

COINS OF MACEDONIA AND  
ROME: ESSAYS IN HONOUR  
OF CHARLES HERSH

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# Overstrikes and imitative coinages in central Italy in the late Republic

CLIVE STANNARD

[PLATES 31–34]

‘These coins when properly evaluated can provide us with some *definite* evidence.’

Charles A. Hersh<sup>1</sup>

## INTRODUCTION

Michael Crawford has drawn attention to the many unofficial imitations of Roman minor bronze coins in the late Republic.<sup>2</sup> The pieces he described overwhelmingly copy Republican types: lacking a provenance, association with other materials, or other index by which to group them, he was constrained to identify them by their types alone, and therefore isolate them from the wider phenomenon and the ampler range of types of which they were a part. I can supply something of that context, and so a different overall picture of the material.

For ten years, I have been assembling information on ‘foreign’ – that is, non-Roman – coins, reported to have come from the River Liri, or Garigliano, at the Roman colony of Minturnae, published, in trade or in collections; they are, with few exceptions, bronze. I early decided – which I now regret – not to try and record the large numbers of standard Republican and Imperial coins that are part of the same finds, although I did record a number of clearly irregular ‘Republican’ pieces as I came across them.<sup>3</sup> My data-bases now include a few thousand such pieces,<sup>4</sup> representing most of the ancient world, from the fourth century BC to about the time of Christ, but mainly from the latter part of this period.

As part of the ‘foreign’ material, I recorded a large number of unpublished pieces, anepigraphic or with Latin legends, many of which can be grouped, by style, fabric, type and legend; these I presume to be local issues. With a growing understanding of this material, I investigated the unattributed material in a number of museums, and identified many more specimens and a variety of further issues. This material is difficult to characterise, though it is clear that it is not standard state coinage: many issues are anepigraphic; none have legends explicitly identifying a place of issue; the bronze pieces are

<sup>1</sup> ‘Overstrikes as evidence for the history of the Roman Republican coinage’, *NC* 1953, pp. 33–68.

<sup>2</sup> M.H. Crawford, ‘Unofficial imitations and small change under the Roman Republic’, *AJN* 29 (1982), pp. 139–63, cited here as ‘Imitations’. He considered that ‘the phenomenon is essentially of the first three-quarters of the first century [BC]’ and that the imitations of small denominations [were] evoked by the need for small change; he suggested that ‘the imitation of Republican bronzes is not for the most part a Roman phenomenon’ (because such imitative issues are not attested from Rome itself, where they were not needed, given a sufficient supply of small change), and that they circulated in ‘Italy and the Romanised provinces of Narbonensis and what later became Tarraconensis’. I attribute much of this material to central Italy, while recognising that various groups of imitations – which do not concern me here – originated elsewhere, including the Andalusian *semis* imitations discussed by L. Villaronga, ‘Imitaciones de moneda romana republicana de bronce en la Península’, *Gaceta Numismática* 79 (1985), pp. 33–40.

<sup>3</sup> Some idea of the range of finds can be obtained from three articles in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (B.W. Frier and A. Parker, ‘Roman

coins from the River Liri’, *NC* 1970, pp. 89–109; W.E. Metcalf, ‘Roman coins from the River Liri. II’, *NC* 1974, pp. 42–52; and L. Houghtalin, ‘Roman coins from the River Liri. III’, *NC* 1985, pp. 67–81). The same coins are covered in S.D. Ruegg, *Underwater investigations at Roman Minturnae, Liris-Garigliano River* (Partille, Sweden, 1995), pp. 61–73 and pp. 148–52, and G.R. Bellini *et al.*, *Minturnae Antiquarium: Monete dal Garigliano, I: Guida alla mostra, Catalogo delle monete* (Rome and Milan, 1996) (cited here as *Minturnae*). See also R. Martini, *Monetazione bronzea romana tardo-repubblicana. I* (Milan, 1988), pp. 96–7, on the material from the river Liri in commerce.

<sup>4</sup> In recording material in my data-bases, I impose an ‘accession number’ on each piece, which uniquely identifies it. An accession number is composed of two elements: a whole number, signifying the block of coins in which the piece was recorded, and a decimal number in three places, signifying the individual piece within that block. (Coins in the block, 0, have no geographic provenance, and are mainly from public collections.) I shall cite specimens by accession number in this paper, so that they may be identified when the material is systematically published, in due course.

frequently associated with struck lead (often with value-marks); and the types of many seem 'anecdotal' (a common characteristic is full-length figures on both faces).<sup>5</sup> While some of the local material is clearly sporadic, many issues fall into groups that have distinct character and structure. Many share legends and some include linked denominations. Most of these issues use a particular set of types, which are not closely linked to the Republican coinage: I call these the 'central Italian issues'.

I draw particular attention to the clear evidence of a link between many of the central Italian coinages and Spain: I recently published a very preliminary analysis of a some large groups of central Italian bronze and lead issues,<sup>6</sup> and have shown unequivocal iconographic parallels between them and the strange lead coinages of Baetica in the late second and first centuries BC;<sup>7</sup> the common types are not found, or are only rarely found, elsewhere.<sup>8</sup> Spanish scholars have advanced the hypothesis that the Spanish lead issues were a 'company coinage', issued by a *Publica Societas* exploiting the Spanish mines and oil-production:<sup>9</sup> as the pieces they consider share an iconography with the central Italian series, a similar hypothesis needs to be considered in the case of the central Italian assemblage, as well. In any case, the repetition of a range of otherwise unique types in central Italy and Baetica strongly suggests that they are part of a single phenomenon.

I now wish to investigate some other aspects of the central Italian material, namely the overstriking of non-Roman coins with imitative Roman types, central Italian types over Roman coins,<sup>10</sup> Roman types over central Italian coins, and the local copying of foreign types. In the last case, further evidence will be given of the importance of relations between central Italy and Spain: extensive copying in Campania of the small bronze coins of the island of Ebusus (modern Ibiza).

## OVERSTRIKES

### Imitative 'Roman' overstrikes on foreign coins

One of the commonest foreign coins in the Liri material is the small Cyrenaican piece, which I illustrate.<sup>11</sup>

*Cyrenaica, Africa* (before 96 BC)

*Obv.* Head of Zeus-Amon right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Head-dress of Isis; ΤΤΟΛΕΜ ΒΑΣΙΛΑ; border of dots.

1 Æ 15 ↓ 1.75 11.087

T. Buttrey dates it to just before the Roman conquest: 'These are the coins which the Romans would have found in circulation at the time of their acquisition of Cyrenaica [in 96 BC]. So abundant were they that they continued to circulate [in Cyrenaica] into Imperial times'.<sup>12</sup> They rapidly flowed into central

<sup>5</sup> Issues often have what look like two 'reverse' types. However, the coupling of dies across issues makes it clear that they were interchangeable; there is no way of telling which was set in the pile and which in the trussel; so that 'obverse' and 'reverse' have little meaning. I showed such die mobility in 'Two-headed and two-tailed *denarii* in the Roman Republic', *NC* 1987, pp. 160–3, and 'Two-headed and two-tailed *denarii* again', *Annotazioni Numismatiche* 1,17 (March 1995), pp. 361–3.

<sup>6</sup> 'Iconographic parallels between the local coinages of central Italy and Baetica in the first century BC', *AN* 25 (1995), cited here as 'Parallels'.

<sup>7</sup> Collected in A. Casariego, G. Cores y F. Pliego, *Catálogo de Plomos Monetiformes de la Hispania Antigua* (Madrid, 1987).

<sup>8</sup> These include a pair of strigils and an *aryballos* hanging from a carrying-ring; a man with a 'shovel' on his shoulder, often carrying an *askos*, or the *askos* alone; a boy kneeling to tie a stooping man's sandals; Vulcan; and flies.

<sup>9</sup> A common legend in Baetica, though not in central Italy, was Γ·S: M.P. García-Bellido, 'Nuevos Documentos sobre Minería y Agricultura Romanas en Hispania', *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 59, nos. 153 and 154 (1986), pp. 29 f., expands this as *Publica Societas*; G.C. García, 'Diffusores olearii y tesserae de plomo', *Revista de estudios locales* 5 (1994), ties various of these pieces to the oil-trade by the coincidence of their inscriptions with amphora-stamps from Monte Testaccio in Rome.

<sup>10</sup> I will not deal with central Italian strikes over other central Italian coins.

<sup>11</sup> *SNG Cop.*, given to the Ptolemies, Cyprus, uncertain mints, 685–90. The information given when citing a piece, here and elsewhere, is: its sequential number, the metal, the diameter in mm, the die axes, the weight in grammes, and the accession number.

<sup>12</sup> 'Crete and Cyrenaica', in A.M. Burnett and M.H. Crawford (eds), *The Coinage of the Roman World in the Late Republic* (Oxford, 1987), p. 165.

Italy in large quantities (they account for 2.6% of the foreign material from the Liri<sup>13</sup>), where they were often overstruck with imitative Roman types, mainly *quadrantes*, as the following pieces show.

*Obv.* Head of Apollo (?) right.

*Rev.* Prow right; border of dots.

Isis' head-dress is on the obverse at ↗.<sup>14</sup>

2 Æ 15 ↘ 3.37 **14.033**

*Obv.* Female head right; border of dots.

Isis' head-dress is on the obverse at ↖. The next two pieces share at least the obverse die.

3 Æ 14 ↘ 1.88 **0.406** Berlin 5533 IF (this coin)

Isis' head-dress is on the obverse at →.

4 Æ 14 ↑ **15.014**

*Rev.* ROMA above prow.

Isis' head-dress is on the obverse at ↖ and Zeus' head on the reverse at ←.

5 Æ 15 ← 1.73 **0.166** Paris Ailly 1375 (this coin)

*Rev.* Illegible.

Isis' head-dress is visible on the reverse.

6 Æ 14 ↙ 1.11 **5.235**

*Obv.* Head of Mercury (?) right.

*Rev.* Prow right, no legend.

Isis' head-dress is on the reverse at ↖.

7 Æ 15 ↓ 1.76 **30.004**

*Obv.* Helmeted male head right; border of dots.

*Rev.* ROMA below prow.

Isis' head-dress is probably on the obverse at ↖.

8 Æ 17 ↙ 2.10 **11.004**

*Rev.* No legend and ... below prow

This is twice overstruck. Isis' head-dress is on the reverse at ↖; there is another type struck over this, a small Victory right, holding out a wreath, at → (the axis of the latter overstrike is indicated on the plate by 'V').

9 Æ 15 ↓ 2.47 **0.588** Kestner 2760 (this coin)

I next illustrate a coin of the Volcae Arecomici in south-west Gaul, of c.70–30 BC; I then illustrate an imitative piece struck over such a coin. Coins of the Volcae Arecomici are fairly common in the Liri material: they constitute 0.8% of the foreign pieces.

