

NUMISMATICA PATAVINA  
(13)

*Collana diretta da Giovanni Gorini*



# LE MONETE DI CIRENE E DELLA CIRENAICA NEL MEDITERRANEO

*Problemi e prospettive*

Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Numismatica e di Storia Monetaria  
Padova, 17-19 marzo 2016

*a cura di*  
Michele Asolati

Numismatica Patavina

Curatori:

Giovanni Gorini (Curatore editoriale)

Michele Asolati (Curatore esecutivo)

Comitato scientifico:

Andrew Burnett

Aleksander Bursche

François de Callataÿ

Cécile Morrisson

Andrea Saccocci

Assistenti curatori:

Cristina Crisafulli

Alessandro Cattaneo

Questo volume è stato pubblicato con il contributo esclusivo dell'Università degli Studi di Padova, Dipartimento dei Beni Culturali: Archeologia, Storia dell'Arte, del Cinema e della Musica nell'ambito del Progetto PRAT 2014-2017 "From self-government and centrality to marginality and dependency: coin finds and landscape organization in Cappadocia and Cyrenaica before and after the Romanization", coordinato da Michele Asolati.



UNIVERSITÀ  
DEGLI STUDI  
DI PADOVA



I disegni proposti in copertina sono realizzati da Silvia Tinazzo

© 2016 by Esedra editrice s.a.s.

via Hermada, 4 - 35141 Padova

Tel e fax 049/723602

e-mail: [esedraeditrice@fastwebnet.it](mailto:esedraeditrice@fastwebnet.it)

[www.esedraeditrice.com](http://www.esedraeditrice.com)

## SOMMARIO

<i>Premessa</i>	7
PETER VAN ALFEN The Beginnings of Coinage at Cyrene: Weight Standards, Trade, and Politics	15
GIOVANNI GORINI Emergenze monetali a Cirene alla fine del V sec. a.C.	33
UTE WARTENBERG, JONATHAN H. KAGAN Silphium, Jerboas, Genets and the Coinage of Cyrene	43
WOLFGANG FISCHER-BOSSERT The Didrachm Coinage of Magas	57
MANOLIS I. STEFANAKIS Looking towards the North: The Circulation of Cyrenaic Coins on Crete	65
EMILIO ROSAMILIA Numismatica e documentazione epigrafica: i piedi monetali e l'introduzione del "bronze standard" a Cirene	83
CATHARINE LORBER Cyrenaican coinage and Ptolemaic monetary policy	101
OLIVIER PICARD, THOMAS FAUCHER Le monnayage de bronze de la Cyrénaïque hellénistique et les Lagides	127
MARTA BARBATO Presenza di moneta straniera a Roma in epoca tardo-repubblicana: il caso delle monete di Cirene	141
CLIVE STANNARD, SAMUELE RANUCCI Late Cyrenaican Bronze Coin in Central Italy	157
SUZANNE FREY-KUPPER Cyrenaican Coins in Site Finds from the Western Mediterranean. The Evidence from Sicily and Adjacent Islands, and from Carthage	191
ALESSANDRO CAVAGNA Da Cirene a Mazin. Nota sulla presenza di monete cirenaiche nelle aree dell'Adriatico orientale	225

FRANÇOIS CHEVROLIER

Les monnayages communs à la Crète et à la Cyrénaïque au I<sup>er</sup> siècle av. J.-C.  
et la formation de la province romaine. Vers une histoire partagée? 245

CATERINA CANOVARO, IRENE CALLIARI, MICHELE ASOLATI, MARCO BREDÀ

Studio metallografico delle emissioni bronzee provinciali  
cirenaiche (I sec. a.C.-II sec. d.C.) 259

MICHEL AMANDRY

Le monnayage cyrénéen de Trajan 285

PIOTR JAWORSKI

Some Remarks on the Coins in Circulation in Ptolemais 293

OSCAR MEI

Recenti rinvenimenti monetali nel Quartiere dell'Agorà di Cirene:  
contesti e problemi archeologici 305

CRISTINA CRISAFULLI

Il ritorno della moneta imperiale a Cirene e in Cirenaica nel III secolo d.C. 325

MICHELE ASOLATI

Bisanzio, Alessandria e la Cirenaica 343

FRÉDÉRIC BAUDEN

The Islamic Coinage of Cyrenaica (Barqa) from the Arab Conquest up to  
the Advent of the Fatimids 387

*Considerazioni conclusive del Congresso* (GIOVANNI GORINI) 413

*Sommario, Premessa e Summaries in lingua araba* (a cura di MOHAMED KENAWI) 426

CLIVE STANNARD, SAMUELE RANUCCI

## LATE CYRENAICAN BRONZE COIN IN CENTRAL ITALY

*Heureux qui, comme Ulysse, a fait un beau voyage,  
Ou comme cestuy-là qui conquiert la toison,  
Et puis est retourné, plein d'usage et de raison,  
Vivre entre ses parents le reste de son âge!*

Joachim du Bellay (1522-1560)

For Brother S. Dominic Ruegg, “Brother Errant”

**ABSTRACT** - Cyrenaican bronze coins from Rome, the River Liri, Pompeii, and Gragnano are analysed. Commonest are the small, late head of Ammon / headdress of Isis pieces (115-96 BC). There are many overstrikes on these. Rapid market growth after c. 150 BC created a growing need for small change that was not met by Roman coin. Two blocks of coin were imported for monetary use in the mid-second century BC: from Kos to central Italy, and from Ebusus to Pompeii, where a “pseudo-mint” copied Ebusus and other mints. Most Cyrenaican coins arrived after Rome was left the kingdom in 96 BC, and many were soon overstruck. They may also have been deliberately imported, but the evidence is inconclusive. They joined the mass of varied Roman, obsolete Italian, imported foreign, and imitative and informal coinages, that were all pressed, it seems, into use.

### *Introduction*

We here compile and analyse information on the presence of the bronze coins of Cyrenaica in central Italy (Rome, the River Liri, Pompeii, and Gragnano) drawing, in particular, on our previous research on coins from archaeological excavations and provenanced finds, for which there is good documentary evidence, in particular, adequate photographs to allow identification<sup>1</sup>.

