Rev. Dolphin right, above, tiller (?).  
Æ  15 mm  4  Liri 32.022  Monetary stock 65

In Groups X and XI, I assemble *halves*, of a variety of styles. No. 82 records the *half* to Group VIII, 7; no. 83 is also of the rudimentary Bes style, without the *T* symbol. No. 84 is stylistically unlike Group VIII, but appears to carry the *T* symbol. Nos. 85 and 86 could pass as *halves* to canonical *Ebusus* XVIII 50-60 and 62-70, but there are none such in the Spanish material, and the central Italian provenances show these pieces to be local imitations. No. 87 is of a particularly ugly and individual style; nos. 88 and 89, from the bathhouse purse-hoard, are also of odd, individual styles.

Group X, 1

82  Obv. Bes, wearing a tunic, a hammer in his raised left hand, a snake in his left, *T* to right.  
Rev. Same as obverse.  
Æ  22 mm  6  0.79 g  Liri 9.001  Monetary stock 67

Group X, 2

83  Obv. Same as last, but right hand raised, and no *T*.  
Rev. Same as obverse.  
Æ  13 mm  9  2.02 g  Bathhouse 57  Monetary stock 68

Group XI, 1

84  Obv. Same as last, but *T* (?) to left.  
Rev. Same as obverse.  
Æ  14 mm  4  1.21 g  Gragnano 7267  Monetary stock 70

Groups X and XI: Various halves, early first century BC?
NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

Group XI, 2

85  
\begin{matrix}
\text{Obv.} & \text{Same as last, but caduceus to left.} \\
\text{Rev.} & \text{Same as obverse.}
\end{matrix} \\
Æ 12 mm 5 1.29 g Liri 27.116 Monetary stock 71

Group XI, 3

86  
\begin{matrix}
\text{Obv.} & \text{Same as last, but no visible symbol.} \\
\text{Rev.} & \text{Same as obverse.}
\end{matrix} \\
Æ 10 mm 0 1.18 g Naples, Pompeii old excavations P10784/26 Monetary stock 77

Group XI, 4

87  
\begin{matrix}
\text{Obv.} & \text{Same as last.} \\
\text{Rev.} & \text{Same as obverse.}
\end{matrix} \\
Æ 13 mm 1.48 g Pompeii forum 59137 Monetary stock 78

Group XI, 5

88  
\begin{matrix}
\text{Obv.} & \text{Same as last, but right hand raised.} \\
\text{Rev.} & \text{Same as last, but left hand raised.}
\end{matrix} \\
Æ 11 mm 6 1.16 g Bathhouse 50 Monetary stock 82

Group XI, 6

89  
\begin{matrix}
\text{Obv.} & \text{Same as last.} \\
\text{Rev.} & \text{Same as obverse.}
\end{matrix} \\
Æ 11 mm 0 1.70 g Bathhouse 48 Monetary stock 83
CONCLUSIONS

How do these various phenomena, all of which bear on relations between Spain and central Italy, relate?

What may be behind the use of the unique types in Baetica and central Italy? Everything points to their being a company coinage in Spain, and a similar conclusion must presumably follow for central Italy. But then, what was the relationship between the two assemblages? Did the same, or related, authorities strike them, in the two areas? What was their monetary function: who used them, and in what circumstances?

I still do not know where the central Italian assemblage was issued, but the fact that only a few specimens have been found at Pompeii and many at Minturnae, and the invariable Latin legends, suggest that it belongs in southern Latium or northern Campania. The time frame for the Italo-Baetican series runs from 140 BC for the Isla Pedrosa shipwreck through the Ti. Veturius issues – which I suggest should be dated to the mid-120s BC – to the 90s and 80s BC, on the evidence of over-strikes on Lex Papiria coins that is, the issues run from at least the Gracchi to the end of the Social War. If my analysis of the T. Veturius quadrans and denarius types is correct, they represent a direct appeal to Italians and publicani to support Gaius Gracchus’ reforms, and this and the re-use of the oath-scene by the rebels in the Social War is a valuable new element in understanding the politics of the period.

It is unclear what brought to central Italy such huge quantities of Ebusan minor coinage, and, until we have better archaeological or numismatic evidence, the date and mechanism of the influx will remain uncertain, but I have suggested that the coins came in a block at the end of the second century BC; it seems most unlikely that commercial contacts brought them in over a long period. There is no evidence that the Baetican assemblage was linked to the Ebusan influx.

Once put into circulation in central Italy, Ebusan types were widely copied. The imitative issues equalled in number the canonical Ebusan coins in circulation. It is not possible to localize the pseudo-Ebusan issues, but the evidence suggests that they come, entirely or in the main, from central Italy: they are common at Minturnae, and particularly common at Pompeii, where they seem to have formed the bulk of the monetary stock during the Social War, when Pompeii revolted against Rome, was reduced by Sulla in 89 BC, and received a Roman colony; Minturnae, on

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81 This may be slightly too high: cf. R. Pascual Guasch, Las ánforas de Isla Pedrosa, in: El yacimiento arqueológico submarino ante Isla Pedrosa (Gerona), Immersión y ciencia 8-9, June 1975, p. 87: «La certeza de contemporaneidad que nos ofrecen los grandes conjuntos de ánforas submarinas que forman un cargamento aquí no existe ya que, dada su función, es muy posible que algunos de estos vasos tras sucesivas reutilizaciones, haya permanecido a bordo durante muchos años». E. Sanmarti Grego, Las ánforas romanas del campamento numantino de Peña Retonda (Garray, Soria), Empúries 47, 1985, p. 156, on the basis of comparable material from Numantia, 134-133 BC, dates the wreck between 140 and 130 BC.

