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CLIVE STANNARD

NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE FOR RELATIONS BETWEEN SPAIN AND CENTRAL ITALY AT THE TURN OF THE SECOND AND FIRST CENTURIES BC¹

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 Ebusan bronze coins in central Italy, and the relative rarity of other Spanish coinages; and
- the massive copying in central Italy of Ebusan bronze.²

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.

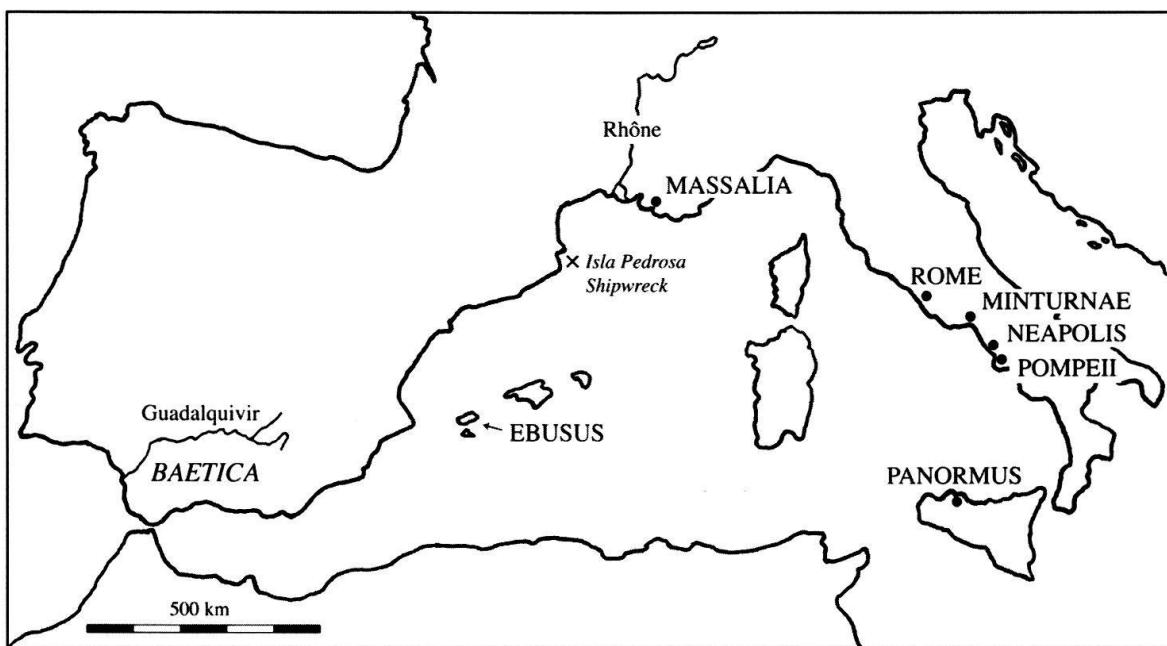
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<i>Parallels</i>	–, Iconographic parallels between the local coinages of central Italy and Baetica in the first century BC, <i>Acta Num.</i> 25, 1995
<i>Plomos</i>	A. CARARIEGO, G. CORES, FR. PIEGO, <i>Catálogo de Plomos Monetiformes de la Hispania Antigua</i> (Madrid 1987)

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-Ebusan 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*.



Map 1: Baetica, Ebusus and central Italy

The central Italian assemblage is largely unpublished.⁴ It is mainly bronze, but includes struck lead issues,⁵ sometimes from the same dies as the bronze; there are divisional pieces with uncial values, and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, **N**, alone, and in a variety of expanded forms.⁶ 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.⁷

Huge lead pieces – the so-called *plomos monetiformes* – characterise the Baetican assemblage,⁸ and there are divisional pieces with uncial values.⁹ The iconography, such as the deities, the theatre and the gymnasium, is Italian, not Spanish, and all

⁴ 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.

⁵ I use the abbreviation, 'PbS', for *struck lead*.

⁶ Legends of this *gens* include **N** and **L·NNI**, **ENN**, **Γ·ΝΙ** and **Γ·Ν**, and **NN/SEX**.

⁷ 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.

⁸ Collected in *Plomos* and discussed by M. PAZ GARCÍA-BELLIDO in: Nuevos Documentos sobre Minería y Agricultura Romanas en Hispania, Archivo Español de Arqueología 59, 1986, nos. 153 and 154, and by G. CHIC GARCÍA, Diffusores olearii y *tesserae* de plomo, Revista de estudios locales 5, 1994, pp. 7-12.

legends are Latin.¹⁰ This is not surprising, given the scale of Roman and, even more, Italian immigration to minerally and agriculturally rich Baetica in the late Republic;¹¹ the implication is that these issues were used primarily amongst the Italian colonists. A common legend is **P.S** (see no. 6); expanding this to *Publica Societas*, María 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.¹² 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:¹³

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 AE: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 'lbt' 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 / 'ybshm - 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 ítala 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.

- a man with a ‘shovel’¹⁴ on his shoulder, often carrying an *askos*, or the *askos* alone;¹⁵
- a pair of strigils and an *aryballos* hanging from a carrying-ring, or tied together,¹⁶ alone, or carried by a dog¹⁷ or a man;
- Vulcan; and
- flies.

The Isla Pedrosa shipwreck off Gerona in Catalonia adds two further types:¹⁸

- a boy kneeling to lace or unlace a stooping man’s sandals, and
- a mouse and lamp.



The man with the ‘shovel’ in central Italy

1 *Obv.* Man striding left, a sack over his shoulder, and his right hand raised; D·POR to left; border of dots.
Rev. Man wearing tunic striding right, carrying an *askos* in his right hand, a ‘shovel’ on his shoulder; border of dots.
 Æ 19 mm 9 5.80 g 0.497¹⁹ *Parallels* no. 3 = Madrid

2 *Obv.* Head of Janus; border of dots.
Rev. Same as last; N to left.²⁰
 Æ 17 mm 5 2.51 g 0.146 *Parallels* no. 8 = Paris, Z3151

¹⁴ ‘Shovel’ is a conventional term; it may be a winnowing-fan.

¹⁵ For the *askos* alone, *cf.* no 17 and *Parallels* nos. 18 to 21.

¹⁶ These can be displayed in two ways: with the ring facing, and the strigils splayed symmetrically to either side (*cf.* nos. 10 and 16), or tied together and seen from the side, with the two strigils pointing the same way (*cf.* nos. 14 and 31, and the strigils carried by the dog in *figure 2*).

¹⁷ The dog with strigils is found in central Italy only.

¹⁸ 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 *Parallels*.

¹⁹ This column in coin descriptions is the accession number in my Liri database. References in the coin descriptions are not to type specimens, but to actual coins.

²⁰ An example of the ligate N.

3 *Obv.* Bust of Hercules from behind, with head turned left, and a club on his right shoulder; border of dots.²¹
Rev. Man striding left with a 'shovel' on his shoulder; **C·AVE** to left.
 Æ 21 mm 7 6.77 g 0.499 *Parallels* no. 14 = Madrid
*as, after c. 91 BC*²²

4 *Obv.* Forepart of lion right.
Rev. Same as last; no legend.
 Æ 28 mm – 11.29 g 0.164 Paris, Ailly 977

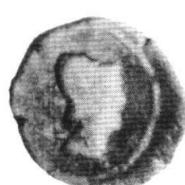
5²³ *Obv.* Head of Janus; **AE** to left; border of dots.
Rev. Same as last striding right, but with a large pendant phallus.
 PbS 21 mm 9 7.35 g 30.009 *Parallels* no. 15



6



7



8



9

*The man with the 'shovel' in Baetica*²¹ The obverse copies RRC 297/1, denarius, **TI.Q**, of c. 112-111 BC.²² This issue is struck over Roman *asses*, in this case, RRC 339/1 of 91 BC.

as?