CAVAGNA 2015 surveys the literature on finds of Ptolemaic coins generally, identifying Cyrenaican coins, when this is possible; most of the coins we describe in this article are included. Under central Italy<sup>2</sup>, he lists a Cyrenaican bronze coin from the Tiber, in Rome (which we record here), and from “Minturno” (in reality, from the River Liri, at the ancient city of Minturnae), which we record<sup>3</sup>. Under

<sup>1</sup> We thank Michele Asolati, without whom we should never have been able to classify these difficult series, and Cathy Lorber, for their advice and assistance.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 121-127, used more widely than we do, to include Emilia Romagna, the Marches, Tuscany, Umbria, Lazio, Abruzzo and Sardinia. To his information on Ptolemaic coins struck in Alexandria from central Italy may be added one coin from Otricoli (Otriculum) (RANUCCI 2006, p. 100), and an as yet unpublished coin from the river port of Seripola on the Tiber, near Orte (Horta); Ranucci is currently studying over 2000 coins from the river there, for the CNR-IBAM; both are head of Zeus Ammon right / two eagles left, PICARD *et alii* 2012, series 9, 40 units, pp. 92-100, 593-864 = SVORONOS 1904, nos. 1426/7.

<sup>3</sup> 13.3.6/3 and 13.3.10, respectively. It should be noted that there was an error in the number of Cyrenaican coins listed in STANNARD 2005b, p. 141, tab. 13, which should have read 38, rather than

southern Italy<sup>4</sup>, he lists, from Castellamare di Stabia, the coins we record here as from Gragnano; from Pompeii, he lists the coins we record from the House of Amarantus, as well as those from the Anglo-American Project at Pompeii (AAPP) excavations, the Vicolo di Narciso, the “domus, VI 5, 9”, and the House of Ariadne<sup>5</sup>.

### *The Liri database*

Between 1967 and 1977, Brother S. Domenic Ruegg led a series of underwater investigations of the River Liris, or Garigliano<sup>6</sup>, in front of the *castrum* of the Roman colony of Minturnae, where the *Via Appia* crossed by bridge from Latium to Campania<sup>7</sup>. The colony was founded in 295 BC. It lies about two kilometres from the coast, and became an important river port, including for the export of Calenan ceramics to Spain<sup>8</sup>. The bridge was probably constructed shortly after the middle of the third century BC, certainly before about 200 BC<sup>9</sup>. The original settlement covered 2,5 ha, but, by the early Empire, this had grown to about 28 ha<sup>10</sup>, implying a population within the walls of perhaps 4500 inhabitants; despite this small population, Minturnae was an important way-station, and, in addition to maritime traffic, Rome's armies and other travellers regularly transited Minturnae, on the main route to southern Italy and Greece, or on their return.

Brother Domenic's investigations recovered 4918 coins from the river-bed, which were published in three articles in “The Numismatic Chronicle”<sup>11</sup>; they have since been republished, with photographs, by Giovanna Rita Bellini<sup>12</sup>; some 347 lead tokens and seals were also found<sup>13</sup>. The coins were most often contained in a layer of concretion, chunks of which were brought up by the expedition's divers and broken with hammers, when coins and other materials fell out<sup>14</sup>. Large quantities of explosives and military

138; this error was carried over to STANNARD, FREY-KUPPER 2008, p. 397, tab. 8. The larger number of Cyrenaican coins that we list here is the result of including further material in the Liri database, since that publication.

<sup>4</sup> Campania is covered in pp. 127-131.

<sup>5</sup> 13.4.1, 13.4.3/3 (the two coins described as being from sporadic finds in the forum (13.3.3/1) are these coins), 13.3.3/4, 13.3.3/5 and 6, and 13.3.3/7, respectively. Two coins said to be listed in STANNARD 2005b, p. 141, tab. 8, as being for the House of the *Postumii* (VIII 4, 4) (13.4.3.9), are, in fact, the two coins in the Naples Museum, from old excavations at Pompeii, recorded here as fig. 4, 5 and 6.

<sup>6</sup> Liris was the Latin name for the whole river now called the Garigliano (STRABO, *Geogr.* V, 3, formerly called Clanis, V, 3, 6). Dante called it the Green: «di fuor del Regno, quasi lungo 'l Verde» (*Purgatorio*, III, 130). The modern name, Garigliano, has a late-mediaeval origin, and covers two sections, the Gari, which rises in Cassino, is swelled by the Rapido, and joins the Liri at Sant'Apollinare, to flow to the sea below Minturnae. The name, “Liri”, has been used in English publications of the coins, since the first report, in FRIER, PARKER 1970.

<sup>7</sup> RUEGG 1995.

<sup>8</sup> STANNARD, SINNER 2014.

<sup>9</sup> RUEGG 1995, p. 128.

<sup>10</sup> DE LIGT 2012, p. 305.

<sup>11</sup> FRIER, PARKER 1970, METCALF 1974, and HOUGHTALIN 1985.

<sup>12</sup> BELLINI 1996-1998.

<sup>13</sup> RUEGG 1995, p. 153.

<sup>14</sup> RUEGG 1995, p. 44: «For example, in one, ca. 0.25 x 0.15 x 0.10m, were found sherds, 17 coins, bronze objects such as parts of an ornamental handle, and many pieces of raw and moulded lead ... In



debris had been dumped in the river, during the fighting around Monte Cassino in World War II; these were partly cleared out by Italian Navy divers in October-November 1970<sup>15</sup>.

There is no certainty as to the nature of this deposit, but it seems most likely that the bulk of the coins were tossed into the river, perhaps from the bridge, including by the many travellers on the *Via Appia*.

Because of Stannard's interest in the use of lead in coinage, Brother Dominic showed him some of these materials. It was common knowledge that, during the time of Brother Dominic's investigations, and perhaps attracted by them and the work of the Navy divers, clandestine divers were systematically removing coins and other objects from the river bed, in very large numbers<sup>16</sup>. Convinced of the importance of the copious materials coming from the Liri, which were not otherwise being recorded, and so lost to science, Stannard began to try to build up a database of "foreign", that is non-Roman, coins and related lead pieces from the Liri, by systematically visiting dealers and talking to collectors, over more than twenty years. All are bronze. Once one knows the Liri materials, blocks of these coins are not difficult to spot: the patina is characteristic, often with traces of the black concretion; the range of mints present tends to be similar; and the presence of the unusual and largely unpublished bronze and lead pieces that Stannard calls the «central Italian assemblage of the Italo-Baetican series» is diagnostic<sup>17</sup>. It has, in this way, been possible to trace blocks of

the same concretion could also be found objects from the last war...».