*Gaul, Volcae Arecomici (c.70–30 BC)*

*Obv.* Female head right; VOLCAE behind; wreath below chin.

*Rev.* Man in toga standing left; palm-frond before; AREC behind.

10 Æ 15 1.55 **13.017**

<sup>13</sup> At the time of writing this note, there were 1286 records in my data-base of 'foreign' pieces.

<sup>14</sup> In describing overstrikes, I use an arrow to show the axis of the undertype, relative to the oertype.

*Obv.* Small male head right.

*Rev.* Difficult to interpret: perhaps a prow right; some symbol above; plough right below.

The reverse undertype is at ↗ on the obverse; note the palm-frond above the head. The obverse undertype is at ↙ on the reverse.

11    Æ      17      ↖      2.04      **13.022**

### Central Italian overstrikes on Roman coins

There is much overstriking in certain central Italian issues, both on other central Italian issues, but also – as in the material considered next – on standard Roman coinage.

The following central Italian issue comprises two denominations, probably *asses* and *quadrantes*: like the local imitations of Roman coins described above, the latter are struck over Cyrenaica;<sup>15</sup> the former<sup>16</sup> over Roman *asses* of the *Lex Papiria* issues.<sup>17</sup> The man-with-a-‘shovel’-and-*askos* type on these coins is the basis of a large congeries of issues in both central Italy and Baetica.<sup>18</sup>

As

*Obv.* Forepart of lion right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Man wearing tunic walking right, carrying *askos* in right hand; ‘shovel’ on his shoulder; border of dots.

Over Cr. 342/7, C-VIBIVS C-F ΓANSA, of 90.

12    Æ      28      ↑      11.64      **26.014**

*Quadrans*

*Rev.* Ram standing right; border of dots.

Over Cyrenaica: Isis’ head-dress is visible at ↙ on the obverse.

13    Æ      17      ↖      1.61      **15.003**

The next coin is also a central Italian overstrike on a Roman *as*.<sup>19</sup>

*Obv.* Beardless, laureate male head right; T (?) before; 11 mm diameter border of dots.

*Rev.* Eagle with wings spread standing right; CA before; 11 mm diameter border of dots.

Over an *as*, Cr. 350A/3c, OGVL, GAR, VER, of 86 BC.

14    Æ      22           **0.066**      Lausanne 2947 (this coin)

The commonest central Italian issue is the following coin, which accounts for 14.4% of my data-base of central Italian issues.<sup>20</sup> It has most often been given to Capua (?);<sup>21</sup> but the large number of Liri provenances suggest that it should be attributed to this area, though the authority of issue is not clear.

<sup>15</sup> I know of three specimens of this unpublished coin: all are probably struck over Cyrenaica.

<sup>16</sup> M. Bahrfieldt, ‘Die römisch-sicilischen Münzen aus der Zeit der Republik’, *SNR XII* (1904), p. 435 and pl. 5, 103; I know of 11 specimens. (Bahrfieldt attributed to Sicily a number of what I believe to be central Italian issues, this included.)

<sup>17</sup> Except for one specimen, over an earlier uncial *semis* (Bahrfieldt 1904, p. 435 g), illustrated in ‘Parallels’, as coin no. 11.

<sup>18</sup> Which I describe in section 3.1 of ‘Parallels’ (this is group 3); I there suggest that this figure (which in many representations has a large *phallus* showing below a skimpy tunic), is a mime.

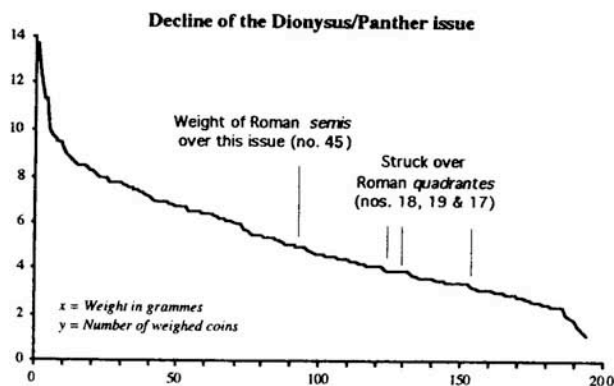
<sup>19</sup> I know of two specimens.

<sup>20</sup> Currently 1502 records.

<sup>21</sup> On the basis of the similarity of types (cf. *BMC* and *SNG Cop*).

E.S.G. Robinson gave it to a Campanian hill community in revolt against Rome in the Second Punic War (and pointed out that it could be grouped with other uncertain bronzes of the thick and often triangular fabric that, in fact, characterises much of the central Italian assemblage); ‘Carthaginian and other South Italian Coinages of the Second Punic War’, *NC* 1964, p. 42. Garrucci, p. 59, gave it to Bolsena, because of some pieces found there, but specimens have turned up fairly commonly in Italy, including in Rome (L. Travaini, ‘Sito B: Monete dallo Scavo di Lungotevere Testaccio (anni 1979–1983)’, *Bolletino Numismatico*, no 1; inv. 363827) and Cosa (T.V. Buttrey, *Cosa: the Coins*. Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, Vol. XXXIV (Rome, 1980), p. 39, 6). A piece from old excavations at Emporion, Spain, is in Barcelona.

I shall not here discuss it in detail – because it needs to be placed in the overall context of the central Italian assemblage – except in so far as is necessary to present the ‘crossed overstriking’ of this issue over Rome, and of Rome over this issue.<sup>22</sup>



The issue is characterised by an immediate and steady decline in weight-standard from about 9 to about 2 g,<sup>23</sup> with no obvious intermediate steps, as the figure above shows. I first illustrate specimens from the ends of the weight range (nos. 15 and 16).

*Obv.* Head of Dionysus crowned with ivy right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Panther standing right, its left fore-paw raised to hold a *thyrsus* over its shoulder; border of dots.

<b>15</b>	Æ	21	←	8.64	<b>0.483</b>	Madrid (this coin)
<b>16</b>	Æ	10	↖	1.18	<b>0.111</b>	SNG Milan uncertain mints of Central Italy, 19 (this coin)

The overstrikes must be put into this context. Coins nos. 17 to 19 are over semiuncial *quadrantes*, and no. 19 is precisely identifiable as having been struck over an issue of 91 BC. By weight and by style, these pieces fall towards the latter end of the issue: it is, however, difficult to extrapolate backwards, and suggest a date for its beginning, or the denomination, given the uncertainty in the issue-weights of Roman bronze in the decades preceding the *Lex Papiria*, and the lack of any plateau in the falling standard of this issue (which probably indicates an issue of short duration, in crisis conditions). I also draw special attention to the Roman *semis*, listed below as no. 45, which dates to c.86 BC, and is struck over a specimen of the Dionysus/panther issue from an earlier part of its weight-range, now assimilated as a flan at the reduced semiuncial standard.

Over a *quadrans*; prow right at ↘ on the reverse.

<b>17</b>	Æ	19	↘	2.99	<b>0.585</b>	Hanover 37 (this coin)
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Over a *quadrans*, probably Cr. 339/4 of c.91 BC; prow right at ↗ on the reverse.

<b>18</b>	Æ	18	↑	3.71	<b>26.006</b>	
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Over a *quadrans*, L·P·D·A·P, Cr. 338/4, of 91 BC; ⚡ is visible to the right of Dionysus on the obverse, and a prow right at ↗ on the reverse.

<b>19</b>	Æ	18	↖	3.57	<b>26.007</b>	
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<sup>22</sup> There are also a number of pieces struck over other central Italian issues, which are not considered.

<sup>23</sup> Discounting aberrant weights at both ends of the range. The

lighter pieces are almost totally absent from public collections, a function of collector preferences.

There is also a small group of coins with this reverse type, and a variety of obverses, of another fabric and style, which may be related. The following is over a Roman *quadrans*.

*Obv.* Laureate head of Apollo right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Panther on exergual line right, probably with a *thyrsus* on its shoulder; border of dots.

Over a *quadrans*; head right visible on the reverse at ↙.

20    Æ      21      ↗      2.90      **0.243**      Copenhagen uncertain (this coin)

The first<sup>24</sup> of the following coins is part of the man-with-a-'shovel'-and-*askos* group (of which no. 12 was an example), while the second links to it through a shared legend.<sup>25</sup>

*Obv.* Head of Janus; border of dots.

*Rev.* Man wearing a tunic striding right, carrying *askos* in right hand, 'shovel' on his shoulder; **N** to left; border of dots.

Bahrfeldt noted that the piece is overstruck, and suggested that the **N** on the reverse came from the undertype; other specimens show that it is, in fact, part of the oertype; the undertype is a *quadrans*: ... is visible at 5.30 o'clock on the reverse.

21    Æ      18      ↑      2.56      **0.317**      Berlin Löbbecke = Bahr. 1904 87,1 (this coin)

*Obv.* Head of Apollo facing; **D-FORCI** to left and below; border of dots.

*Rev.* Lyre; unclear symbol to left; border of dots.

Over a *quadrans*: the prow right is at ↖ on the obverse.

22    Æ      20      →      3.75      **0.475**      ANS 44.100.57778 (this coin)

The legend on no. 21, **N**, occurs on a number of central Italian issues, as it is, or in a variety of expanded forms.<sup>26</sup> I next illustrate an example of another large group with this legend, with a head of Vulcan,<sup>27</sup> as a model for the overstrike that follows.<sup>28</sup>

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

*Rev.* Head of Mercury wearing *petasus* right; **N** before; border of dots.

23    Æ      16      ↖      2.58      0.152      Paris F4127 = Bahr. 1904 68,2 (this coin)

A weak strike on a *quadrans*. On the obverse, only the *pileus* is visible; the oversize face belongs to the head of Hercules of the undertype, at ↑. The prow right is at ↗ on the reverse.

24    Æ      18      ↖ ↘      2.54      **0.186**      Paris 1286 (this coin).

The following four coins are also part of the Vulcan group.<sup>29</sup> The second is a double overstrike on a piece with the under- and oertypes of the first; the top oertypes of the two coins differ only in that the former is anonymous; I illustrate the three layers of no. 26 separately.<sup>30</sup> No. 27 is an anonymous version of no. 28, which is a further example of the **N** group.

*Rev.* Quadriga advancing right.

Over a *quadrans*: the prow right is at ↗ on the obverse, and the head of Hercules at → on the reverse; broken.

25    Æ      19      →      3.43      **0.165**      Paris, no reference (this coin)

<sup>24</sup> 'Parallels', section 3.1; this is coin no. 6; the man-with-a-'shovel'-and-*askos* piece with the legend, **D-FORCI**, is no. 3.