82 See no. 4.

83 I hesitate to speculate whether they were made in one centre and diffused from there, or whether they were a general phenomenon in the area.
the other hand, was a Roman colony and stood with Rome in the war. The new
evidence from Sicily is intriguing: the relative frequency of both Ebusan and Pseudo-
Ebusan coins recovered there is much lower than in central Italy, but there is a high
proportion of Pseudo-Ebusan types, a number of which are known only from
Sicily.84 I do not, however, feel there is sufficient evidence to suggest that Pseudo-
Ebusan issues were also made in Sicily: the coins in question probably came from
central Italy, at a time when the Pseudo-Ebusan issues were most plentiful.

We need to consider whether this copying was merely an economic, or a political
phenomenon. The most banal explanation is that the coins of Ebusus (and Panor-
mus and Massalia) had already been assimilated into the monetary pool, which was
simply topped up by the imitative issues; to evaluate this, we would need to take a
close look at the imitations of Roman coins from central Italy, which should have
been made in comparable numbers, given the ubiquity of Roman coin; there are
clearly many Pseudo-Roman pieces, particularly quadrantes, present at Minturnae,
but apparently less at Pompeii.85 Another possible explanation is that some politi-
cal pressure, formal or informal, prevented local polities other than Paestum from
coining with their own types, and who but the Romans could have applied such
pressure? In any case, the phenomenon of imitative coinages was wider than just
Pseudo-Ebucus, and Pseudo-Panormus seems to have been issued by pro-Romans
at about the time of the Social War.

What was the denominational value of the Pseudo-Ebunan pieces in circulation?
Without more evidence, it is hazardous to assign denominations to these issues; it
is possible, however, that the unit was at par with the Roman quadrans of post-91 bc
weight, which would make the double-unit (no. 78) a semis.86

By far the commonest issue is my Group VIII, particularly Group VIII, 7; the issue
must have been made in enormous numbers: in the sample of about 70 pieces, I

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84 There are only four pieces among the 9898 coins catalogued in: Th. Buttrey, K.T.
(Princeton 1989): no. 3 (pl. 9, 3) is Pseudo-Ebusan Group VIII, 7; no. 2 groups three
coins, which may be Ebusan Group XII, 14-19, but appear light for the issue, and the one
piece illustrated as pl. 9, 2 is probably Pseudo-Ebusan Group II, 5. S. Frey-Kupper, I
ritrovamenti monetali, in: B. Bechtold, La necropoli di Lilybaeum, Regione siciliana,
Asseate regionale dei beni culturali e della pubblica istruzione (Palermo 1999),
pp. 395-457, catalogues 192 coins from Lilybaeum, of which four are Ebusan and Pseudo-
Ebusan: no. 168 is Pseudo-Ebusan Group I, 1; nos. 172 and 178 are probably
Ebusan Group VIII, 8; and 189 is Ebusan Group XVIII, no. 58 & no. 62. There are four coins from
Enel: two are Ebusan Group XVIII, 50-60 & 62-70; the others are Pseudo-Ebusan
Group IV, 2 and Pseudo-Ebusan Group VI, 1.

85 Cf. M.H. Crawford (supra, n. 60), and Imitations.

86 The three specimens I know average 5.51g, which is slightly heavy in relation to the aver-
ages of these units, but not impossibly so for minor bronze coinage. There are two other
ways of explaining the value-mark; one is that it is uncial, denoting a sextans, but the aver-
age weight would give an as of about 35 g, requiring the piece to be put back to the third
or early second century bc, which does not square with the rest of the evidence; another
is that the unit of value was the sextans, making the double a quadrans; there is some sup-
port for this, in that the Mercury obverse type on nos. 80 and 81 is associated with the
sex-
tans, but this, too, would require placing the coin relatively early in the second century bc.
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was not able to find any die-identities; clearly the sample does not adequately represent the universe, unless very few coins per die-pair were struck, which seems unlikely. Purely speculatively, to have a very rough idea of the order of values, we can hypothesize the sample I looked at as 70 die-pairs, multiplied by 10,000 coins a pair, or 700,000 coins; if these are quadrantes, the total value would have been about 11,000 denarii. Even spread over some years, this is too large an issue for a mere counterfeiter; we must assume that some polity – presumably a city – issued, or at least tolerated and encouraged them.

Overall, the volume of small change in circulation in central Italy suggests a largely monetised economy in the towns; the bathhouse purse-hoard shows that the imitative coinages played a monetary function in Pompeii, as part of a currency medium that promiscuously included Roman, Ebusan and Pseudo-Ebusan, Massaliot and Pseudo-Massaliot, and sundry Greek coinage. Although these coins were of little individual value – so that the total value of the issue, even if very numerous, would not have been great – to look at minor coinages in terms of value alone is economic naivety; their function in the economy depended on the speed of circulation, that is, how frequently they were transacted, the monetary supply they thereby provided, and the commercial exchanges they facilitated.

I hope that, by having drawn together these enigmas, on the occasion of the International Numismatic Congress in Madrid, I have opened a number of as yet obscure pathways, which may lead to further surprises, and to a deeper understanding of the economy and politics of Spain and Italy at a crucial juncture in their joint history.

Zusammenfassung

Drei verschiedene numismatische Blickwinkel helfen uns, Licht auf die Beziehungen zwischen Südspanien und Mittelitalien im späten 2. und frühen 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. zu werfen. Es sind dies:
– die einzigartige Ikonographie, die gewisse, wenig bekannte Lokalprägungen aus der Provinz Baetica (Südspanien, Andalusien) mit solchen aus Mittelitalien teilen;
– die grosse Anzahl von Bronzemünzen von Ebusus, die in Mittelitalien gefunden wird;
– die weit verbreiteten Nachahmungen von Bronzemünzen von Ebusus in Mittelitalien.


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