<sup>15</sup> RUEGG 1995, pp. 29 and 44.

<sup>16</sup> RUEGG 1995, p. 81: «The illegal divers also appear to have dug over a large area of FG 1» (the main area from which coins were recovered). MARTINI 1988, pp. 96-97 also discusses the large number of coins taken from the river illegally. «Nel catalogo delle monete si trovano diversi esemplari che hanno 'deposito del Garigliano (?)', in forma dubitativa, come indicazione di provenienza ... Queste monete, in base ai dati che indirettamente mi sono stati forniti dai vari collezionisti privati, dovrebbero provenire dal deposito fluviale del Garigliano, recuperato clandestinamente tra la fine delle anni sessanta e l'inizio dell'ottanta. Venne portata alla luce una enorme quantità di materiale numismatico, che copriva un arco cronologico molto ampio: dall'alta repubblica romana al VI secolo d.C. ... Cercai di ricostruire, per vie private, la storia e l'ipotetico contenuto del 'deposito', approdando, però, a scarsi risultati scientifici: fui in grado solo di identificare con molta incertezza, alcuni esemplari, o piccoli gruppi di monete; di raccogliere alcune, sommarie, indicazioni verbali circa la possibile zona del recupero; il numero, per altro molto indicativo, di esemplari recuperati ed, infine, il tipo di materiale ... ritrovato. In questa occasione, con l'indicazione della presunta provenienza dal 'deposito del Garigliano' di parte delle monete pubblicate, sono in grado di aggiungere un piccolo tassello alla storia del ritrovamento andato, purtroppo, completamente disperso, nonostante l'azione (sempre difficile in questi casi) della competente autorità».

<sup>17</sup> Stannard also explored many European museum collections, as well as those of the American Numismatic Society, for further specimens of the Italo-Baetican coins, and now has a information on over 2000 pieces, about half of which from museums. For the purpose of this article, we do not consider these series. They have not yet been published systematically, but see STANNARD 1994; STANNARD 1995a; STANNARD 1995b; STANNARD 2005a; STANNARD 2007; STANNARD 2011; STANNARD 2013b; STANNARD 2015; STANNARD, SINNER 2014. Within the Liri material, it was also possible to identify a number of coins imitating Ebusus; subsequent research on coins from excavations at Pompeii below the destruction level of 79 BC has identified a pseudo-mint that imitated and mixed the types of Ebusus, Massalia, Rome, Athens, and possibly other mints, for which see STANNARD 1998; STANNARD 2005b; STANNARD 2013a and STANNARD 2013c; STANNARD, FREY-KUPPER 2008; FREY-KUPPER, STANNARD 2010; FREY-KUPPER, STANNARD forthcoming; STANNARD, PARDINI 2011. The first publications to use Stannard's classification of pseudo-mint types systematically, in the description of coins from archaeological sites are PARDINI 2011; RIBERA I LACOMBA *et alii* 2013; and RANUCCI 2014; HOBBS 2013 draws on this research, but proposes

these coins in a number of countries, over many years, and in most cases, to either make casts or get photographs<sup>18</sup>. Other relevant materials include the coins from Brother Dominic's investigations<sup>19</sup>, and a group sequestered by the authorities in 1981, and now in the Naples Museum<sup>20</sup>. All this information together constitutes the Liri database; it currently documents about 2050 foreign coins from the Liri at Minturnae; the Cyrenaican coins, and the overstrikes on Cyrenaican coins that we discuss here represent about 3,7% of the total.

In developing the Liri database, no systematic attempt was made to record Roman Republican or Imperial coin, and, in fact, in most of the blocks traced, only Greek coins were present, having been segregated in commerce.

As Brother Dominic noted, there is no discernible stratification in the deposits. He felt that the Liri materials were poorly preserved, but this does not square with the evidence of the Liri database; many are, in fact, very well preserved, with clean, unpitted surfaces. The concretion probably sometimes dissolves and sometimes reforms, and it can obviously form rapidly, but it is most likely that the bulk of the coins were held and protected in the concretion for most of the time since their deposit; the occasional areas of erosion are probably due to coins, or parts of coins, poking out of its surface, and being exposed to the water.

Table 1 gives the break-up into periods of the two published groups, RUEGG 1995 and GIOVE 1998. Some confidence as to the composition of the Liri finds may be derived from the fact that the relative proportions of the different periods are roughly similar<sup>21</sup>. The bulk of the finds are Imperial Roman, and there is very little later material. The "foreign" material accounts for about 2% of the total. The foreign coins, a few Greek imperial pieces excluded, are contemporary with the Roman Republican coins, which represent about 14% of the whole; during the Roman Republic, then, about one foreign coin for every seven Roman coins entered the river; unless we assume that foreign coins were being preferentially discarded, this gives a very interesting picture of the small change in use at Minturnae in late Republican times, and shows the large numbers of foreign coins in people's hands.

It is possible to project the universe of which the Liri finds are a sample, on the basis of the percentage of foreign coins (Greek, Punic, Greek Imperial, *etc.*) in these two published groups. In the projections in tab. 2, the methodology followed was to start from assuming the same number of foreign coins as in the Liri database (2050), and to calculate the number of coins of the other periods, on the basis of relative proportions in each sample.

a different classification system that does not distinguish the pseudo-mint's coins from their Ebusan, Massaliot and Roman prototypes.

<sup>18</sup> This has only been possible because of the generosity and interest of a large number of people, who either pointed to relevant material, or themselves showed materials, and allowed casts or photographs to be made; without their help and generosity, the knowledge of the Liri materials would be very limited.

<sup>19</sup> VISMARA 1998.

<sup>20</sup> GIOVE 1996; GIOVE 1998. We thank her for allowing us to study this, including some coins she had not published.