<sup>25</sup> See 'Parallels', group 2; this coin is cited in fn. 21.

<sup>26</sup> Legends include **N** and **L-NNI**, as on no. 28 (linked by type to **STATI TREBON** (no. 27) and **L-CAE**), **L-NN**, **E-NI** and **Γ-N**, and **NN/SEX**.

<sup>27</sup> 'Parallels', group 21; this is coin 75. The type, Vulcan, which is infrequent elsewhere, is very common in the central Italian and Baetican assemblages ('Parallels', section 3.3).

<sup>28</sup> These types occur with the legends, **N** and **L-CAE**; no legend can be seen on the overstruck piece.

<sup>29</sup> 'Parallels', no. 81.

<sup>30</sup> The top oertype, with a very tiny head of Vulcan, and the legend, **STATI TREBO**, is Babelon, Vol. II, p. 467, 'Statia' = Paris AF.144 = M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, p. 52 (III 7) = 'Parallels', no. 82; in both cases, Vulcan is misdescribed as Athena.

Layer	Side 1	Side 2
2nd overstrike <b>26A</b>	Obv. Head of Vulcan wearing <i>pileus</i> right.	Rev. Quadriga advancing right; (TR)EBONI below.
1st overstrike <b>26B</b>	Rev. Quadriga advancing right; undertype at ↑.	Obv. Head of Vulcan wearing <i>pileus</i> right; tongs on shoulder; undertype at ↙.
Original <b>26C</b>	Rev. Prow right; undertype at ↓.	Obv. Head of Hercules wearing lion's scalp right; undertype at ↘.

26    Æ    20                    4.47    **0.404**    Berlin 7137 IF (this coin)

Obv. Head of Janus; border of dots.

Rev. Head of Vulcan wearing *pileus* right, tongs on shoulder.

Over a *quadrans*, with the prow right at ↖ on the reverse.

27    Æ    17                    ↗    3.47    **0.481**    Madrid (this coin)

Rev. Same but L·N·NI behind.

Struck over a *quadrans*, with prow right at ↖ on the obverse, and the head of Hercules at ↓ on the reverse; little of the reverse overtype is visible except the letters, ...NI.

28    Æ    17                    2.45    **23.003**    Bahrfeldt 1904 64

The next pieces also link, through a chain of shared types, to another group of N-legend pieces.<sup>31</sup>

Obv. Cockle-shell; border of dots.

Rev. Butterfly right; border of dots.

Over a *quadrans*: the prow is at ↙ on the obverse; the head of Hercules is at ↗ on the reverse.

29    Æ    17                    ↓    3.29    **26.001**

Over a *quadrans*: the prow is at ↙ on the obverse; ... is visible at 6 o'clock on the reverse.

30    Æ    20                    ←    4.18    **0.584**    Hanover 36 (this coin)

Obv. Hercules standing, leaning on club in his left hand, his right hand raised; all in a laurel-wreath.

Over a *quadrans*; the head of Hercules is at ↗ under the butterfly; the prow right at ↙ under the cockle shell.

31    Æ    17                    2.29    **14.289**

Over a *quadrans*: the head of Hercules is at ↘ on the obverse.

A further group of central Italian issues uses a wolf-and-twins type. Most are anepigraphic; one sub-group, with heads on the obverse, carries the legend, ROMA.<sup>32</sup> The next piece is anepigraphic; I know five specimens, probably from one set of dies, all over *quadrantes*.

<sup>31</sup> Nos. 29 and 30 (cockle-shell/butterfly) link, through no 31 (Hercules-standing-with-a-club/butterfly), to Hercules-standing-with-a-club/Mercury-standing-with-a-purse-and-N; by a misreading of the legend as Z, the latter pieces have sometimes been attributed to Zakynthos at the time of Mark Anthony (in *SNG Dan* and *BMC*, for example). These link to Hercules-standing-with-a-club/Vulcan-standing-with-a-hammer-and-tongs-and-N ('Parallels', no. 67), and

Head-of-Vulcan-with-tongs-on-shoulder/Mercury-standing-with-a-purse-and-N ('Parallels', no. 66).

<sup>32</sup> Of these, one is struck over Kos (*SNG Cop.* 677–81), a coin constituting about 1.6% of the foreign material from the Liri). One piece with this reverse shares its obverse die with a prow right reverse.



*Obv.* Gryllos formed of Silenus' head right and a beardless head left, topped by a griffin's head and wings right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Wolf suckling twins right; *ficus Ruminalis* behind; the shepherd, Faustulus, to left.

Over a Republican *quadrans*; the head of Hercules is at ↖ on the reverse.

**32**    Æ        19        ↑        3.19        **0.181**    Paris Ailly 1262 = *Rech.* pl. LXIII, 5 (this coin)

The next issue is struck over both central Italy and Rome.<sup>33</sup>

*Obv.* Head of Janus; border of dots.

*Rev.* Hercules left, strangling the Nemean lion; border of dots.

Over a Republican *quadrans*; the head of Hercules is at ↑ on the reverse.

**33**    Æ        17        ↑        3.41        **0.180**    Paris Ailly 1257 = *Rech.* pl. LXIII, 4 (this coin)

Another group uses a Victory reverse, with Janus or Jupiter on the obverse.<sup>34</sup>

*Obv.* Laureate head of Jupiter right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Victory crowning a trophy right; border of dots.

Over a *quadrans*, Cr. 292/4a, of 113 or 112 BC, P-**NERVA**; the head of Hercules is at ↖ on the obverse, and the prow right at ↘ on the reverse.

**34**    Æ        15        ↖        2.34        **0.179**    Paris Ailly 15356 (this coin)

Bahrfeldt classed the following coin as a fraction of the overstruck *asses* with the man-with-a-'shovel'-and-*askos* obverse, of which no. 12 is a specimen;<sup>35</sup> however, the obverse of the piece, where he thought he saw this type, seems to me too worn for definite interpretation. The second specimen (which does not seem to be overstruck) shows that the obverse is – at least on that piece<sup>36</sup> – a head of Hercules.

*Obv.* Obliterated.

*Rev.* Beardless male head right; border of dots.

Over a *quadrans*; prow right at ↙ on the reverse; ⚙ is visible at 8 o'clock on the obverse.

**35**    Æ        17        ↙        2.60        **0.185**    Paris Ailly 1285 = Ailly *Rech.* pl. LXIII, 3 = Bahr. 1904 (this coin)

*Obv.* Head of Hercules right, wearing lion's skin.

**36**    Æ        18        ↑        2.68        **0.446**    Hanover no reference (this coin)

There is a small group of central Italian pieces, of which the next is probably part, with a crab reverse.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> I have recorded four specimens, three of them overstrikes; one is over central Italian; this over Rome; and one is unreadable.

<sup>34</sup> This is Bahrfeldt 1904, 81; an issue with the same types has the legend, **SACA**. Janus/Victory types are Bahrfeldt 80 and 86 (the latter with the legend ER). Grant (*FITA* p. 52, III 10, and fn. 11) appears to have conflated the two legends, and read '**SACER**'.

<sup>35</sup> 'Ein anonymer *Quadran*s ... zeigt denselben ... Stempel', 1904, p. 436.

<sup>36</sup> From Bahrfeldt's own collection, now in Hanover, perhaps acquired later.

<sup>37</sup> The obverses are a head of Apollo radiate, and Hercules. The obverse of the piece illustrated here is difficult to make out; it is possible that the legend belongs to the undertype, which would then be an unofficial *quadrans*.

*Obv.* Æ or M: is visible, weakly struck, above the prow right undertype.

*Rev.* Crab.

Over a *quadrans*. The head of Hercules (very off-centre) is at ↑ on the reverse.

37 Æ 17 26.008

The pieces listed below cannot easily be arranged into groups.

*Obv.* Female head right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Club; P·COSCON; border of dots.

Over a *quadrans* with prow left and † before at ↗ on the obverse; † is visible at 2 o'clock on the reverse.

38 Æ 18 ↙ 3.41 0.027 Paris = RPC 5402/2 (this coin)

*Obv.* Hercules standing facing, with a club in his raised right hand; border of dots.

*Rev.* Soldier left, with a spear in his right hand, and trophy on his left arm; border of dots.

Over a *quadrans* of C·SERVEILI, Cr. 264/41, of 127 BC; prow right at ↑ on the reverse.

39 Æ 19 ↗ 3.43 14.031

*Obv.* Helmeted head right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Horse walking right, its head down; border of dots.

Over a *quadrans*; prow right at ↑ on the obverse; head of Hercules at ↓ on the reverse.

40 Æ 18 ↖ 3.67 14.032

*Obv.* Head of Dionysus right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Illegible.

Over a *quadrans*; † is visible at 9 o'clock on the obverse, and 3 o'clock on the reverse.

41 Æ 20 2.77 0.182 Paris Ailly 1274 = *Rech.* pl. LXIII, 6 (this coin).

*Obv.* Male head right; club behind; border of dots.

*Rev.* Ear of corn.

Over a *quadrans*; head of Hercules at ↘ on the obverse; prow right at ← on the reverse

42 Æ 19 2.61 0.183 Paris Ailly 1279 = *Rech.* pl. XIV, 6 (this coin).

*Obv.* Laureate head of Apollo right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Radiate figure of Apollo seated left, holding out a *caduceus* (?) in his right hand; border of dots.

Struck over a *quadrans*; head of Hercules at → on the obverse; prow right at ↓ on the reverse.

43 Æ 19 ↘ 3.11 0.272 Copenhagen uncertain (this coin)

*Obv.* Hercules walking right, a club on his shoulder and the lion's skin dangling behind him.<sup>38</sup>

*Rev.* Figure striding right, or throwing something.

Over a *quadrans*, with C.... above on the reverse; head of Hercules right at ↙ on the obverse; the reverse overtype die is small, and the type weakly struck, which makes it appear as if the figure is standing on the prow of the undertype.

44 Æ 19 ↙ 3.42 13.028

<sup>38</sup> This obverse die links to another reverse with one of the strangest types in the central Italian material: an eagle with a human torso and legs, which re-occurs, in another pose, on a central Italian lead issue.

### Roman overstrikes on central Italian coins

There is no intrinsic reason for not considering the pieces described in this section as official products of the Roman mint.

The first piece is struck over the central Italian Dionysus/panther issue, and was discussed in connection with coins nos. 15 to 19, which are specimens of these undertypes over Roman coin; such 'crossed overstriking' of issues is a very infrequent phenomenon, and must testify to close contacts between whoever struck the Dionysus/panthers and Rome.