6 *Obv.* Naked man striding left, a 'shovel' inscribed **PRUM** over his left shoulder, holding out a bell in his right hand; **P·S** 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.
 PbS 53 mm 6 123.39 g 0.503

as?

7 *Obv.* Man striding right with large erect phallus and no inscription on the 'shovel'; **NONI IO MINVS** around; **SJ** between legs; no visible border.
Rev. **AAT LAN** in two lines; border of dots.
 PbS 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; **‡** to right.
 AE 18 mm 3.83 g 0.033 *Parallels* no. 31 = *CNH* p. 426;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.
 PbS 26 mm 7 8.69 g 0.576 *Parallels* no. 33 = *Plomos* p. 8 (Celti),
 no. 2 = Col. Gago 138, Seville

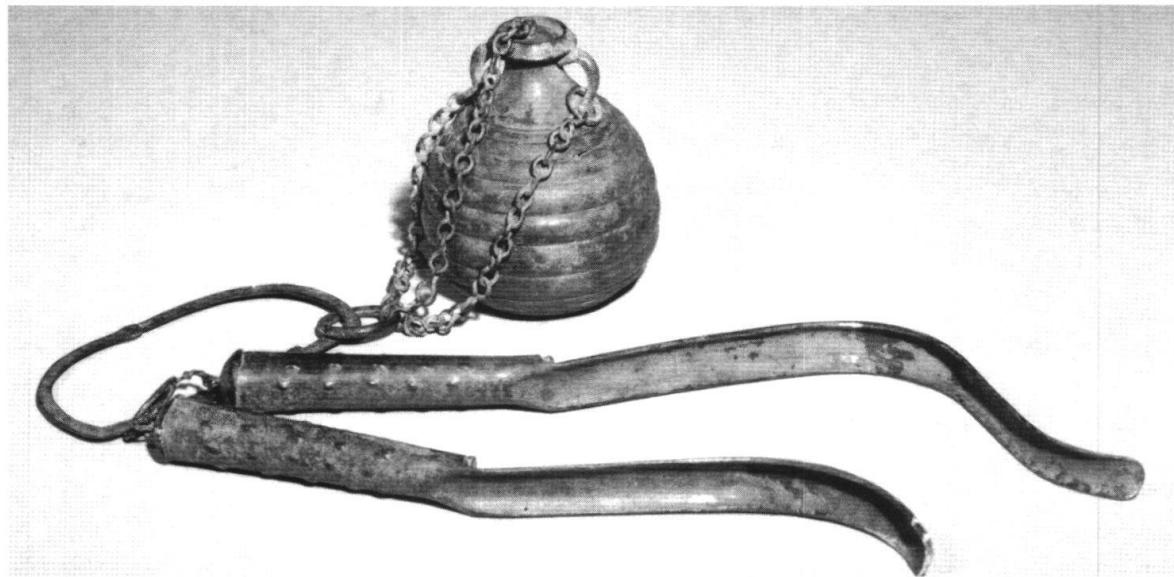


Figure 1: Athlete's bronze toilet set — a carrying ring from which are suspended an aryballos for oil, and two strigils. Roman, second or first century BC²⁷

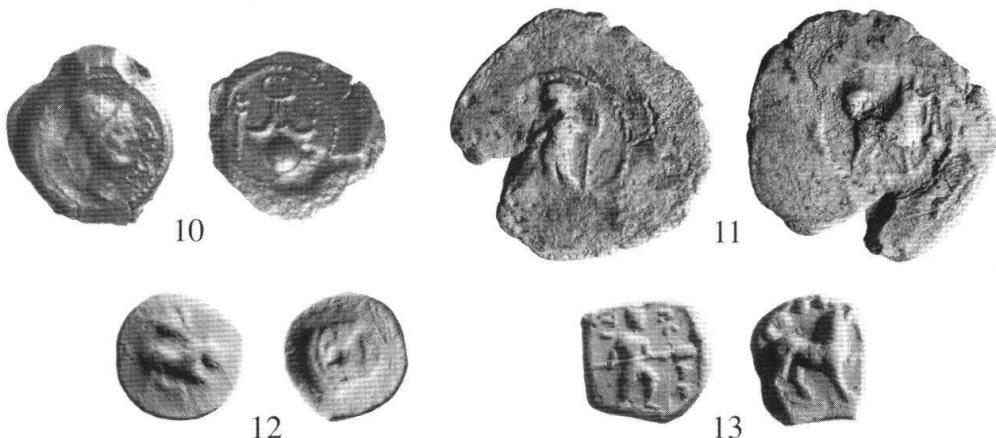
²³ This issue is struck both in lead and bronze (14 mm), from the same dies.

²⁴ J.R. Cayón's collection, which he kindly showed me.

²⁵ From the area of Alcalá del Río, in the Province of Seville.

²⁶ 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.

*The strigils and aryballos in central Italy*

10 *Obv.* Bearded head of Vulcan in wreathed *pileus* right; tongs behind; **F·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, longhaired 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 3/7

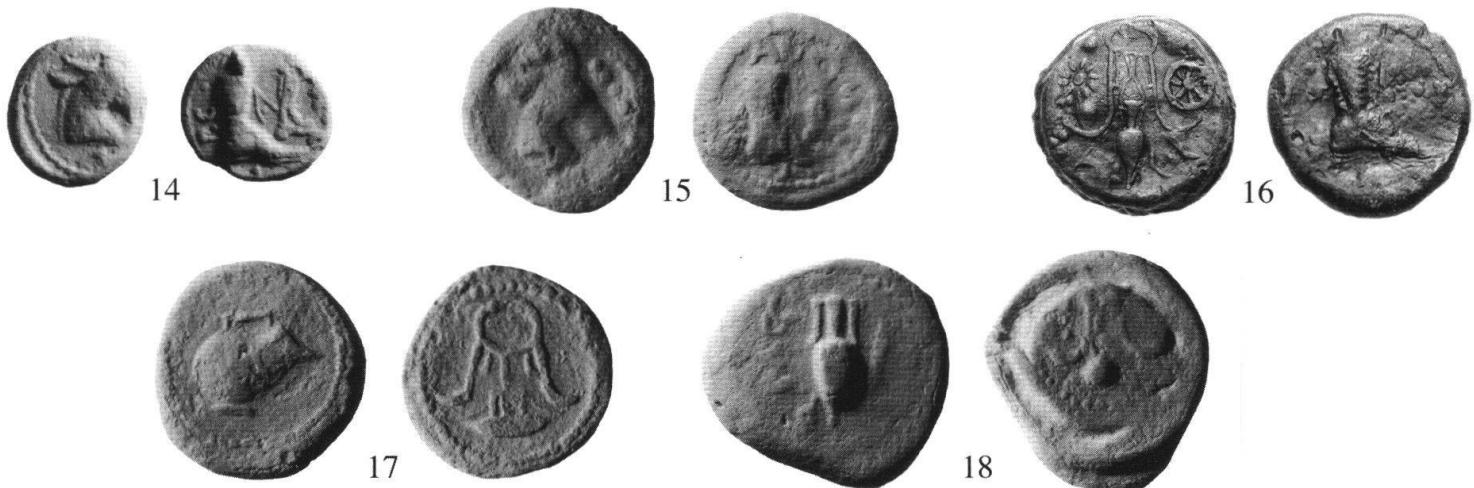
quadrans

13 *Obv.* Male figure, wearing *pileus*, and holding long-handled spear (?)²⁹ forwards, advancing right; **TI** to left, **F·CAP** to left; border of dots.
Rev. Same as last, but **;** above.³⁰
 PbS 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.