<sup>21</sup> It is probably that the high proportion of illegibles in RUEGG 1995 comprises mainly the smaller pieces, that is, late Hellenistic bronzes and late Imperial coins, and, if so, this would bring the constitution of the two groups into even closer alignment.

PERIOD	RUEGG		GIOVE		RUEGG + GIOVE	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
Greek, Punic, Greek Imperial, <i>etc.</i>	71	1,4	79	3,0	150	2,0
Republican	592	12,0	451	16,9	1043	13,8
Empire to AD 285	1310	26,6	837	31,4	2147	28,3
After AD 285	671	13,6	631	23,7	1302	17,2
Mediaeval and modern	5	0,1	2	0,1	7	0,1
Other, including illegibles	2269	46,1	665	25,0	2934	38,7
Total	4918		2665		7583	

Table 1. Relative numbers of coins of the various periods in RUEGG 1995<sup>22</sup> and GIOVE 1998<sup>23</sup>.

PERIOD	PROJECTION BASED ON		
	RUEGG	GIOVE	RUEGG + GIOVE
Greek, Punic, Greek Imperial, <i>etc.</i>	2050	2050	2050
Republican	17093	11703	14254
Empire to AD 285	37824	21720	29342
After AD 285	19374	16374	17794
Mediaeval and modern	144	52	96
Other, including illegibles	65513	17256	40098
Total	141999	69155	103634

Table 2. Projections of the universe (Greek, Punic, Greek imperial, *etc.*) from which the Liri sample comes.

The following caveats must be made: it has been assumed that the Liri deposits are relatively homogeneous as to period, and that Giove's sample had not been biased by selection of any particular period. There is no way in which we may convincingly estimate the proportion of the total number of foreign coins taken from the river that the Liri database reflects; on the arbitrary assumption that it may equal, say, one third of the total number, this would equate to a total for all periods of between about 210000 and 420000 coins, and this is probably an large under-estimate. However we reason, the number must have been enormous; apart from the Liri database, the information these finds represent has been lost to science.

To put the size and historical importance of the Liri finds in context, there are, from the Agora excavations in large and very cosmopolitan Athens, only 12842 bronze coins of the fifth to the first centuries BC, and 10780 of these are local (Athenian or Eleusinian), 1140 are from nearby central Greece (Salamis, Aegina and the Peloponnesos), and 767 only are from further afield<sup>24</sup>. There are 8608 legible bronze coins from Morgantina; not including Roman Republican and Imperial and later coins, and discounting the coins of Sicily and Rhegion, only 136 coins remain<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> RUEGG 1995, p. 70.<sup>23</sup> GIOVE 1998, p. 132.<sup>24</sup> KROLL 1993, *conspectus*, pp. XVIII-XXV.<sup>25</sup> BUTTREY *et alii* 1989, catalogue, pp. 70-132, and *conspectus*, pp. 133-134.

*Cyrenaican coins in the Liri Database*



Figure 1. Cyrenaican coin in the Liri database (1).



Figure 2. Cyrenaican coin in the Liri database (2).



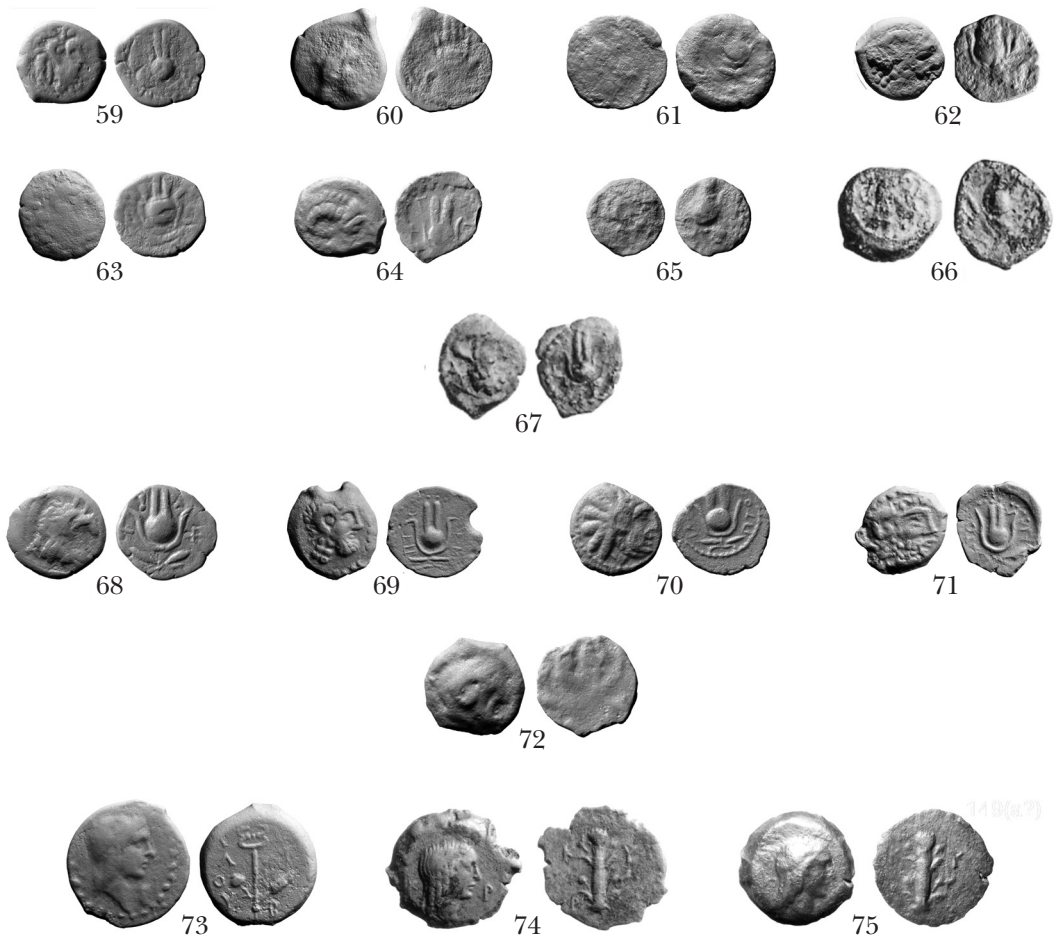


Figure 3. Cyrenaican coin in the Liri database (3).