*Semis* (c.86 BC)

*Obv.* Head of Saturn right; **S** behind; border of dots.

*Rev.* Prow left; **ROMA** above; **S** before; border of dots.

The panther can be seen at ↘ on the reverse.

45    Æ    21    ↙    4.63    **100.116**    Cr. 350B/1; Italo Vecchi Auction 3, 13  
September 1996, no 586 (this coin)

The following is a *quadrans* struck over a central Italian issue,<sup>39</sup> which I illustrate after it, for comparison.

*Quadrans*

*Obv.* Head of Hercules right, wearing lion's skin; **;** behind; border of dots.

*Rev.* Prow right; **;** before; **ROMA** above.

Struck over the types of the next coin. The *quadrans* overtype is itself double-struck on the obverse, with the axis rotated 180° between strikes!; the undertype is therefore at ↑ or ↓, depending on which strike one considers. On the reverse, the undertype is at ↙.

46    Æ    20       4.39    **13.030**

*Obv.* Laureate head of Janus in laurel-wreath.

*Rev.* Laureate head of Apollo (?) right; border of dots.

47    Æ    19    ↘    3.20    **23.002**

### LOCAL TYPES IMITATING FOREIGN COINS

#### Termessos, Pisidia, and imitative Roman material

The following group of coins from shared dies links the phenomenon of imitative Roman issues to the copying of foreign mints, in this case, the following dated issue of Termessos, Pisidia.<sup>40</sup>

*Termessos, Pisidia* (70 BC)

*Obv.* Laureate head of Zeus right.

*Rev.* Free horse galloping left; **TER** below, **B** behind.

48    Æ    18       4.81    –    Paris Fd. général 854 = Waddington 3985  
(this coin)

<sup>39</sup> This piece is part of a large and coherent group of central Italian issues; part is anonymous, and part carries the legend, ΟΓΓΙ; it includes Bahrfieldt 1904, nos. 58, 59, 61 and 92.

<sup>40</sup> The letter on the reverse is a date, with **A** being the year of the

recognition of the town's autonomy by the *Lex Antonia de Termessibus*. There is no specimen of genuine Termessan coinage in the Liri material, although coins of south-western Anatolia are fairly common.

The group uses three obverse, and five reverse dies; reverse dies 1 and 2 imitate Rome; 3 and 4, Termessos; and 5 probably copies the central Italian and Baetican man-with-a-'shovel'-and-askos type seen on coin no. 12.

*Obv.* Head of Mercury wearing winged *petasus* right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Prow right; border of dots.

Obverse die 1; reverse die 1.

49    Æ    16    ↘    2.74    **100.037**

*Obv.* Bare male head right; border of dots.

Obverse die 2; reverse die 1.

50    Æ    14    ↗    2.20    **0.378**    Berlin R v. L (this coin)

*Rev.* Prow left; RO[MA] above; --- below.

Obverse die 2; reverse die 2.

51    Æ    14    ✓    2.47    **11.007**

*Obv.* Head of Mercury wearing winged *petasus* right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Free horse galloping right; A above; TER below; border of dots.

Obverse die 1; reverse die 3.

52    Æ    14    ↗    2.50    **29.006**

*Obv.* Bare male head right; border of dots.

Obverse die 2; reverse die 3.

53    Æ    14    ↘    2.40    **13.100**

*Obv.* Head of Mercury wearing winged *petasus* right; border of dots.

Obverse die 3; reverse die 4: these are cruder versions of the types of obverse die 3 and reverse die 3; the letters on the reverse are very distorted.

54    Æ    14    ↓    1.95    **4.031**

*Rev.* Man walking left, carrying a shovel (?) over his shoulder; border of dots.

Obverse die 3; reverse die 5.

55    Æ    15    ✓    1.87    **13.007**

### Panormos, Sicily

Sicily accounts for 10.7% of the foreign material from the Liri; Panormos for 2.0%;<sup>41</sup> the following Panormitan type alone for 1.3%.<sup>42</sup>

#### *Panormos, Sicily*

*Obv.* Bearded head right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Helmeted warrior standing left, holding patera and spear; shield rests against spear; **TTANOPMITANOS.**

<sup>41</sup> The commonest mint is Syracuse (4.7%). The Syracusan pieces include many pre-Roman issues; the number of Syracusan pieces of the Roman period is 2%, similar to the number of pieces from Panormos, all of which are of Roman times.

<sup>42</sup> Other issues represented are: Head of Demeter left/Prow right, Π above (SNG Cop. 545–7); Ram standing right, head of Janus between

its legs/Facing eagle on thunder-bolt with spread wings, TTANOPMITAN (SNG Cop. 527–8); Head of Janus, I above/NASO in wreath (SNG Cop. Romano-Sicilian 1041); and Radiate head of Augustus left/Capricorn right; triskeles with Gorgon-head centre below, CN DOM PROC A LAETO II VIR (SNG Cop. 564).

**56** Æ 16 2.91 **13.011** Cf. *SNG Cop.* 533–42

The Liri material also contains a large number of what appear to be barbarous imitations of this issue, which account for 3.3% of the material. The style is rudimentary; the heads are most peculiar; and the legends are macaronic, Latinized travesties of the Greek original. The commonest legend, 'TACANOS', is probably a garbling of the final letters of ΤΑΝΟΠΜΙΤΑΝΟΣ; once established, this nonsense is further degraded by illiterate copying;<sup>43</sup> it is clear that some of the die-sinkers did not have letters, Greek or Latin. These pieces are not common in Sicily itself;<sup>44</sup> and the reverse of no. 57 has no obvious connection with Panormos. The numbers that turn up in central Italy convince me that they were struck in central Italy.<sup>45</sup>

This was quite a large-scale issue: I illustrate 15 obverse and 20 reverse dies in combination; the list is not exhaustive; there are, for example further dies illustrated in the Danish Sylloge.<sup>46</sup>

*Obv.* Bearded male head left; border of dots.

*Rev.* Tiller, arrow to right, **APTE** above, **MCN** below; border of dots.

Obverse die 1; reverse die 1.

**57** Æ 16 ↙ 2.74 **0.226** Copenhagen uncertain (this coin)

*Rev.* Helmeted warrior standing left, holding patera and spear; shield rests against spear; **SONA** up to left, **AT** down to right and **S** below; border of dots.

Obverse die 1; reverse die 2.

**58** Æ 16 → 2.69 **8.001**

*Rev.* **SONAC** up to left, **TA** up to right and **S** below.

Obverse die 1; reverse die 3.

**59** Æ 18 ↘ 3.25 **4.117**

Obverse die 1; reverse die 4.

**60** Æ 15 ↗ **100.108**

Obverse die 1; reverse die 5.

**61** Æ 15 ↓ 2.92 **28.018**

*Rev.* (...)I to left, **TA** up to right and **S** below.

Obverse die 2; reverse die 6.

**62** Æ 16 2.88 **13.070**

*Rev.* **SONAC** up to left, **TA** up to right and **S** below.

Obverse die 2; reverse die 7.

**63** Æ 16 ↗ 3.46 **5.124**

*Rev.* **SONCA** up to left, **TA** up to right and **S** below.

Obverse die 2; reverse die 8.

**64** Æ 16 ↓ 3.31 **27.103**

<sup>43</sup> In such circumstances, I hesitate to think that the 'S' on most obverses is a value-mark, though this is possible.

<sup>44</sup> E. Gàbrici, *La Monetazione del Bronzo nella Sicilia Antica* (Palermo, 1927), publishing the collection of the National Museum of Palermo, lists no specimen of the imitative pieces, among the pieces 'con guerriero al rovescio', on pp. 158–9.

<sup>45</sup> Specimens have also been found in Ostia.

<sup>46</sup> *SNG Cop.* 541 pairs a further reverse die with obverse die 12; *SNG Cop.* 577 probably pairs obverse die 1 and reverse die 8; and *SNG Cop.* 533 and 536 appear to use wholly new obverse and reverse dies.

- Obv.* Same, but head right.  
*Rev.* S·ONCA up to left, TA up to right and S below.  
 Obverse die 3; reverse die 9.
- 65    Æ    16    ↙                    **32.071**
- Obverse die 4; reverse die 9.
- 66    Æ    16    ↑            3.18    **30.003**
- Rev.* SON up to left, TA up to right and S below.  
 Obverse die 4; reverse die 10.
- 67    Æ    17    ↓            3.07    **0.400**    Berlin Prokesch-Osten (this coin)
- Obv.* Same, but head diademed.  
*Rev.* Same, but no shield; SONCA up to left, T up to right.  
 Obverse die 5; reverse die 11.
- 68    Æ    16    ↘            2.76    **4.113**
- Obv.* Same, but bare-headed.  
*Rev.* SON up to left, TA up to right and S below.  
 Obverse die 6; reverse die 12.
- 69    Æ    16                    3.03    **13.069**
- Obv.* Same, but head laureate.  
*Rev.* Same, but warrior right, and shield present; MIIAI down to left, ΓΑΙΑII up to right.  
 Obverse die 7; reverse die 13.
- 70    Æ    17    ↖            2.21    **4.118**
- Rev.* Same but no shield; SI up to left, TO down to right.  
 Obverse die 7; reverse die 14. There is a central dot in the O, which makes it look like Θ; but this is probably not intended, as the other die with this legend clearly reads O.
- 71    Æ    16    ↑            2.47    **4.119**
- Obverse die 8; reverse die 14.
- 72    Æ    15    ↗            2.00    **14.264**
- Obv.* Same, but bare-headed.  
 Obverse die 9; reverse die 15.
- 73    Æ    17                    2.77    **13.068**
- Rev.* Helmeted warrior standing left, holding patera and spear; shield rests against spear; SONAC up to left, TA up to right and S below.  
 Obverse die 9; reverse die 5.
- 74    Æ    19    ↘            5.37    **0.485**    Madrid (this coin)
- Rev.* ... ONVII up to left, AT up to right and S below.  
 Obverse die 10; reverse die 16.
- 75    Æ    16    ↗            3.92    **14.155**
- Obv.* Same, but head diademed.  
*Rev.* Same, but warrior right, and no shield; TIO(?) up to left; TA up to right and C below.  
 Obverse die 11; reverse die 17.
- 76    Æ    16                    2.94    **13.071**

*Obv.* Head of Mercury wearing *petasus* right; C up to left, IIOVO up to right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Same, but warrior left; AVH up to left.

Obverse die 12; reverse die 18.

77 Æ 17 ↑ 2.54 0.403 Berlin Löbbecke (this coin)

*Obv.* Beardless, helmeted head right; border of dots.

Obverse die 13; reverse die 18.

78 Æ 17 ↙

*Obv.* Beardless male head right; border of dots.