*The strigils and aryballos in Baetica*

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; **P·C·AN M·C** around; border of dots.
 PbS 17 mm 2 31.004 *Parallels* no. 52, *cf. Plomos* p. 24, no 9'; Col. Cayón

triens

15 *Obv.* Same as last, but **NL** below, **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

quadrans

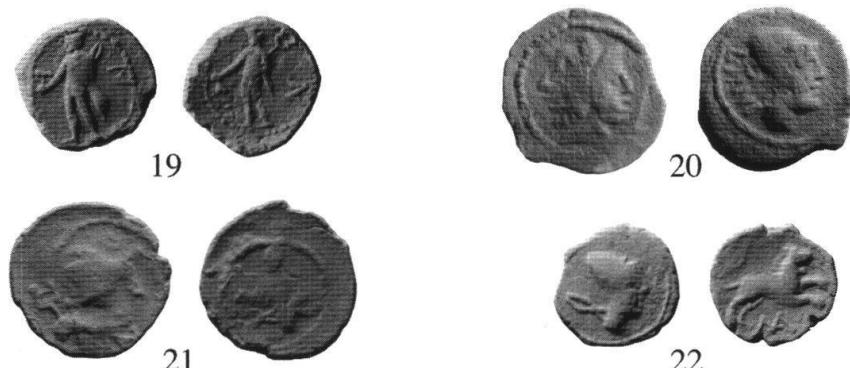
18 *Obv.* Amphora; **Q·PACCI** up to left; unidentifiable object to right; border of dots.
Rev. Same, but ball-shaped *aryballos*; **;** to left; border of dots.³⁴
 PbS 27 mm 9 19.03 g 33.004 *Parallels* no. 58, *Pliego*

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 *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.

Vulcan in central Italy³⁵

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 1.76 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-NNI** 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

³⁵ See also no. 8; nos. 19-21 are all of the *Annia gens*.



Vulcan in Baetica

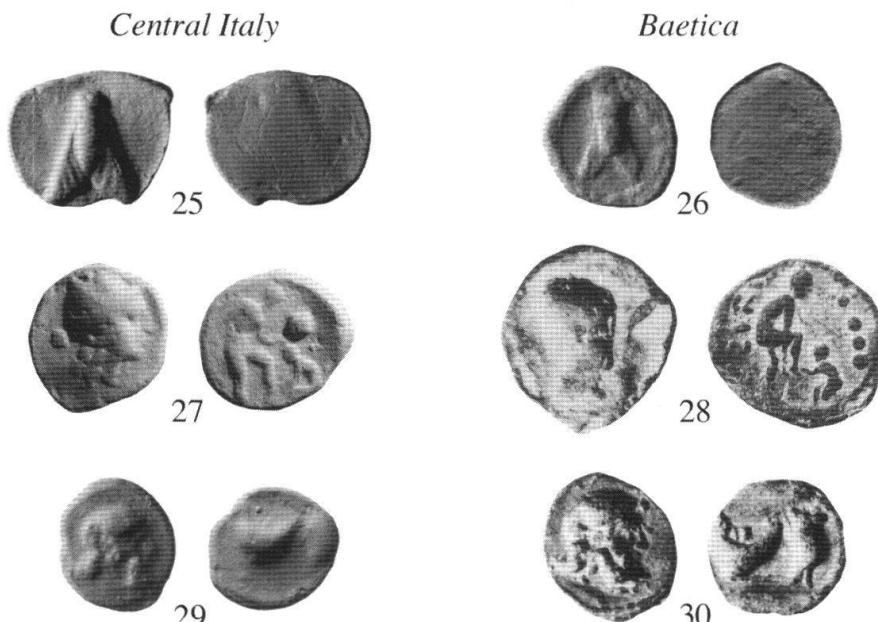
23 *Obv.* Bearded head of Vulcan wearing *pileus* right; **S** before; all in wreath tied below.
Rev. Vulcan wearing *pileus* seated left, holding out some object in his right hand;
AES to left; **CED** to right; all in wreath tied below.
 PBS 47 mm 0 31.012 *Parallels* no. 91 = *Plomos* p. 30, no. 18;
 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.
 1993, no. 303³⁶

The unifacial *tessera*, with a fly seen from above, is found both at Minturnae in central Italy and in Baetica.³⁷ 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.

³⁶ This unique piece, said to have been found in Catalonia, was published by L. VILLARONGA, *Plomos monetiformes de la Città di epoca romano-repubblicana*, RIN 95, 1993, p. 318, no. 19.

³⁷ The fly is also used as an ancillary type in Baetica; see *Parallels* nos. 101-103.



Flies, boy kneeling to tie a stooping man's sandals, mouse and lamp

Obv. Fly seen from above.
Rev. Blank.

Central Italy

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; tongs on shoulder; **ZVR**(?) behind.
Rev. Same, but the man's hand not on the boy's head and ♀ to right; • in field above value-mark.
PbS 20 mm 1 4.80 g 0.506 *Parallels* no. 108 = *Isla Pedrosa* (n. 18)
12

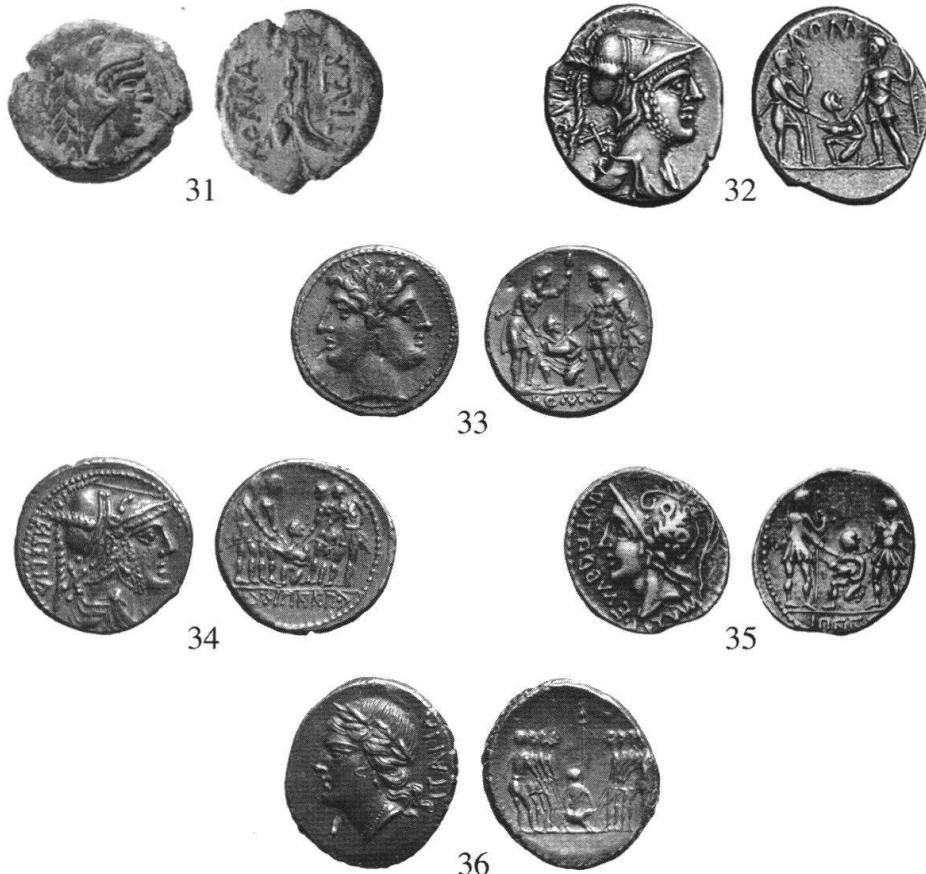
Obv. Bearded longhaired theatre mask right; linear border.
Rev. Oil-lamp, nozzle right; a mouse to right, standing up, left, with its forepaws on the lamp.