PTOLEMY III EUERGETES, c. 246-222 BC

Group III, module A, *NAeCy*, no. 65 (halved)

1 Æ mm 253 330° g 8,99 Liri 53.319

*Obv.* Diademed head of Ptolemy I, wearing aegis, right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Diademed head of Libya, right; cornucopia behind; silphium below; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ; border of dots.

Group IV, module B, *NAeCy*, no. 68D

*Obv.* Diademed head of Ptolemy I, wearing aegis, right; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ; border of dots.

*Rev.* Diademed head of Libya, right; double cornucopia below chin; border of dots.

2 Æ mm 20 0° g 6,48 Liri 53.167

PTOLEMY V EPIPHANES-PTOLEMY VI PHILOMETOR, 204-163 BC

Group VI, module B, *NAeCy*, no. 73?

*Obv.* Diademed head of Ptolemy I, wearing aegis, right; club behind; border of dots.

*Rev.* Diademed head of Libya, right; double cornucopia under chin; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ; border of dots.

3    Æ    mm 19    330°    g 2,30    Liri 45.238

Group VII, module C, *NAeCy*, no. 76

*Obv.* Diademed head of Ptolemy I, wearing aegis, right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Diademed head of Libya, right; cornucopia under chin; border of dots.

4    Æ    mm 17    0°    g 2,92    Liri 53.139

5    Æ    mm 17    330°    g 2,46    Liri 45.237

6    Æ    mm 17    60°    g 2,77    Liri 53.260

7    Æ    mm 16    0°    g 4,25    Liri 4.039

Group VII, module D, *NAeCy*, no. 77

*Obv.* Diademed head of Ptolemy I, wearing aegis, right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Diademed head of Libya, right; cornucopia under chin; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ; border of dots.

8    Æ    mm 13    0°    g 2,45    Liri 53.259

9    Æ    mm 14    300°    g 2,43    Liri 5.200

PTOLEMY VIII EUERGETES II, AS *BASILEUS* IN CYRENAICA, 163-145 BC

*NAeCy*, no. 86A

*Obv.* Diademed head of Zeus-Ammon, right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Eagle with open wings, standing left on thunderbolt; Φ before; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ EYEΠΓΕΤΟΥ; border of dots.

10    Æ    mm 27    330°    g 10,57    Liri 27.012

AS *BASILEUS* OF EGYPT, 145-116 BC

*NAeCy*, no. 96

*Obv.* Diademed head of Zeus Ammon, right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Eagle with open wings, standing left on thunderbolt; ΘΕ before; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ EYEΠΓΕΤΟΥ; border of dots.

11    Æ    mm 18    330°    g 2,33    Liri 50.069 (= GIOVE 1998, no. 69 = Naples 2278014)

12    Æ    mm 15    330°    g 1,86    Liri 50.070 (= GIOVE 1998, no. 70 = Naples 228015)

*NAeCy*, no. 98

*Obv.* Diademed head of Zeus Ammon right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Eagle with open wings, standing left on thunderbolt; EYEΠΓΕΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛ; border of dots.

13    Æ    mm 15    0°    g 2,22    Liri 53.143

PTOLEMY VIII EUERGETES II, AS *BASILEUS* OF EGYPT, 145-116 BC

or

PTOLEMY IX SOTER II, 115-104/101 BC

*NAeCy*, no. 98 or 103

*Obv.* Diademed head of Zeus Ammon right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Eagle with open wings, standing left on thunderbolt, with spread wings; EYEΠΓΕΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛ (*NAeCy*, no. 98) or ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛ; border of dots (*NAeCy*, no. 103)

14    Æ    mm 13    0°    g 1,66    Liri 14.230

15    Æ    mm 13    330°       Liri 46.031

16    Æ    mm 15    0°    g 2,63    Liri 45.235

PTOLEMY VIII EUERGETES II, AS *BASILEUS* OF EGYPT, 145-116 BCGroup VIII (α)-module C, *NAeCy*, no. 100*Obv.* Diademed head of Ptolemy I, wearing aegis, right; border of dots.*Rev.* Diademed head of Libya, right; cornucopia under chin; EY below; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ; border of dots.

17 Æ mm 18 330° g 2,37 Liri 45.240

## PTOLEMY IX SOTER II, 115-104/101 BC

Group VIII (β)-module C, *NAeCy*, no. 102*Obv.* Diademed head of Ptolemy I, wearing aegis, right; border of dots.*Rev.* Double cornucopia; Σ Ω  
Θ E; around; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ; border of dots.

18 Æ mm 18 300° g 4,21 Liri 5.199

*NAeCy*, no. 104*Obv.* Diademed head of Ammon, right; border of dots.*Rev.* Headdress of Isis; ΣΩ below; ΒΑΣΙΑ ΠΤΟΛ; border of dots.

19 Æ mm 14 0° g 2,71 Liri 5.168  
 20 Æ mm 14 120° g 2,42 Liri 5.169  
 21 Æ mm 13 330° g 2,42 Liri 11.086  
 22 Æ mm 14 0° g 3,05 Liri 27.229  
 23 Æ mm 14 330° g 2,59 Liri 27.234  
 24 Æ mm 15 0° g 2,78 Liri 4.042  
 25 Æ mm 14 300° g 2,25 Liri 5.172  
 26 Æ mm 14 0° g 2,08 Liri 45.244  
 27 Æ mm 14 300° g 2,14 Liri 14.229  
 28 Æ mm 14 300° g 2,24 Liri 5.171

*NAeCy*, no. 106*Obv.* Diademed head of Ammon, right; border of dots.*Rev.* Headdress of Isis; E Ω  
Θ Σ around; ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; border of dots.