*Rev.* ... ICA up to left; V(?) to right.

Obverse die 14; reverse die 19.

79 Æ 16 ↗ 3.52 0.478 BMC SP 2873 2/10 (this coin)

*Obv.* Female head right.

*Rev.* Same, but warrior right and shield present; macaronic legend around.

Obverse die 15; reverse die 20.

80 Æ 15 ↙ 2.73 0.401 Berlin IB (this coin)

### Ebusus, Spain<sup>47</sup>

Spanish mints other than Ebusus<sup>48</sup> account for 3.1% of the foreign material from the Liri; Ebusus accounts for a further 8.4%.<sup>49</sup> This is the second largest number of coins from any single polity, after Naples, which accounts for 14.1%; the third is Massalia, with 8.2%. This pattern is not peculiar to Minturnae: Attilio Stazio reported an analogous situation at Pompeii, after studying the excavation coins.<sup>50</sup> He also drew attention to a hoard of bronze coins found in excavations there,<sup>51</sup> which contained Massalia (head of Apollo/butting bull), Gallic imitations of these, Roman Republican bronze of sextantal, uncial and semiuncial standards, and 53 Ebusan coins;<sup>52</sup> the semuncial bronze gives an earliest possible deposit date of c.90 BC; Stazio also noted the presence of similar Ebusan coins in second and first century BC excavation strata in Provence, and that Ebusan bronze is known from a number of sites in Italy and Sicily.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Marta Campo kindly read and commented on this section; I thank her for this, and many other kindnesses.

<sup>48</sup> At least the following mints are present (references are to L. Villaronga, *Corpus Nummum Hispaniae ante Augusti Aetatem* (Madrid, 1994) = CNHAA): Arse: CNHAA 33?; Gadir: CNHAA 40-1? (2 pieces); Malaka: CNHAA 21, CNHAA 4 (2 pieces); Inciertas con escritura libio-fenice: CNHAA 20; Untikesken: CNHAA 5 and 67-70; Emporia: as CNHAA ? (2 pieces); CNHAA 64? (2 pieces); Kese: unit CNHAA ?; CNHAA 86, quarter CNHAA ? CNHAA 48, sixth CNHAA ?; Ilturo: CNHAA 16; Baitolo: CNHAA 5; Iltirkesken: CNHAA 1; Bolscan: CNHAA 8; Sekia: CNHAA 3; Kelse: CNHAA 9? (2 pieces); Bibilis: CNHAA 1?; Tanusia: CNHAA 1; Arse: CNHAA 31-2; CNHAA 33?; Ikalkusken: CNHAA 6?; Kastilo-Castulo: as CNHAA ?, CNHAA 43; Ilipense: CNHAA 4; Lastigi: CNHAA 5; Corduba: cf. CNHAA 1-8 (2 pieces); Cartagonova: CNHAA 2; Carteia: CNHAA 71?; Ilici: RPC 192; Imitaciones siglo I a.C.: semis cf. CNHAA p. 427, 1-3.

<sup>49</sup> In 'Parallels', I gave the figures of 2.8 and 5.7%, respectively. The difference results from pieces recorded since then, particularly a block composed largely of Ebusus. I have now recorded 108 Ebusan coins.

<sup>50</sup> A. Stazio, 'Rapporti tra Pompei ed Ebusus nelle Baleari alla luce

dei rinvenimenti monetali', *AION* 2 (1955), pp. 33-57 (cited as 'Rapporti'). 'Fra le emissioni di zecche autonome venute alla luce durante gli scavi di Pompei, quelle di Ebusus rappresentano il nucleo più notevole per abbondanza ed omogeneità, inferiore per questo solo alle monete di Neapolis, la cui presenza d'altronde è ovvia data la vicinanza e le naturali relazioni commerciali fra le due città campane' (p. 42). He does not comment on the relative frequency of Massalia, and remarks, implausibly, that other Spanish mints are absent: 'delle altre, pur numerose, emissioni degli altri centri della penisola nessun esemplare si sia finora rinvenuto nella nostra zona' (p. 52).

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43, citing A. Maiuri, *NSc*, 1950, pp. 116-36, with a note on p. 127 by L. Breglia, briefly describing the coins; she thought the coins of Ebusus were of an unknown Gallic mint.

<sup>52</sup> With Bes on both faces.

<sup>53</sup> With published finds now from Aeclanum (Mirabella Eclano), Cosa, Morgantina, Ortona (Foggia), the Paestum area, Pompeii, Roma, San Felicità (Rocca San Felice), the Salerno coast, Sarno and Velia: see M. Campo, 'Las monedas de Ebusus', in *VII Jornadas de arqueología fenico-púnica*, Trabajos del Museo Arqueológico de Ibiza 31 (Ibiza, 1993), pp. 147-71 (cited as *Jornadas*), p. 163. I have also seen specimens said to come from Ostia.

When Stazio wrote, there was no analytical typology of the Ebusan coinage, which limited the information he could draw from the material. M. Campo's thorough studies<sup>54</sup> have remedied this situation and, in particular, have made it possible to identify what appear to be Campanian issues imitating Ebusus (as well as a number of variant true Ebusan issues) within the Liri material. In what follows, I therefore list all the issues present in the Liri material, note the number of specimens of each type, to show their relative frequency, and illustrate representative examples.

A	Group VII var. = 'Eivissa' 78 before c.214 BC <i>unit</i> <b>81</b>	Æ	16	↓	–	<b>100.095</b>	<i>Obv.</i> Bes standing facing, holding up a hammer in his right hand and a snake in his left. <i>Rev.</i> Bull butting right.	1 specimen –
B	Group VIII, 8 before c.214 BC <i>unit</i> <b>82</b>	Æ	15	↖	2.67	<b>27.114</b>	<i>Obv.</i> Same; border of dots. <i>Rev.</i> Like obverse.	4 specimens $\bar{x}$ = 2.03 g
C	Group VIII var. = 'Eivissa' 65–7 before c.214 BC <i>half</i> <b>83</b>	Æ	16	→	2.15	<b>13.078</b>	<i>Obv.</i> Same, but <i>ayin</i> to left. <i>Rev.</i> Same ( <i>ayin</i> not visible).	1 specimen –
D	Group XI, 13 before c.214 BC <i>half</i> <b>84</b>	Æ	11	↘	0.90	<b>4.190</b>	<i>Obv.</i> Same, but Bes wears a tunic. <i>Rev.</i> Bull butting right; border of dots.	3 specimens $\bar{x}$ = 0.99 g
E	Group XII, 14–17 214–c.200 BC <i>unit</i> <b>85</b>	Æ	16	↓	3.39	<b>14.071</b>	<i>Obv.</i> Same. <i>Rev.</i> Bull butting left; border of dots.	2 specimens $\bar{x}$ = 3.40 g
F	<i>Ebusus</i> – before c.200 BC? <i>unit?</i> <b>86</b>	Æ	15	↘	2.31	<b>27.051</b>	<i>Obv.</i> Same, but Bes is naked. <i>Rev.</i> Bull leaping right; snake (?) right below; border of dots (?)	1 specimen –

Issues F and G appear to be new types, and to be linked, as a *unit* and a *half*: the style of Bes is similar, and these are the only pieces in the Ebusus series with a motive or legend in exergue.<sup>55</sup> I assume that these are canonical Ebusan issues, probably of the second century BC, despite the fact that so many of these pieces have turned up in Italy,<sup>56</sup> and that none are so far published from Spain.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>54</sup> *Ebusus* (1976), updated by *Jornadas* (1993) and 'Les Monedes de l'Eivissa Púnica', in *La Moneda a l'Eivissa Púnica* (Palma de Majorca, Spain, 1994) (cited as 'Eivissa').

<sup>55</sup> Campo suggests that G could be compared to Group XI, by flan similarity, or considered as halves of Group XII (E).

<sup>56</sup> Note that these are sporadic finds, not a packet from a single find: I recorded them in different blocks, over a period of years.

<sup>57</sup> 'El material de Ebusus es muy difícil de manejar. Los problemas se concentran sobretudo en el Período I, cuando la ceca parece haber acuñado un volumen importante de moneda, pero de pésima calidad,

lo que dificulta su sistematización. En el Museo Arqueológico de Ibiza, hay un gran cantidad de monedas de este primer momento, procedentes de hallazgos realizados en la isla después que yo realizara el estudio para mi tesis en 1973–1975. El día que se restaure y estudie todo este material, estoy segura que se podrán identificar muchas más variantes del Período I, que sin duda es el peor conocido de la ceca y el más difícil de sistematizar. Por ello no me estraña que haya podido identificar nuevas variantes entre los materiales procedentes del Liri'; Campo, letter of 10 February 1997.



<b>G</b>	<i>Ebusus</i> – before c.200 BC? <i>unit</i>	<i>Obv.</i> Same <i>Rev.</i> Same, but two stars (?) in exergue.	3 specimens $\bar{x}$ = 1.51 g	87	Æ	13	✓	1.95	<b>14.070</b>					
<b>H</b>	Group XVIII, 50–70 c.200–c.100 BC	<i>Obv.</i> Same, but Bes wears a tunic. <i>Rev.</i> Like obverse. <i>Symbols:</i> None or none visible Four-petalled rose ↓ <i>Aleph</i> Caduceus/crescent over disk Caduceus/ <i>shin</i> Cornucopia Symbol of Tanit Lotus-flower <i>Heth</i>	36 specimens $\bar{x}$ = 2.37 g	88	Æ	16	↓	2.32	<b>29.046</b>	<i>Ebusus</i>	<i>no.</i>			
													50	(20)
													53	(2)
													55	(2)
													56	(1)
													59–60	(1)
													63	(2)
													67	(2)
													68	(2)
													69	(4)

I draw attention to the following coin, a Roman *quadrans*, probably of the early first century BC, over a specimen of issue **H**, which is further evidence of the frequency with which Ebusan coins were found in Italy at that date.

#### *Quadrans*

*Obv.* Head of Hercules right, wearing lion's skin; [‡ behind]; border of dots.

*Rev.* Prow right; ‡ before; ROMA above.

Over Ebusus; Bes facing at ← on the reverse.

**89**    Æ    15    ✓    2.75    **16.010**

The single specimen of **I** is not from the Liri, but was reportedly found in Sicily; I include it here because it is not in *Ebusus*. It may be part of Group XVIII – if so, it adds a new set of symbols – but the small flan is unusual; it is matched in size in Group XVIII only by no. 64 (with the symbols, four-petalled rose/five-petalled rose) of which Campo lists a single piece: it is possible that the two coins should be grouped together separately.