Central Italy

29³⁸ PbS 15 mm – 1.98 g 27.064 *Parallels* no. 109

Isla Pedrosa shipwreck

30 PbS 16 mm – 2.59 g 0.508 *Parallels* no. 111 = *Isla Pedrosa* (n. 18)
14



*Use of these types other than in central Italy and Baetica*³⁹

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.

³⁸ 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 forks 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 Romana*».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; *¶* behind. *Rev.* Strigils and aryballos hanging from a carrying-ring, **ROMA** and **TI. VETVR** on either side; CNG Mail Bid Sale 58, 1015;
- no. 32, RRC 234/1, *AR denarius*: *Obv.* Helmeted head of Mars, right, **TI. VETVR** behind. *Rev.* Oath-scene, ROMA above; ANS (1937.158.593);
- no. 33, RRC 28/1. *N stater*: *Obv.* Laureate head of Janus. *Rev.* Oath-scene, **ROMA** in exergue; Paris, FG 67 bis.
- no. 34, A. CAMPANA, La monetazione degli insorti italici durante la Guerra sociale (Soliera 1987), 83 = SYDENHAM 637 = BMCRR 35. *AR denarius*, C. Papius in Campania (90 BC)?: *Obv.* Same as no. 32, but **VITELIA** in Oscan behind. *Rev.* Same as no. 31, but four oath-takers, and **C.PAAPII** in Oscan in exergue; Paris, Luynes 33.
- no. 35, CAMPANA 96 = SYDENHAM 640, *AR 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), **MVTIL.EMBRATVR** in Oscan around. *Rev.* Same as no. 32, but **C.PAAPI** in Oscan in exergue; Leu 17, 294.
- no. 36, CAMPANA 35 = SYDENHAM 620, *AR 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.

⁴¹ M.H. CRAWFORD, *Foedus and sponsio*, Papers of the British School at Rome (1973), p. 6.

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,⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵ 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 Romans⁴⁶ – probably refers to the support Gaius sought from the *publicani*,⁴⁷ including those exploiting the metal and oil of Baetica.⁴⁸

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),⁴⁹ 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;⁵⁰ 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*

⁴⁴ As R. THOMSEN suggested in *Early Roman Coinage*, vol. ii, p. 285.

⁴⁵ For Crawford, ‘the break with tradition on both obverse and reverse (a head other than that of Roma did not reappear on the obverse of the denarius for nearly two decades) can hardly not be connected with a particular dramatic event. The argument over the fate of Mancinus was such’; *supra*, n. 41, p. 4. The possible down-dating of the issue will need to be evaluated against the hoard evidence, which I have not yet attempted. I wish to stress, however, that the study of Ti. Veturius’ issue must take into account the very particular iconographic evidence that I have led.

⁴⁶ E. GABBA, *Esercito e società nella tarda Repubblica romana* (Florence 1973), particularly the chapter ‘Sull’emigrazione romana-italica in Spagna nel II secolo a.C.’

⁴⁷ D. STOCKTON, *The Gracchi* (Oxford 1979), pp. 99-105.

⁴⁸ There is a further suggestive numismatic tie to Baetica: two specimens of the *quadrans*, which recently appeared at auction, had Andalusan patinas, with traces of the region’s characteristic red clay: CNG Mail Bid Sale 54, 1254 and CNG Mail Bid Sale 58, 1015.

⁴⁹ V. VALENTINI, *Gravisca – Scavi nel santuario greco: le ceramiche a vernice nera* (Bari 1993), p. 259, no. 442. I owe first knowledge of this tondo to P. VISONÀ, *Due monete etrusche inedite e rare in collezioni italiane*, SNR 79, 2000, pp. 27-34. I thank Fr. Boitani, Director of the Museo Etrusco della Villa Giulia for permission to use this picture.

⁵⁰ Sicily, Mytilistratos; Islands off Sicily, Lipara; Etruria, Populonia and Vetulonia; Umbria, Ariminum; and Samnium, Aesernia; of these mints, only Lipara struck into the Roman period.

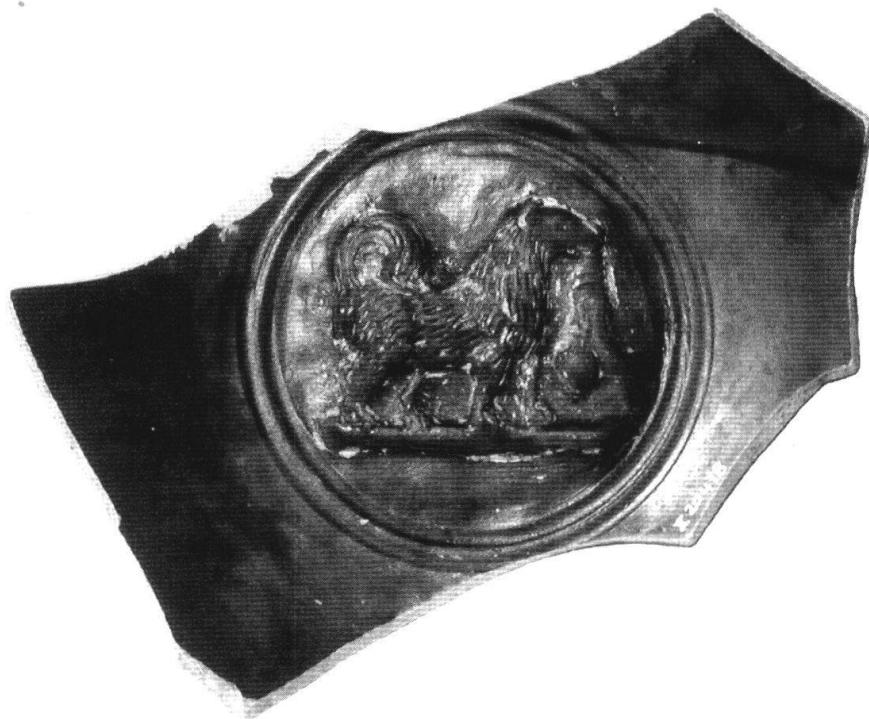


Figure 2: Calenan black ware tondo, with the dog carrying the aryballos and strigils.
Mid fourth century BC (?)

of L·CAESI, 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.⁵¹

⁵¹ N = 1206 coins, including three coins of the Baetican assemblage, and not including 774 coins of the central Italian assemblage.