29 Æ mm 12 0° g 1,81 Liri 4.044  
 30 Æ mm 12 330° g 1,31 Liri 5.175  
 31 Æ mm 13 330° g 1,01 Liri 5.176  
 32 Æ mm 14 330° g 2,25 Liri 5.170  
 33 Æ mm 13 330° g 1,20 Liri 27.235  
 34 Æ mm 12 0° g 1,30 Liri 45.226  
 35 Æ mm 13 0° g 1,83 Liri 4.043

*NAeCy*, no. 107A*Obv.* Diademed head of Ammon, right; border of dots.*Rev.* Headdress of Isis; ligate ΣΩ monogram below; ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; border of dots.

36 Æ mm 14 30° g 2,76 Liri 5.167  
 37 Æ mm 13 0° g 1,93 Liri 37.023  
 38 Æ mm 13 0° g 2,45 Liri 45.223

## PTOLEMY APION, 104/101-96 BC

Group VII-module B, *NAeCy*, no. 109*Obv.* Diademed head of Ptolemy I, wearing aegis, right, club on shoulder; border of dots.



*Rev.* Diademed head of Libya, right; cornucopia under chin; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΙΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ;  
border of dots.

39    Æ      mm 20      0°      g 5,33      Liri 45.239

*NAeCy*, no. 113

*Obv.* Diademed head of Ammon, right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Headdress of Isis; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΙΤΟΛ and variants; border of dots.

40	Æ	mm 13	300°	g 1,67	Liri 5.174
41	Æ	mm 12	330°	g 1,01	Liri 5.177
42	Æ	mm 14	330°	g 1,93	Liri 11.084
43	Æ	mm 13	150°	g 2,05	Liri 11.085
44	Æ	mm 15	180°	g 1,75	Liri 11.087
45	Æ	mm 14		g 1,88	Liri 13.085
46	Æ	mm 13	330°	g 1,81	Liri 20.003
47	Æ	mm 12	0°	g 1,33	Liri 27.231
48	Æ	mm 13	330°	g 2,05	Liri 27.236
49	Æ	mm 12	330°	g 1,51	Liri 45.227
50	Æ	mm 15	0°	g 2,42	Liri 45.228
51	Æ	mm 12	0°	g 0,97	Liri 45.229
52	Æ	mm 13	0°	g 1,66	Liri 45.230
53	Æ	mm 14	330°	g 2,34	Liri 45.231
54	Æ	mm 13	0°	g 1,79	Liri 45.232
55	Æ	mm 13	0°	g 2,29	Liri 45.234
56	Æ	mm 13	300°	g 1,69	Liri 45.243
57	Æ	mm 14	330°	g 1,90	Liri 100.005
58	Æ	mm 12	0°	g 1,87	Liri 35.149

#### UNCERTAIN AMMON/ISIS HEADDRESS TYPES

*NAeCy*, nos. 104/106/107/113

59	Æ	mm 12	330°	g 1,49	Liri 5.173
60	Æ	mm 13	330°	g 1,99	Liri 5.178
61	Æ	mm 14		g 1,94	Liri 27.274
62	Æ	mm 13	330°	g 1,89	Liri 27.230
63	Æ	mm 12		g 1,25	Liri 27.232
64	Æ	mm 13	30°	g 1,1	Liri 27.233
65	Æ	mm 10	0°	g 0,80	Liri 53.285
66	Æ	mm 13	0°	g 2,71	Liri 35.148
67	Æ	mm 11	330°	g 1,56	Liri 35.150

#### AMMON/ISIS HEADDRESS TYPES, LATE IMITATIONS<sup>26</sup>

68	Æ	mm 14	0°	g 1,87	Liri 5.179
69	Æ	mm 13	270°	g 1,38	Liri 45.224
70	Æ	mm 13	0°	g 1,68	Liri 45.225
71	Æ	mm 14	0°	g 1,47	Liri 45.233
72	Æ	mm 14		g 2,30	Liri 27.237

<sup>26</sup> This classification was suggested by Michele Asolati.

CYRENAICA, CYRENE, UNDER *L. LOLLIVS*, c. 37-34 BC*semis*, *NAeCy*, no. 146; *RPC*, I, no. 913*Obv.* Laureate head of Libya, right; B to left; border of dots.*Rev.* Caduceus, with poppy-head joined to left, and corn-ear to right;

Λ      O  
 Λ      ΛI  
 O  
 Y,

B to lower right; border of dots.

73    Æ      mm 17      300°      g 4,37      Liri 14.238

CYRENAICA, CYRENE, UNDER *CRASSVS*, c. 37-34 BC*quadrans*, *NAeCy*, no. 149; *RPC*, I, no. 918*Obv.* Head of Apollo, right; K and P to left and right; border of dots.*Rev.* Silphium plant; (a) K      Y      or (b) K      Y  
    P     P.74    Æ      mm 18      300°      g 3,75      Liri 100.002      *NAeCy*, no. 149 a75    Æ      mm 16      150°      g 2,68      Liri 4.035      *NAeCy*, no. 149 (a or b)

Cyrenaican coins account for about 3,7% of the Liri database, making Cyrenaica one of the commonest of mints. The structure of the Cyrenaican finds (fig. 4) is heavily biased towards later emissions, particularly the small pieces with a head of Ammon/headdress of Isis (*NAeCy*, nos. 104, 106, 107 and 113), which date from the time of Ptolemy II Soter, 115-104/101 BC, and Ptolemy Apion, 104/101-96 BC, on whose death Cyrenaica was left to the Roman people; the Senate, however, does not appear to have annexed Cyrenaica, administered it or attempted to tax it, until 75-74<sup>27</sup>, so the bulk of these coins may have entered Italy later, but the mixture of types found in the Liri reflects the coins in circulation in Cyrenaica at that time. It is, of course, also possible that some coins came before 96 BC, and the three coins of *Lollius* and *Crassus* (73-75) show that coins, presumably including some Ptolemaic pieces, continued to arrive throughout the first century BC.