<b>I</b>	<i>Ebusus</i> – c.200–c.100 BC? <i>unit</i>	<i>Obv.</i> Same; <i>symbol</i> : four-petalled rose to left. <i>Rev.:</i> Same; <i>symbols</i> : <i>ayin</i> to right; <i>beth</i> to left.	(1 specimen) –	90	Æ	13	↓	2.55	–		

The *halves* listed in **J** are also new, and are presumably linked to Group XVIII.

<b>J</b>	<i>Ebusus</i> – c.200–c.100 BC? <i>half</i>	<i>Obv.</i> Same. <i>Obv.</i> Same. <i>Symbols:</i> None or none visible <i>Caduceus</i> /no visible symbol	2 specimens $\bar{x}$ = 1.17 g	91	Æ	12	↘	1.29	<b>27.116</b>	<i>Ebusus</i>	<i>no.</i>			
													–	(1)
													–	(1)

**K, L, M** and **N** are variants of the *Ebusus* Group XVIII, 71, of a very particular, rudimentary style,

and, contrary to all other issues, Bes here most frequently raises his left hand, rather than his right;<sup>58</sup> most show an inexplicable symbol shaped like a T, which, Campo remarks, cannot easily be assimilated to a Punic letter; and the border, when present, is linear, rather than of dots. They are almost certainly Campanian copies of Ebusus: the clearest indication lies in the very large number of specimens from there, in the Liri material and in Pompeii hoard,<sup>59</sup> as well as in the fact that Campo, since I brought the possibility to her attention, has not been able to find a single specimen from Ibiza itself, and only one from Spain (from the Emporion excavations). She has accordingly re-attributed Group XVIII, 71, as a Campanian imitative issue.<sup>60</sup>

The Campanian imitations can be divided into three groups. **K** is relatively naturalistic, although there are a few cruder dies (compare nos. 92 and 93; no. 96 has a 'good style' obverse, and a schematic reverse); in most cases, Bes raises a hammer, while, in the later groups, he raises only a hand; and the 'T' appears in this group, as does the rising of the left rather than the right hand. **L** is of a miserable, scratchy style; most dies have the 'T'; the hammer is gone; and there are dies with right and with left hand raised. **M**, the largest group, is more homogenous: 'T' is always present; the flans and the types are usually larger than in **L**; and it is always the left hand that is raised; I illustrate some variant styles. **N** supplies the *half* to **M**.

Issues **K** and **L** are probably transitional styles, as imitation begins, which settle down in the canon of issues **M** and **N**; **L** could, however, be contemporary, or **L** could follow **M** and **N**.<sup>61</sup>

<b>K<sup>1</sup></b>	Campanian copies First century BC? <i>unit</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	Bes standing facing, naked, holding up a hammer in his right hand and a snake in his left; linear border.			3 specimens $\bar{x}$ = 1.60 g
		<i>Rev.</i>	Like obverse.			
	<b>92</b>	Æ	15	←	1.73	<b>13.091</b>
	<b>93</b>	Æ	14	↘	1.49	<b>5.009</b>
<b>K<sup>2</sup></b>		<i>Obv.</i>	Same.			1 specimen
		<i>Rev.</i>	Same, but T to left.			—
	<b>94</b>	Æ	16	→	2.34	<b>18.020</b>
<b>K<sup>3</sup></b>		<i>Obv.</i>	Same.			2 specimens $\bar{x}$ = 1.33 g
		<i>Rev.</i>	Same, but right hand merely raised (no hammer) and T to left.			
	<b>95</b>	Æ	15	↑	2.10	<b>5.001</b>
<b>K<sup>4</sup></b>		<i>Obv.</i>	Same.			1 specimen
		<i>Rev.</i>	Same, but left hand merely raised and T to right.			—
	<b>96</b>	Æ	16	↗	1.92	<b>4.001</b>
<b>L<sup>1</sup></b>	Campanian copies = Group XVIII, 71	<i>Obv.</i>	Same, but Bes is probably intended to be wearing a tunic, and right hand merely raised (no T).			3 specimens $\bar{x}$ = 1.76 g
		<i>Rev.</i>	Same.			
	<b>97</b>	Æ	15	←	1.70	<b>27.125</b>
<b>L<sup>2</sup></b>		<i>Obv.</i>	Same, but T to left.			4 specimens $\bar{x}$ = 1.82 g
		<i>Rev.</i>	Same.			
	<b>98</b>	Æ	15	↗	1.72	<b>34.027</b>

<sup>58</sup> I can only suggest that this results from an initial mechanical copying of the type, which the engraver failed to reverse when sinking the die.

<sup>59</sup> Campo (*Jornadas*, p. 163) lists finds of this variety from Aeclanum, the coast at Salerno, and Sarno(?). The illustrated specimen of the three Ebusan Bes/Bes pieces found in the

Morgantina excavations is also of this type; T. Buttrey, K.T. Erim, T.D. Groves and R.R. Holloway, *Morgantina Studies, Volume II: the Coins* (Princeton, USA, 1989); p. 70 n.3, and pl. 9, 3.

<sup>60</sup> *Jornadas*, p. 156.

<sup>61</sup> **L<sup>1</sup>** shades into **M**; there is no distinction in the types; if there is a significant difference, it is in the style.

<b>L<sup>3</sup></b>			<i>Obv.</i>	Same, but left hand merely raised and T to right.			8 specimens
			<i>Rev.</i>	Same.			$\bar{x}$ = 1.88 g
	<b>99</b>	Æ	17	↗	1.94	<b>28.009</b>	
<b>M</b>	Campanian copies = Group XVIII, 71		<i>Obv.</i>	Same.			31 specimens
			<i>Rev.</i>	Same.			$\bar{x}$ = 1.85 g
	<b>100</b>	Æ	15	↙	2.20	<b>4.002</b>	
	<b>101</b>	Æ	15	↘	1.97	<b>5.003</b>	
	<b>102</b>	Æ	15	↙	1.20	<b>13.099</b>	
<b>N</b>	Campanian copies <i>Ebusus</i> – <i>half</i>		<i>Obv.</i>	Same.			1 specimen
			<i>Rev.</i>	Same.			
	<b>103</b>	Æ	11	↓	0.79	<b>9.001</b>	

There are a number of other probable Campanian imitations, without Liri connections, which I group below.<sup>62</sup> Only one specimen of each is known, all in Berlin. The dating of these pieces, and their relationship to the Campanian Bes/Bes imitations – to which they are not stylistically close – is uncertain. They are placed here on the assumption that all imitations are likely to be of similar date.

We have a Campanian connection for the first piece: Travaini has republished a number of pieces, found on the beaches at Salerno during storms and published by Padre G. Foresio in 1890 as Arab copies of Norman Sicilian coinages, which were, in fact, Ebusan coins (including Campanian imitations); they include one of this type.<sup>63</sup> Campo has accordingly re-attributed it as a Campanian imitation.<sup>64</sup>

<b>O<sup>1</sup></b>	Campanian copies = Group XVI, 21 <i>unit</i>		<i>Obv.</i>	Female head left.			(1 specimen)
			<i>Rev.</i>	Same.			–
	<b>104</b>	Æ	17	↗	2.05	<b>0.609</b>	Berlin (this coin)
<b>O<sup>2</sup></b>	Campanian copies = Group XVI, 22 <i>unit?</i>		<i>Obv.</i>	Horse head right.			(1 specimen)
			<i>Rev.</i>	Same.			–
	<b>105</b>	Æ	16	↗	1.24	<b>0.610</b>	Berlin (this coin)
<b>O<sup>3</sup></b>	Campanian copies = Group XVI, 23 <i>half?</i>		<i>Obv.</i>	Bearded and diademed head right.			(1 specimen)
			<i>Rev.</i>	Same.			–
	<b>106</b>	Æ	12	↗	0.92	<b>0.612</b>	Berlin (this coin)

Campo dates the initiation of her Group XIX (**P**) by correspondence to the semi-uncial standard established by the *Lex Papiria* of 91 BC; these pieces would then assimilate to a *semis*.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>62</sup> These pieces have travelled together in the literature, but I am not very convinced by no. 106: the module and the style are not easily assimilable, and the reverse may not, in fact, be Bes.

<sup>63</sup> L. Travaini, 'More evidence on the finds of coins of Ebusus in Italy', *RBN CXXXVII* (1991), pp. 193–7.

<sup>64</sup> *Jornadas*, p. 156.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 157. Stazio knew of no Campanian finds of Group XIX: '[il] tipo con Cabiro sul D/ e leggenda punica al R/, ... si noti bene, non ricorre mai a Pompei, nè in Campania ('Rapporti', p. 51 n. 2). In 'Parallels' (n. 70), I remarked that I knew of no examples of this issue from the Liri; I have recorded these specimens since then.

P	XIX		<i>Obv.</i>	Bes standing facing; border of dots.							2 specimens
	c.91–c.27 BC		<i>Rev.</i>	𐤆𐤏𐤇𐤇 – 𐤐𐤇𐤇; border of dots.							weights:
	'Fifty' = 𐤐𐤇𐤇		<i>Symbols:</i>								3.87, 7.20 g
				Neo-Punic <i>aleph</i> to left			<i>Ebusus no.</i>				
				Palm-frond to left			86–90 (1)				
							116 (1)				
107	Æ	20	↓		7.20	35.010	= <i>Minturnae</i> , no. 1				

## CONCLUSIONS

This material described in this article – completed by the congeries of what I have called the 'central Italian issues',<sup>66</sup> by the large-scale presence of minor foreign coinage, and, of course, by the dominant presence of normal Roman bronze coinage – shows the complexity and intractability of the central Italian assemblage. The question of whether or not the various elements are related, and if so, in what ways, must be raised. In each case, both the political and economic aspects of these issues need to be considered. We shall end with many more questions than answers.

The first element is composed of the mere imitations of Roman small change, such as the pieces collected by Crawford in 'Imitations'. These are under-represented in my data-bases; it is clear that the monetary stock at Minturnae contained a large number.<sup>67</sup> Obviously, those who struck them intended them to be taken for standard coinage, or at least to circulate with it.<sup>68</sup> Were they tolerated (or even issued) by local communities in need of small change? A related question is whether the large numbers of foreign bronze pieces that were present were also used, in certain circumstances, as part of the circulating medium. Coins no. 2 to 9 suggest that foreign coin was not that easily assimilated, because the motive of issue – at least for these pieces – seems to have been to 'Romanise' the foreign coinage at hand. They also show the particular importance, after 96 BC, of the Cyrenaican bronze, which is both relatively common in the foreign assemblage, and relatively frequently overstruck.