Spain, including Ebusus ⁵²	8%	Other Italy	27%
Gaul, including Massalia and		Sicily	12%
Pseudo-Massalia 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 ⁵⁴	22%
West Citerior ⁵⁵	2%
Ulterior ⁵⁶	19%
Baetican Assemblage 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.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

⁵² The imitations of Ebusus are not included here.

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

⁵⁴ Untikesken-Emporiae, CNH 5, 67-70, 64? (2), as?; Kese-Tarraco, CNH 48, 86, ? (3); Ilturo, CNH 16; Baitolo, CNH 5; Bolscan, CNH 8; Sekia, CNH 3; Kelse, CNH 9? (2); Arse, CNH 31-3, 33?; Ikalkusken, CNH 6?; Iltirkesken, CNH 1.

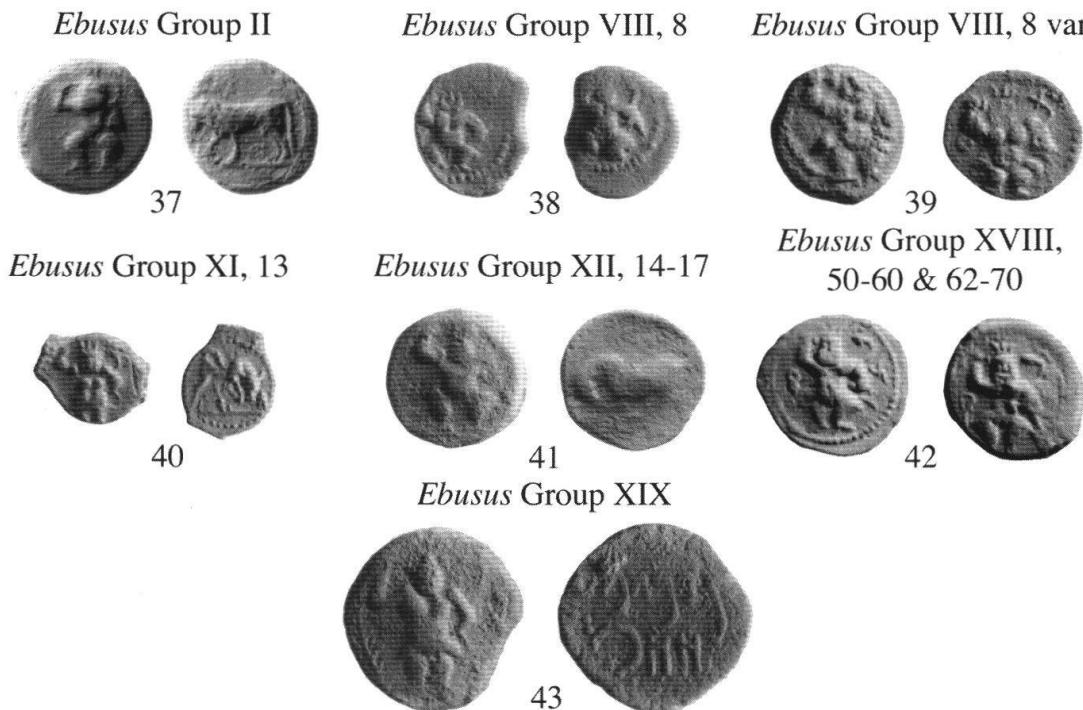
⁵⁵ Bilbilis, CNH 1?; Tanusia, CNH 1.

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

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

⁵⁸ For example, of the coins recovered in the British School excavations in the House of Amarantus (I.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

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.
 Æ 15 mm Liri 100.184 Monetary stock 1⁵⁹

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

38 *Obv.* Same.
Rev. Same as obverse.
 Æ 15 mm – 2.67 g Liri 27.114 Monetary stock 2

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 23.1%; without the Roman coins, the Ebusan and Pseudo-Ebusan materials represent 57.5% of the whole (*Monetary stock*).

⁵⁹ 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

Ebusus Group VIII var. (Eivissa 65-67, see n. 63), before c. 214 BC, unit

39	<i>Obv.</i>	Same; <i>ayin</i> , left.				
	<i>Rev.</i>	Same as obverse.				
		Æ 16 mm 3 2.15		Liri 13.078		<i>Monetary stock 4</i>

Ebusus Group XI, before c. 214 BC, half

40	<i>Obv.</i>	Same, but Bes wears a tunic.				
	<i>Rev.</i>	Same as obverse.				
		Æ 12 mm 5 0.90		Liri 4.190		<i>Monetary stock 5</i>

Ebusus Group XII, 14-17, 214-c. 200 BC, unit

41	<i>Obv.</i>	Same.				
	<i>Rev.</i>	Bull butting left.				
		Æ 16 mm 6 3.39		Liri 14.071		<i>Monetary stock 6</i>

Ebusus Group XVIII, 50-60, 62-70, c. 200-100 BC, unit

42	<i>Obv.</i>	Same; 51-60 and 62-70 with symbol left.				
	<i>Rev.</i>	Obverse and reverse symbols: <i>caduceus</i> to left; <i>shin</i> to right (Ebusus Group XVIII, 59-60)				
		Æ 17 mm - 3.13	Pompeii		Monetary stock 7	
			sporadic	59016		

Ebusus Group XIX, 116, c. 91-c. 27 BC, semis

43	<i>Obv.</i>	Bes, nude, a hammer in a raised right hand, a snake in the left.				
	<i>Rev.</i>	'ybshm in Neo-Punic and numeral '50'.				
		Æ 20 mm 6 7.20	Liri 35.010		Monetary stock 11	

Pseudo-Ebusus

There are three large groups of imitative coins in central Italy:⁶⁰ Pseudo-Ebusus, Pseudo-Massalia and Pseudo-Panormus;⁶¹ 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 Sanctuario Campano, *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani* 8, 1997, pp. 39-50 (Gragnano).

⁶⁰ Not counting imitations of Roman coins, for which see M.H. CRAWFORD, Unofficial imitations and small change under the Roman Republic, *AIIN* 29, 1982, pp. 139-163, and *Imitations*. For Pseudo-Massalia, see *Monetary stock*. For Pseudo-Panormus, see *Imitations*; I have much new material to add.

⁶¹ 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*,⁶² 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.⁶³ 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.⁶⁴

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;⁶⁵ a second was found in the excavations at Lilybaeum, Sicily. The lack of a Spanish provenance for

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.

⁶³ See *Ebusus*, updated by 'Las Monedas de Ebusus', VII Jornadas de arqueología fenicio-púnica, Trabajos del Museo Arqueológico de Ibiza 31, pp. 147-171 (Ibiza 1993), and 'Las Monedas de l'Eivissa Púnica', in: La Moneda a l'Eivissa Púnica (Palma de Majorca, Spain, 1994) (cited as *Eivissa*).

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. 33-57), 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-Massaliot; 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%.