The earliest coin (1) is from the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes (c. 246-222 BC), and is unusual, in having been cut in half. This is unlikely to have been done in Cyrenaica; Buttrey noted that the halving of Cyrenaican coin is most unusual, and suggested that the single example he knew «was simply swept up with the Roman for cutting»<sup>28</sup>. Halving is a common phenomenon in coins from the Liri, and seems to have occurred sporadically, rather than in a single event, and to have been most common in the late Republic; it is not limited to Roman coin<sup>29</sup>. The excellent condition of this coin may suggest early cutting; but, on balance, it is probable that it came to Italy in the first century BC, and was halved there. A further example of the halving of an old foreign coin (a bronze of Utica, Zeugitania)<sup>30</sup> is from the House of Sallust at Pompeii, VI 2, 4, in the same level as a halved *as* of *C. Sulpicius C.f.* (*RRC*, no 312/2, 106 BC), with many coins of the pseudo-

<sup>27</sup> KAY 2014, p. 65.<sup>28</sup> BUTTREY 1983, p. 30.<sup>29</sup> STANNARD 2013b, pp. 370-371.<sup>30</sup> ALEXANDROPOULOS 2007, p. 109.

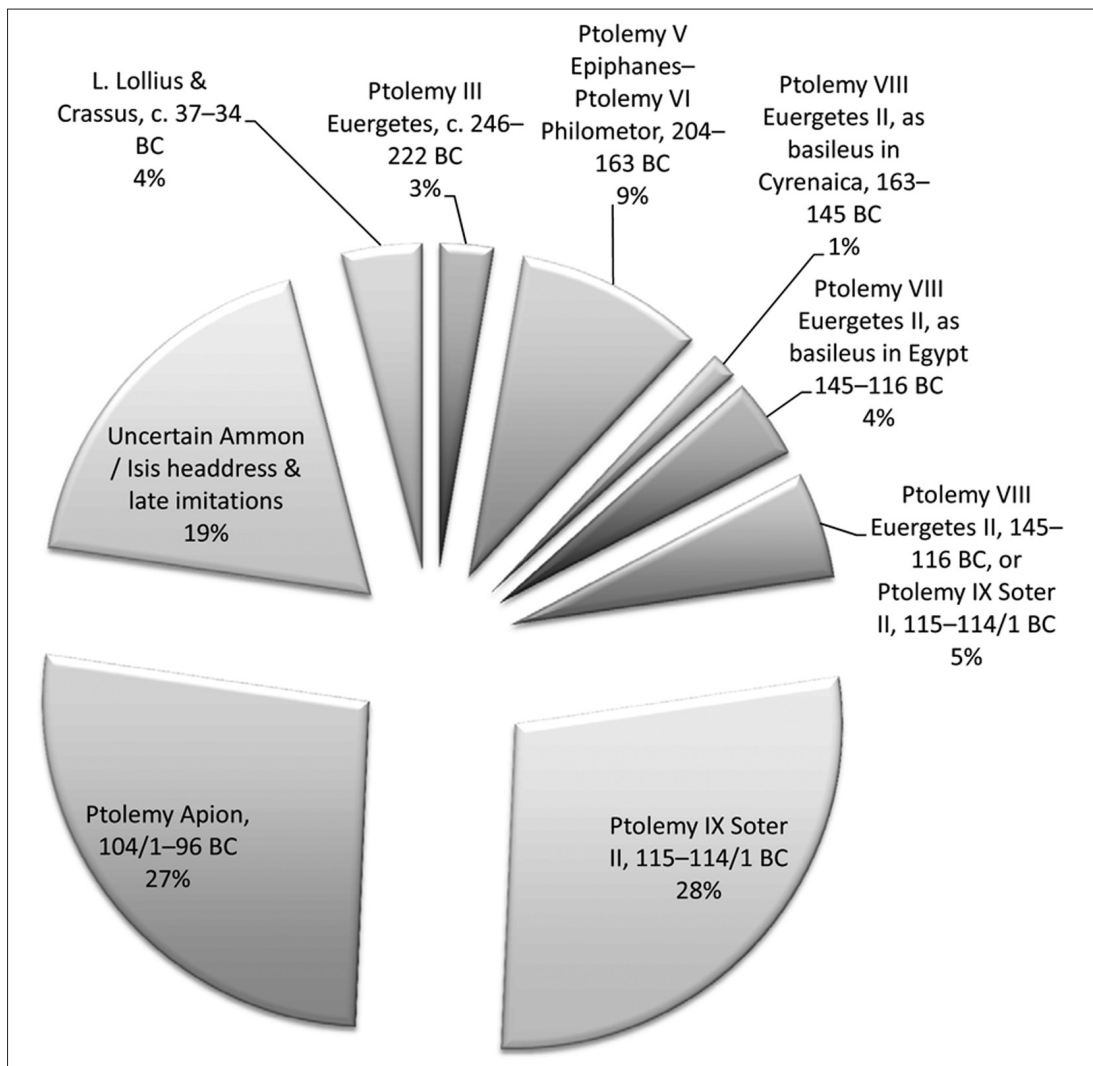


Figure 4. The structure of the Liri finds.

mint (which probably continued to strike in the first quarter of the first century BC)<sup>31</sup>.

Coin 72 is odd; it has a much higher obverse relief than normal for the head of Ammon/headdress of Isis issues, and may be a cast imitation; the reverse is unclear, but is most probably a crude representation of the Isis headdress. The phenomenon of cast coins occurs in Egypt, for example, PICARD *et alii* 2012, pp. 103–104, series 9, pentadrachms, nos. 983–1007; these are of similar module, but lighter. We are unaware of other examples of cast coins from Cyrenaica.

<sup>31</sup> RANUCCI 2014, pp. 245 and 250–251, no. 45.