The second element is the central Italian issues, which were evidently not intended to be imitative, or to pass for other than themselves. Within this material, many of the issues have many of the characteristics which we regard as marking official coinage, in particular, a standard range of types, denominational marks and co-ordinated denominations.<sup>69</sup> The legends – always Latin<sup>70</sup> – do not appear to identify mints or issuing authorities, but individuals;<sup>71</sup> nonetheless, they are a formally coherent block, and are not merely sporadic or imitative: it seems most likely that they were issued by some recognised authority or authorities, though by whom, and in what circumstances, is unclear.<sup>72</sup> There is a good deal of overstriking in such issues, mainly on other central Italian material, but also on foreign material, and on Rome, as I have shown. Overstrikes on Rome are hardly likely to have originated in an official Roman context,<sup>73</sup> and, as I remarked in 'Parallels',<sup>74</sup> 'the striking of circulating coin ... , apparently at the same value as the pieces sacrificed ... , implies that the motive for striking cannot have been simply to provide small change in a time of dearth, because the practice did not add to the volume of useful money in circulation'. In 'Parallels', I discussed the *Isla Pedrosa* shipwreck off Gerona in Catalonia, which contained mixed Neapolitan, Gallic, Massaliot, Republican and central

<sup>66</sup> Much of central Italian material is as yet unpublished, and the discussion below is tentative; 'Parallels' lists a number of important series, described from an iconographic and typological perspective; a number of pieces are described above, in the section on central Italian overstrikes on Roman coins.

<sup>67</sup> I have, for example, seen without recording most of 'Imitations', pl. III and IV, nos. 32–48; pl. 5, 66; pl. VII, 111–14; and pl. VIII, 34, 40.

<sup>68</sup> We have probably not identified the more successful copies, which would mean that we are, in fact, judging the imitative skill of those who made them only by their least successful products.

<sup>69</sup> There are also, as shown in 'Parallels', clear ties between at least some of these issues and Baetica.

<sup>70</sup> The same is the case with the Baetican material, with the single

exception of a coin with a head of Vulcan right/bull right, and the Punic legend, 𐤆𐤏𐤇𐤇, in exergue; all specimens appear to be struck over Ebusan coins of issue O. (= 'Parallels', no. 97.)

<sup>71</sup> Often, as noted above in connection with nos. 21 ff., with the legend N, as is, or in a variety of expanded forms.

<sup>72</sup> The central Italian assemblage also contains a number of less structured and more sporadic issues and groups, including nos. 37 to 44.

<sup>73</sup> Though it should be born in mind that at least a part of the issue of no. 32 carried the legend, ROMA; local Roman groups may have overstruck official Roman coinage, perhaps to create a local fiduciary issue of higher nominal value.

<sup>74</sup> P. 97.

Italian material: the wreck is from c.140 BC,<sup>75</sup> by which date the phenomenon of the central Italian issues had therefore begun; the overstrikes I have listed show that these issues continued until at least 90 BC, and the rapid decline of the weight standard of the Dionysus/panther issue (nos. 15 to 19) suggests that they may have ended soon afterwards (if all issues suffered a similar fate). This period is the minimum political and economic context in which we must site the central Italian issues.

The third element is of crude imitations of foreign mints. There is, of course, no reason to believe that the groups I have isolated were issued by the same people, or that they are related; moreover, the 'Termessos'/Rome group (section 3.1) shows that it was – at least in this case – possible to strike both banal imitations of Roman coinage and imitations of foreign coins. If one reason for imitative Roman material was the need to 'Romanise' foreign coins at hand, by overstriking them, this phenomenon was the opposite, creating imitative foreign material. An argument could be made that the Roman authorities would punish the imitation of Roman types; but this hardly seems likely for such low-value coinage, and the mass of imitations suggest that this was not the case.<sup>76</sup> An alternative argument would be that certain (even all) foreign coinage was welcome in circulation, and hence imitated; while it is clear that both Panormos and Ebusus were present in considerable numbers, this was not the case for Termessos. Yet another argument would turn on the supposition that the issuers deliberately wanted to distinguish themselves from the Roman authorities; but if so, why should they not have used identifying types (as is the case in the central Italian issues)?

The Panormitan imitations, and the number of normal Panormitan coins in the Liri material, testify to the importance of that city in the late Republic. It is difficult to say why such systematic copying took place: the stylistic crudity, and the macaronic legends, suggest an informal context; but, on the other hand, the number of dies used indicates more than sporadic copying.

The existence of Ebusan imitations should not mask the key question of why quantities of Ebusan coin of low intrinsic worth, and no conventional value outside the Ebusan economy,<sup>77</sup> flowed into Italy in the first place. The answer is not at all evident. Issues **A** to **D** all form part of Campo's Period Ib, which she dates to before the Second Punic War. The bulk of the Liri material – issues **H** to **O** – falls into Campo's Period II, from the Second Punic War to the end of the first century BC,<sup>78</sup> with a few specimens from Period III (**P**): the relative frequency of specimens of the more copious groups, as catalogued in *Ebusus*<sup>79</sup> and here, shows this clearly:

<sup>75</sup> Marta Campo has since kindly informed me that 'Xavier Nieto [el director del Centro de Arqueología Submarina de la Generalitat de Catalunya (Gerona)] me informó que los últimos estudios de los materiales que transportaba la embarcación, sitúan el momento del hundimiento entre 150–130, con más probabilidades c.140 a.C'; letter, 17 June 1996.

<sup>76</sup> There is little evidence for the Roman state managing the bronze coinage in any coherent manner; Crawford regards the Roman imitative issues as 'another nail in the coffin for a view which I feel as more paradoxical the more I consider it, that the Roman state took thought for the supply of small change to its subjects'; 'Imitations', p. 141.

<sup>77</sup> Unlike precious metal coinage, which, as specie, has an intrinsic value independent of the economic system in which it was created.

<sup>78</sup> There is ample evidence of large quantities of Ebusan bronze coinage of this period leaving the island, which the finds in Italy confirm: 'La Segunda Guerra Púnica ... dará un gran impulso a la

difusión de las emisiones de bronce ebusitanas, que a lo largo del siglo II a.C., continuarán circulando ampliamente por el Mediterráneo occidental ... las emisiones de este Período II dominan claramente en la costa alicantina, bocas de Ródano y Campania'; *Jornadas*, p. 155. Campo has recently remarked on the numbers of Ebusan coins antedating the Second Punic War found at Pompeii: 'El pasada octubre, estuve en Nápoles y en el Museo Nazionale, tuve ocasión de consultar las monedas de Ebusus encontradas en excavaciones de Pompeya en 1981 ... La visita fue muy interesante, pues entre los materiales había un número significativo de monedas ebusitanas del siglo III a.C. Esto, junto a los materiales que ahora usted estudia, parece indicar una difusión ya importante de la moneda ebusitana hacia la Campania con anterioridad a la Segunda Guerra Púnica'; letter of 10 February 1997.

<sup>79</sup> *Ebusus*, p. 62 for the totals per group; in Group XVIII, the twelve catalogued specimens of imitative XVIII, 71 (pp. 130 f.) are split out.

Group	<i>Ebusus</i>	÷	Liri	=	Ratio
VIII (B)	452		4		113
XI (D)	659		3		220
XII (E)	207		2		103
XVIII (H)	488		36		13.5
Imitative (K–M)	<u>12</u>		<u>53</u>		<u>0.2</u>
All XVIII	500		89		5.7
XIX (P)	626		2		313

Did the genuine Ebusan pieces come in drips and drabs over this whole period, or were there one or more transfers of large samples of the circulating medium in Ebusus to Italy, presumably towards the end of the first century BC, to judge from the relative abundance of issue H?<sup>80</sup> If so, why, and in what circumstances? Once in Italy, what function did these pieces play? They were certainly widely dispersed.<sup>81</sup>

The imitative issues, K–N, account for 49% of all the Ebusan material I have recorded. Local copying must have responded to a local demand for these coins, which must mean that Ebusan coinage was used as a medium of exchange, in some central Italian context; this is supported by the presence of Ebusan coins in the Pompeii hoard. The structure of the imitative material – which breaks into tight groups that are unlikely to have been struck over a long period – does not suggest piecemeal and diffuse copying over a long period, but a systematic effort to create this derivative coinage, in a contained period of time, probably at the beginning of the first century BC. If so, a central Italian political motive for this phenomenon would seem at least as likely as an economic motive.<sup>82</sup> The question is, what motive?

<sup>80</sup> The question may be answered, in due course, by stratigraphic evidence from Pompeii.

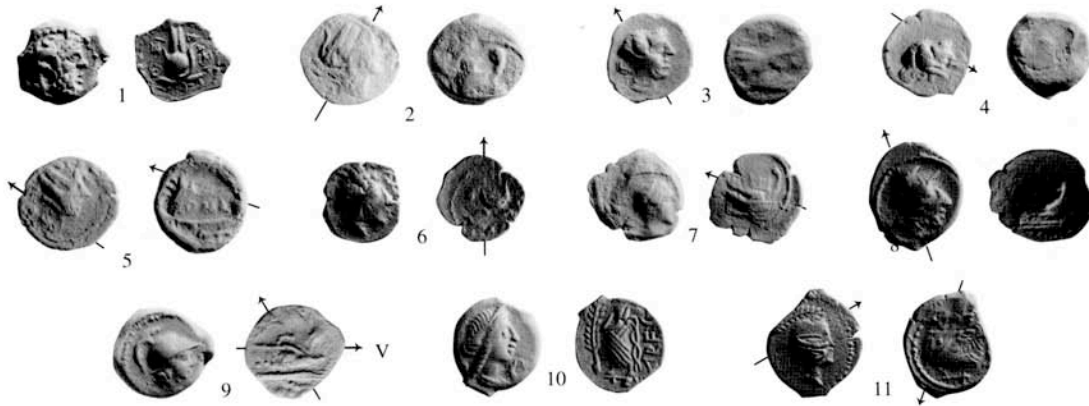
<sup>81</sup> Which makes it difficult to localise the production of these

imitations, though, on present evidence, a central Italian origin is the most likely.