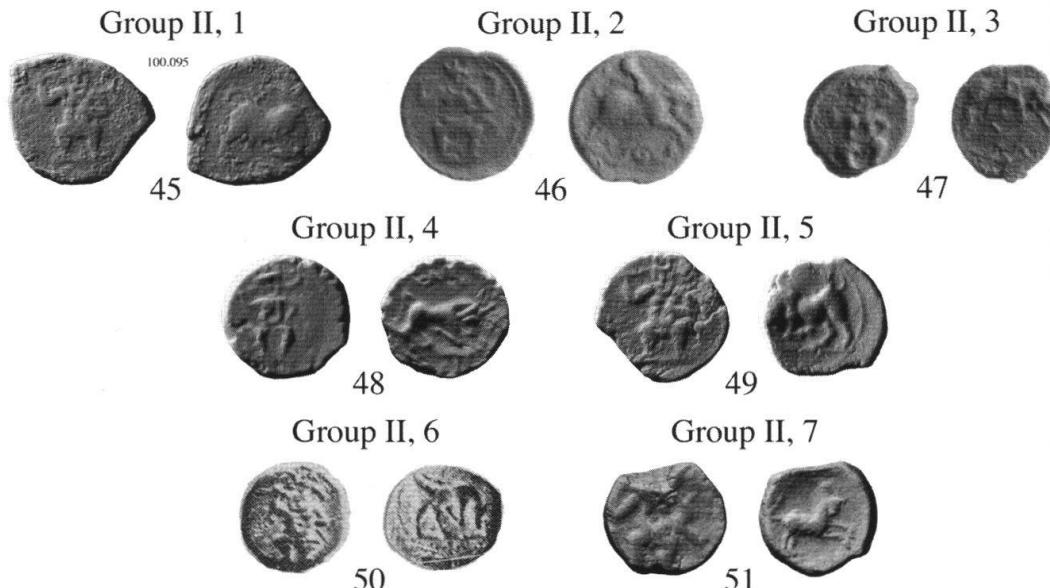
⁶⁵ Illustrated here.

this issue, and the new Sicilian provenance, suggest strongly that the issue is Pseudo-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 cartagenísea (Madrid 1917), CV-6 = *idem*, La moneda hispánica (Madrid 1926), XI-15



Group II: Bes/Butting Bull, late second, early first century BC?

The model for Group II is probably *Ebusus* XII, 14-17.⁶⁶ The small flan size is characteristic of the Pseudo-Ebusan issues in general. There are a number of die-links,⁶⁷ 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*.

Group II, 1, *unit*

45 *Obv.* Bes, nude, a hammer in his raised right hand, a serpent in his left.
Rev. Bull butting right.
 Æ 16 mm 6 Liri 100.095 *Monetary stock* 12

Group II, 2, *unit*

46 *Obv.* Same as last.
Rev. Bull leaping right, snake below.
 Æ 15 mm 5 2.31 g Liri 27.051 *Monetary stock* 18

Group II, 3, *half?*

47 *Obv.* Same as last.
Rev. Bull butting right, two stars in exergue.
 Æ 13 mm 7 1.95 g Liri 14.070 *Monetary stock* 19

Group II, 4, *half?*

48 *Obv.* Same as last.
Rev. Bull butting right, illegible legend above, and in exergue (?).
 Æ 15 mm 0 1.43 g Pompeii fo-
rum 59217 *Monetary stock* 22

Group II, 5,⁶⁸ *unit*

49 *Obv.* Bes, wearing a tunic, a hammer in his raised right hand, a snake in his left.
Rev. Bull butting left.
 Æ 14 mm 0 1.60 g Naples *Monetary stock* 27; SNG BM 322
Pompeii old excavations

Group II, 6,⁶⁹ *half?*

50 *Obv.* Same as last, but a group of five points to left.⁷⁰
Rev. Bull butting right.
 Æ 13 mm 1 1.60 g *Ebusus Group XIV*, 19

Group II, 7, *half?*

51 *Obv.* Same as last, but no symbol.
Rev. Bull leaping right.
 Æ 13 mm 1 1.60 g *Ebusus Group XV*, 20 = SNG BM 323⁷¹

I next group together a number of anomalous types.⁷² 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

⁶⁸ *Ebusus Group XIII*, 18 (two specimens in *Ebusus*, from the National Mint collection in Madrid, and one in London), probably fits here.

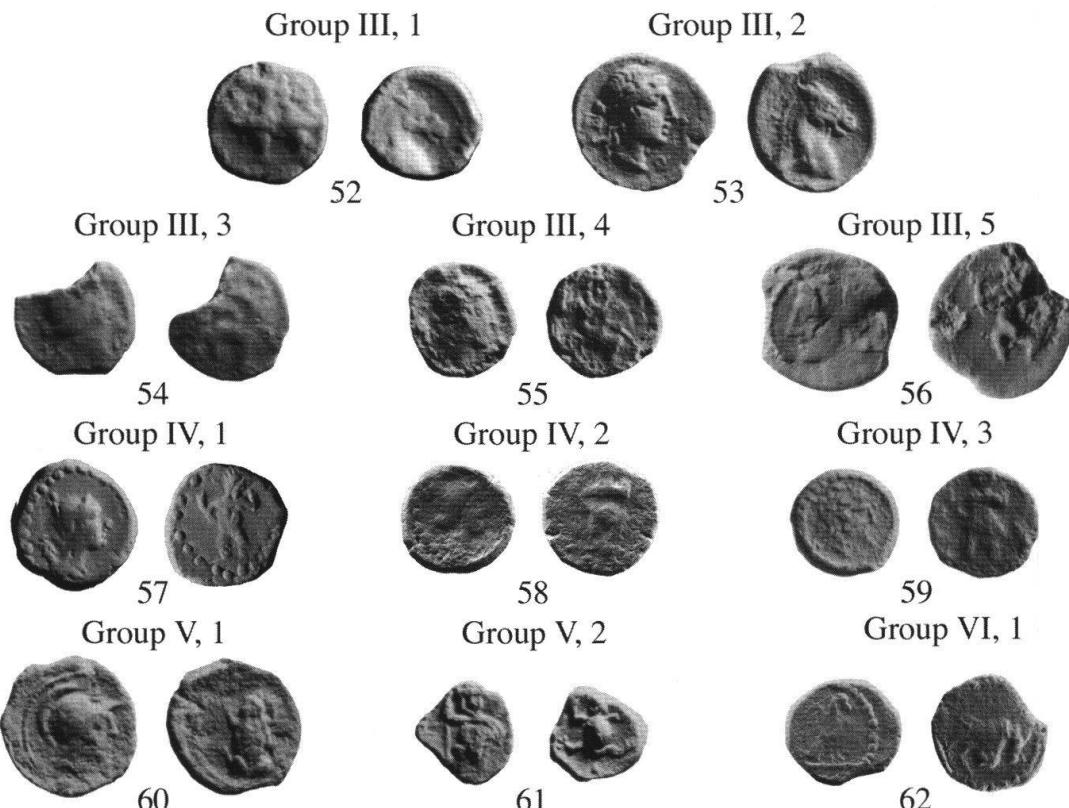
⁶⁹ I have classed this piece as Pseudo-Ebusan, and added Group I, 6, since *Monetary stock*.

⁷⁰ The symbol links this issue to Group VII, 1 and 2.

⁷¹ I have classed this piece as Pseudo-Ebusan, and added Group II, 7, since *Monetary stock*.

⁷² I have added Group IV, 1 and 2, and Group VI, 1, since *Monetary stock*.

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 *Ebusus* Group XVIII, 50-60 and 52-70: Inv. 3904 and Inv. 3907.

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.
 AE 14 mm 1 1.35 g Naples Pompeii old Monetary stock 31
 excavations P 10739
 (broken)

Group III, 4, *half?*

55 *Obv.* Same as last.
Rev. Same as last.
 AE 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.
 AE 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.
 AE 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 (?).
 AE 12 mm 1.53 g Entella excavations,
 Inv. E 3873

Group IV, 3, *half?*

59 *Obv.* Small, bearded head right.
Rev. Same as last, but left hand raised.
 AE 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.
 AE 15 mm 1 2.01 g Bathhouse 41 Monetary stock 35

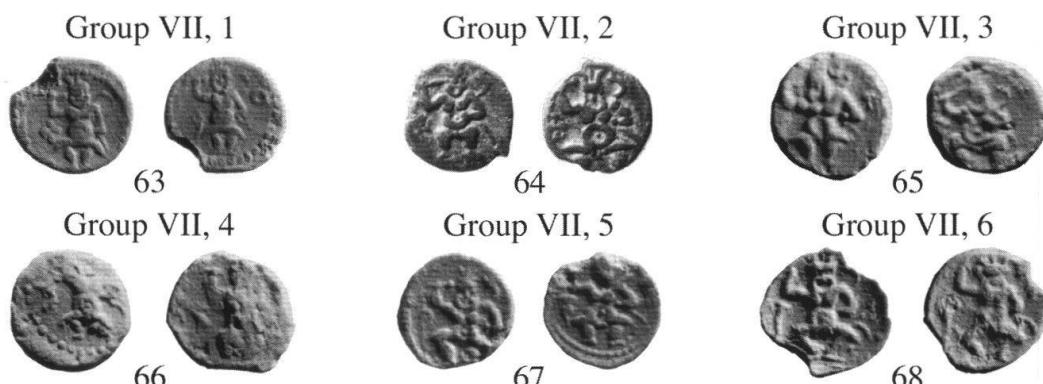
Group V, 2, *half?*

61 *Obv.* Bes standing facing, leaning right arm on staff.
Rev. Toad.
 AE 11 mm 4 1.38 g Bathhouse 42 Monetary stock 36

Group VI, 1, *half?*

62 *Obv.* Bull butting right.
Rev. Eagle with wings open standing right on exergual line.
 AE 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: Small units with symbols late second, early first century BC?

Group VII, 1, unit

63 *Obv.* Bes, wearing a tunic, a hammer in his raised right hand, a snake in his left; four-petaled flower to left.
Rev. Same as obverse, but *ayin* to left, *beth* 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 O to left.
Rev. Same as obverse.
 Æ 14 mm 7 1.79 g Gragnano 6852

⁷⁴ Said to be from Sicily.

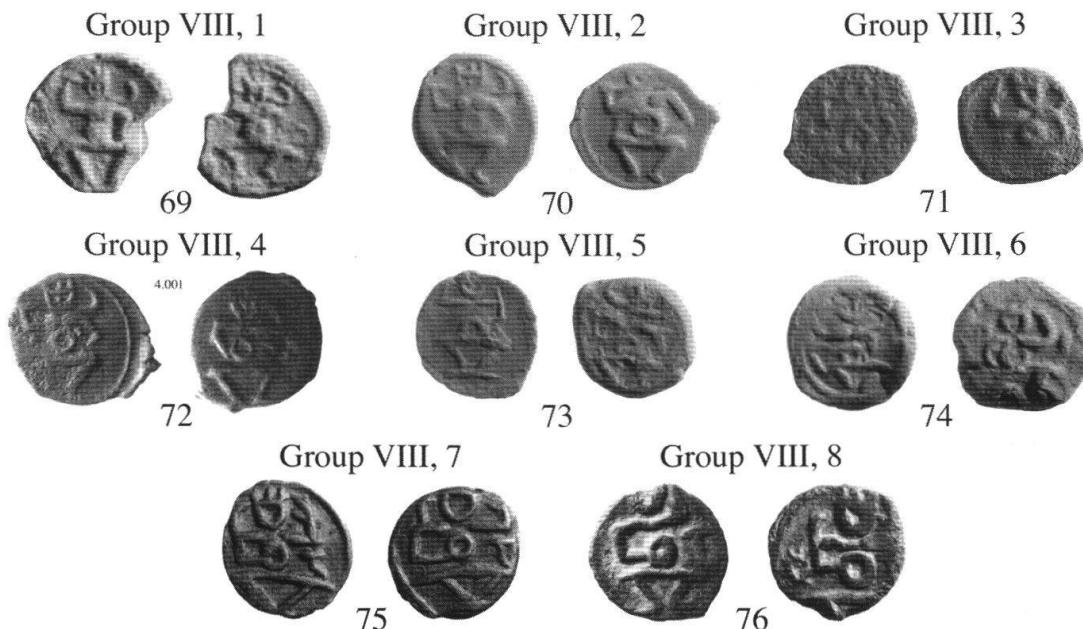
Group VII, 5,⁷⁵ unit

67 *Obv.* Same as last, but *caduceus* to left.
Rev. Same as obverse.
 Æ 14 mm 7 1.78 g Naples Pompeii old *Monetary stock 43*
 excavations P5671

Group VII, 6,⁷⁶ unit

68 *Obv.* Same as last, but *cornucopiae* to left.
Rev. Same as obverse.
 Æ 14 mm 9 1.30 g Bathhouse 44 *Monetary stock 45*

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,⁷⁷ 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: Rudimentary Bes, early first century BC?

⁷⁵ Cf. *Ebusus* XVIII, 58-60.

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

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.

Group VIII, 1, *unit*

69 *Obv.* Bes,⁷⁸ a hammer in his raised right hand, a snake in his left.
 Rev. Same as obverse.
 AE 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.
 AE 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.
 AE 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.
 AE 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.
 AE 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.
 AE 15 mm 2 1.72 g Liri 34.027 *Monetary stock* 54

Group VIII, 7, *unit*

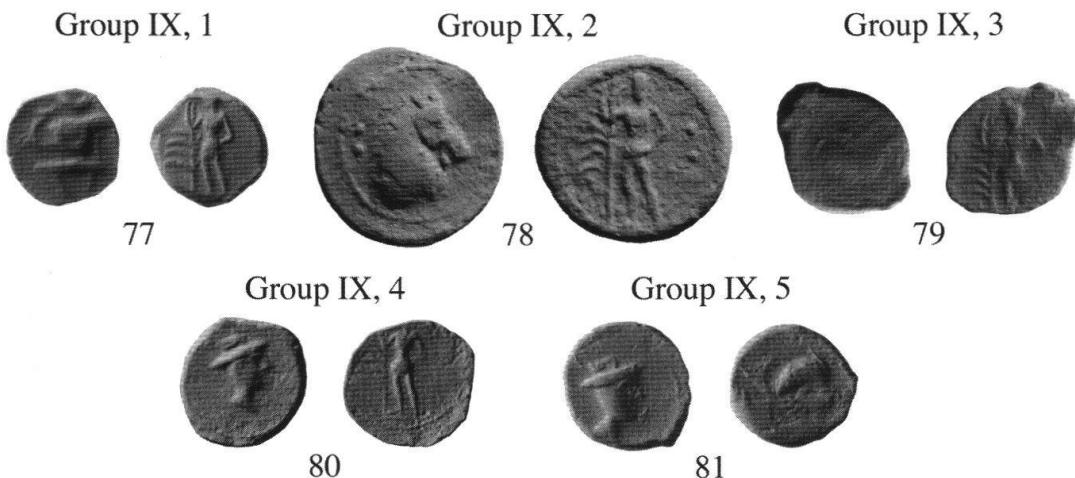
75 *Obv.* Same, but left hand raised, T to right.
 Rev. Same as obverse.
 AE 15 mm – 1.97 g Liri 5.003 *Monetary stock* 57

Group VIII, 8, *unit*

76 *Obv.* Same as last.
 Rev. Same as obverse, but also wreath to right.
 AE 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.