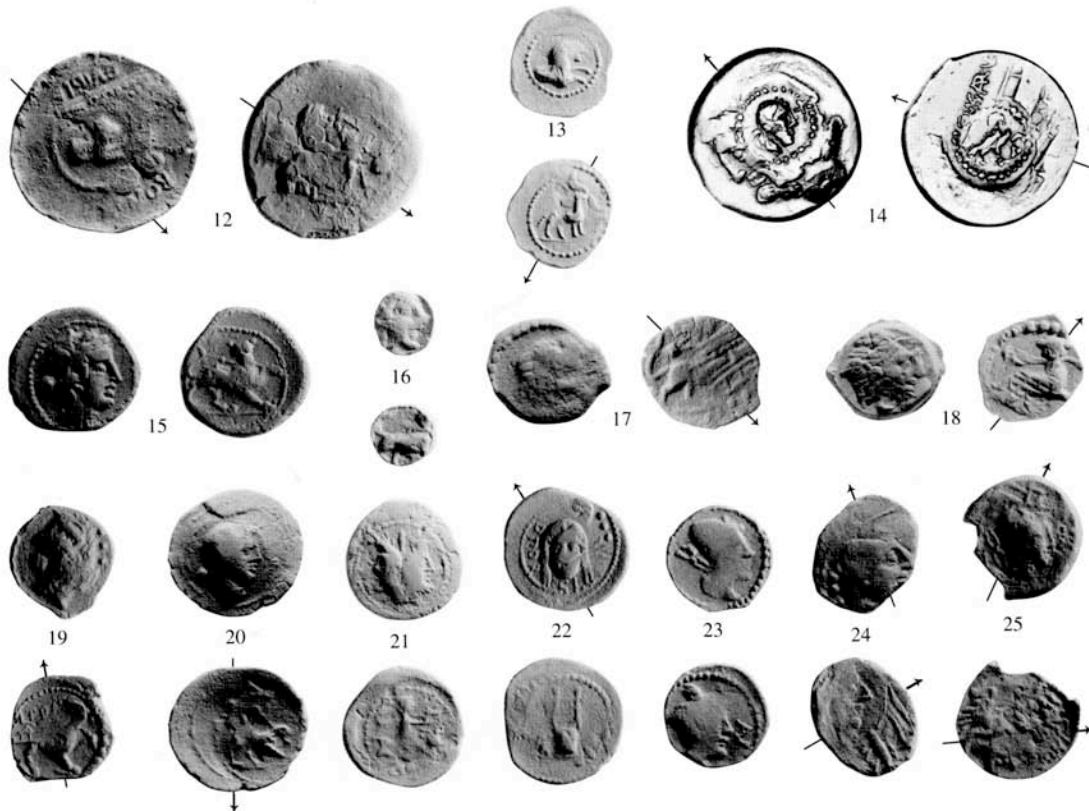
<sup>82</sup> The same is possible for the Panormitan imitations, as well.

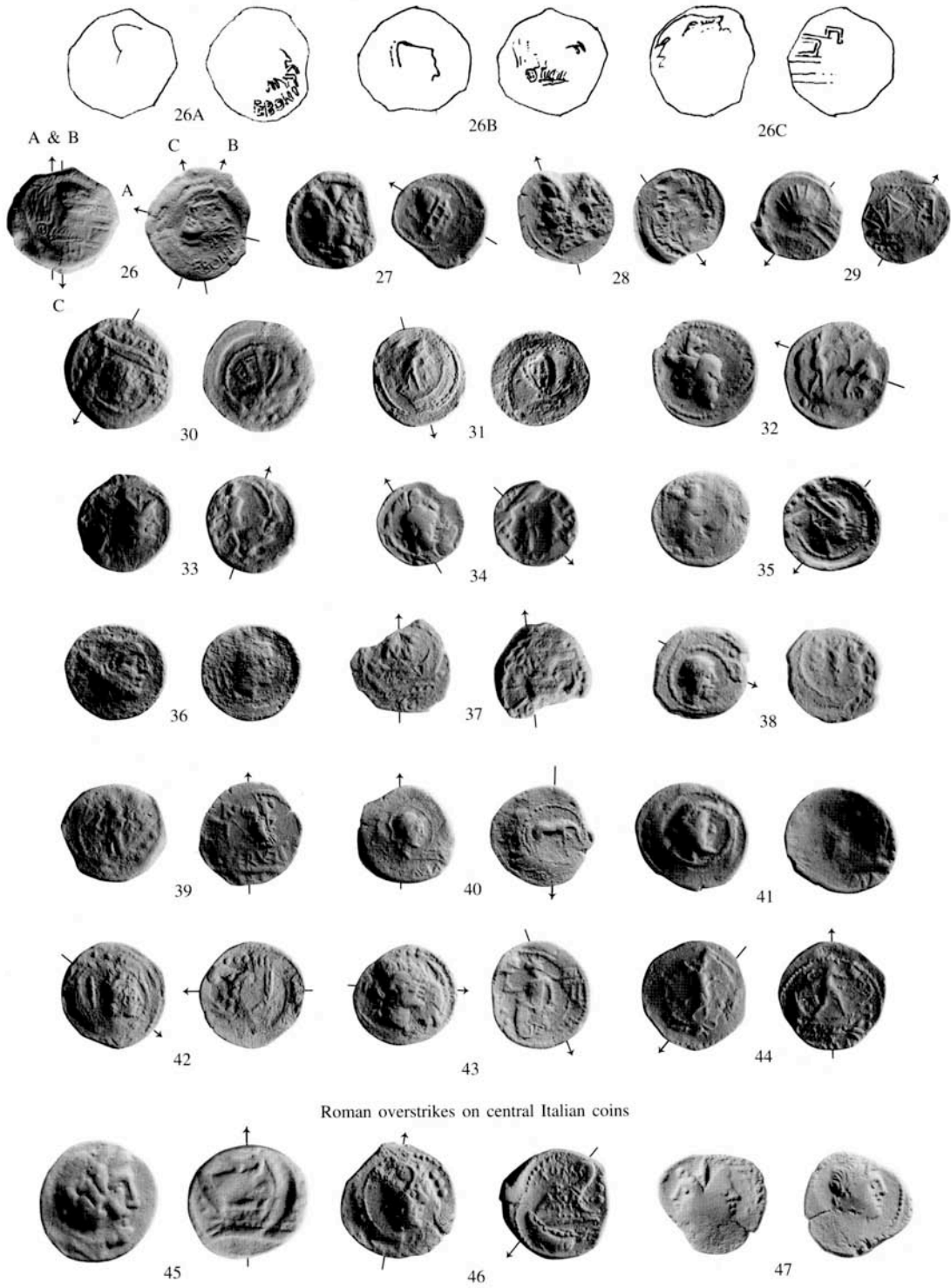
The axes of the undertypes of overstruck pieces, when identifiable  
are indicated by arrows

Imitative Roman overstrikes on foreign coins



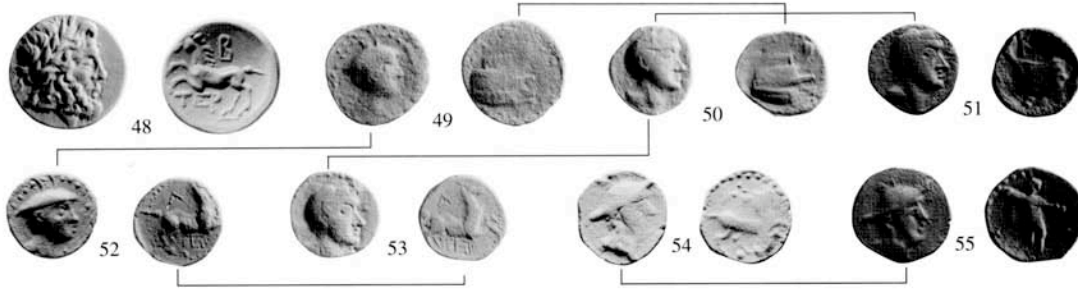
Central Italian overstrikes on Roman coins







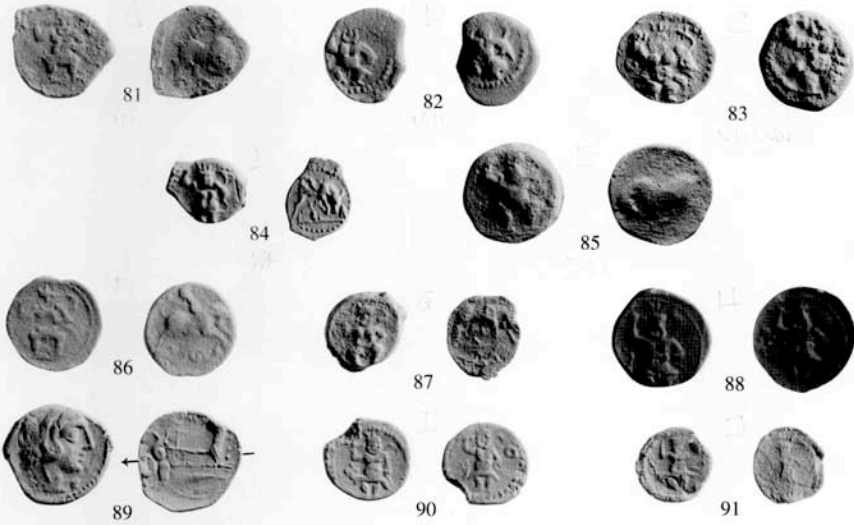
Imitative Termessos linked to imitative Rome



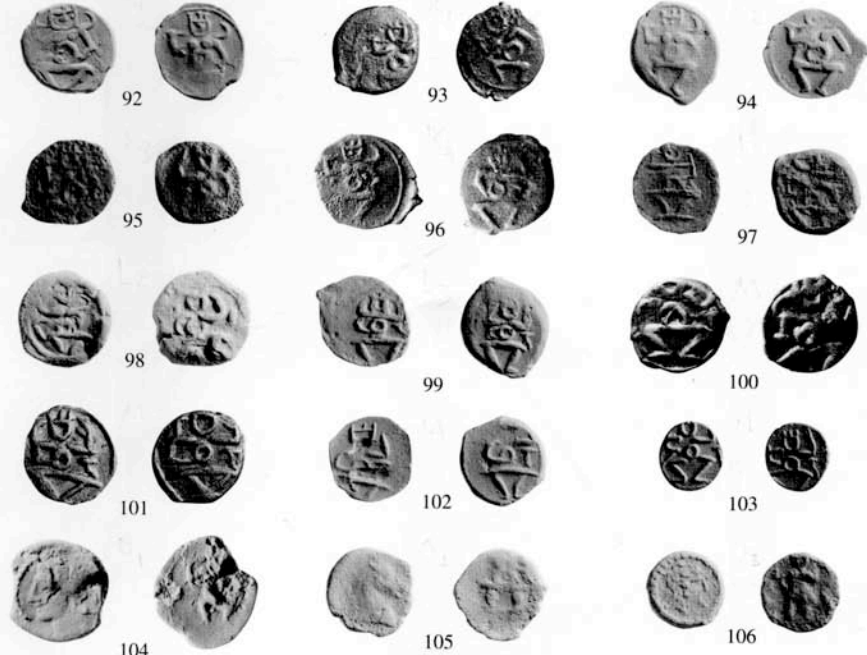
Imitative Panormos



Ebusus



Imitative Ebusus



Ebusus