Group IX: Rudimentary Bes/Man with palm frond, early first century BC?

seems, the same die.⁷⁹ 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;⁸⁰ : 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

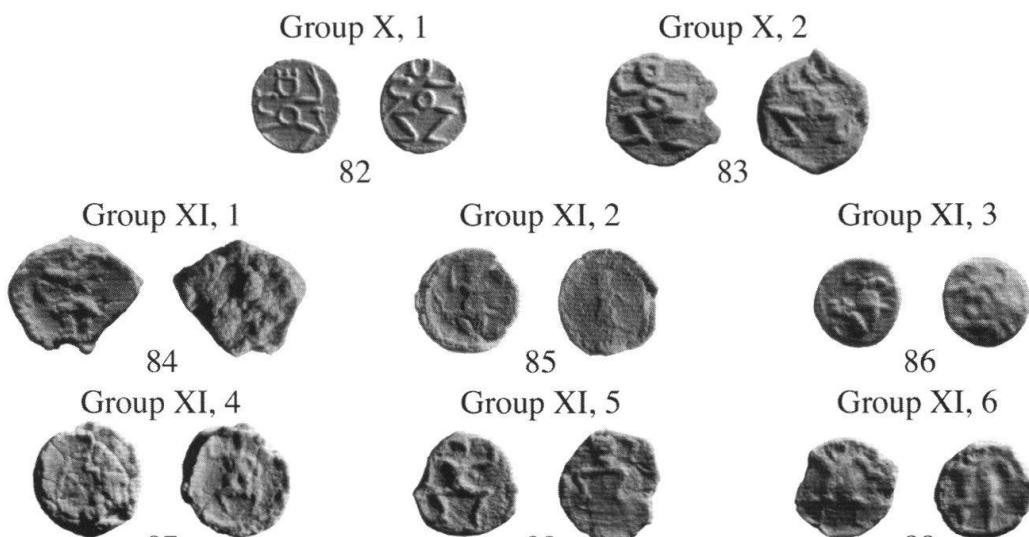
⁷⁹ A good number of lead pieces have been found in the River Liri at Minturnae, some of which use Italo-Baetican types, and some of which have value marks; struck lead is characteristic of the Baetican *plomos monetiformes*; but I imagine this to be only a die-trial.

⁸⁰ 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.

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.



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

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*

Group XI, 2

85	<i>Obv.</i>	Same as last, but <i>caduceus</i> to left.
	<i>Rev.</i>	Same as obverse.

Group XI, 3

86 *Obv.* Same as last, but no visible symbol.
Rev. Same as obverse.
Æ 10 mm 0 1.18 g Naples, Pompeii *Monetary stock 77*
old excavations
P10784/26

Group XI, 4

87	<i>Obv.</i>	Same as last.				
	<i>Rev.</i>	Same as obverse.				
		Æ 13 mm	1.48 g	Pompeii forum	<i>Monetary stock</i>	78

Group XI, 5

88 *Obv.* Same as last, but right hand raised.
Rev. Same as last, but left hand raised.
 Æ 11 mm 6 1.16 g Bathhouse 50 *Monetary stock 82*

Group XI, 6

89	<i>Obv.</i>	Same as last.
	<i>Rev.</i>	Same as obverse. 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 shipwreck⁸¹ 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 overstrikes on *Lex Papiria* coins,⁸² 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,⁸³ 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

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 Panormus 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 political 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-Ebusus, 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-Ebusan 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

⁸⁴ There are only four pieces among the 9898 coins catalogued in: TH. BUTTREY, K.T. ERIM, TH.D. GROVES and R. ROSS HOLLOWAY, *Morgantina Studies*, Vol. II: The Coins (Princeton 1989): no. 3 (pl. 9, 3) is Pseudo-Ebusus Group VIII, 7; no. 2 groups three coins, which may be *Ebusus* Group XII, 14-19, but appear light for the issue, and the one piece illustrated as pl. 9, 2 is probably Pseudo-Ebusus Group II, 5. S. FREY-KUPPER, I ritrovamenti monetali, in: B. BECHTOLD, *La necropoli di Lilybaeum, Regione siciliana, Assorato 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-Ebusus Group I, 1; nos. 172 and 178 are probably *Ebusus* Group VIII, 8; and 189 is *Ebusus* Group XVIII, no. 58 & no. 62. There are four coins from Entella: two are Ebusus Group XVIII, 50-60 & 62-70; the others are Pseudo-Ebusus Group IV, 2 and Pseudo-Ebusus 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 averages 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 average weight would give an *as* of about 33 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 support for this, in that the Mercury obverse type on nos. 80 and 81 is associated with the *sextans*, but this, too, would require placing the coin relatively early in the second century BC.

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.

Die in Italien und in Südspanien gemeinsam verwendeten Münztypen könnten ein Indiz für eine Art Syndikatsprägung von Personen sein, die in beiden Gebieten Staatsbetrieben vorstanden. Einer dieser Münztypen (ein Ring mit zwei *strigiles* und einem *aryballos*) findet sich sonst nur auf Quadranten des Ti. Veturius, dessen Denartypen im Bundesgenossekrieg von den Latinern kopiert wurden. Diese Veturius-Quadranten könnten sich auf die Demarchen des Gaius Gracchus den *negotiatores* gegenüber beziehen und würden somit für ein etwas späteres Datum der Emission sprechen.

Bronzen von Ebusus und deren Imitationen (zu ungefähr gleichen Teilen) kommen in Mittelitalien im frühen 1. Jh. äusserst häufig vor. Sie sind auch die häufigsten nicht-römischen Münzen unter der Zerstörungsschicht von Pompeii, wogegen andere spanische Prägungen relativ selten sind. Es scheint, dass die regulären Bronzen von Ebusus auf ein einziges Mal nach Italien kamen, wohl kaum durch Handel, wenn auch die Gründe nicht klar sind. Die Ebusus-Imitationen kommen in derartigen Mengen vor, dass wir Fälschungen ausschliessen können – und warum hätte man eine fremdländische Münze imitieren wollen? Nein, sie bezeugen eine lebhafte Geldwirtschaft in Mittelitalien zu diesem Zeitpunkt. Die Münzen mit diesen Typen, die in Italien und Südspanien vorkommen, wie auch der Fluss von Kleingeld von Ebusus nach Italien und dessen Kopieren, scheint unabhängige Gründe zu haben.

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