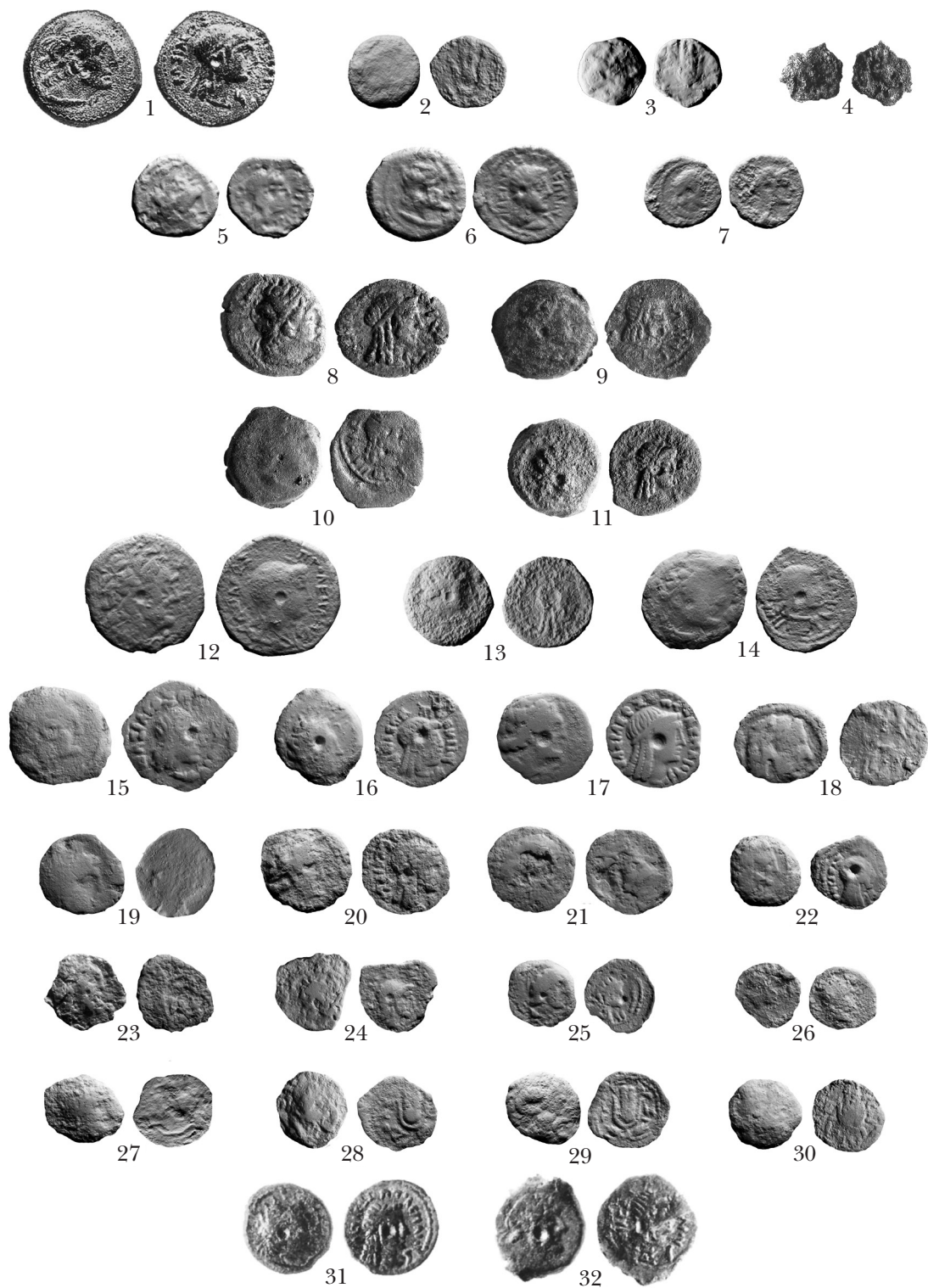
*Cyrenaican coins in other central Italian contexts*

Figure 5. Cyrenaican coin from Rome and Pompeii.

## PTOLEMY III EUERGETES, c. 246-222 BC

Group IV, module B, *NAeCy*, no. 68D

*Obv.* Diademed head of Ptolemy I, wearing aegis, right; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ; border of dots.

*Rev.* Diademed head of Libya, right; double cornucopia below chin; border of dots.

1    Æ     mm 20       0°     g 6,59   FREY-KUPPER 1995, p. 70, no. 113

12   Æ     mm 21       5°     g 7,03   PARDINI 2011, no. 29

Group IV, module D, *NAeCy* 69

5     Æ     mm 15             g 1,36   Naples, old excavations at Pompeii, P.59238

7     Æ     mm 14       30°   g 1,90   Via degli Augustali 2009 VA-1021-3 (26)

= RIBERA I LACOMBA *et alii* 2013, no. 28

## PTOLEMY V EPIPHANES-PTOLEMY VI PHILOMETOR, 204-163 BC

Group VI, module E, *NAeCy*, no. 75

*Obv.* Diademed head of Ptolemy I, wearing aegis, right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Diademed head of Libya, right; cornucopia under chin; border of dots.

22   Æ     mm 13             g 2,52   HOBBS 2013, no. 63

25   Æ     mm 12             g 2,3     HOBBS 2013, no. 66

Group VII, module C, *NAeCy*, no. 76

*Obv.* Diademed head of Ptolemy I, wearing aegis, right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Diademed head of Libya, right; cornucopia under chin; border of dots.

6     Æ     mm 18       330°   g 3,84   Naples, old excavations at Pompeii, P.59170

8     Æ     mm 19       0°     g 2,63   RANUCCI 2001, no. 8

11    Æ     mm 17       0°     g 3,7    RANUCCI 2008, pp. 156, 168, no. 50

13    Æ     mm 16       55°    g 2,75   PARDINI 2011, no. 30

16    Æ     mm 17             g 3,33   HOBBS 2013, no. 56 (identification uncertain)

17    Æ     mm 16             g 3,93   HOBBS 2013, no. 58

20    Æ     mm 14             g 3,05   HOBBS 2013, no. 61 (identification uncertain)

31    Æ     mm 16             g 3,1     CANTILENA 1997, no. 36

PTOLEMY VIII EUERGETES II, AS *BASILEUS* OF EGYPT, 145-116 BCGroup VIII (α)-module C, *NAeCy*, no. 100

or

## PTOLEMY IX SOTER II, 115-104/101 BC

Group VIII (β)-module C, *NAeCy*, no. 101

*Obv.* Diademed head of Ptolemy I, wearing aegis, right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Diademed head of Libya, right; cornucopia under chin; ΕΥ (100) or ΣΩ (101) monogram below; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ; border of dots.

9     Æ     mm 18       15°     g 3,00   RANUCCI 2001, no. 10

10    Æ     mm 19       340°   g 3,31   RANUCCI 2001, no. 9

14    Æ     mm 19       40°     g 2,44   PARDINI 2011, no. 31

32    Æ     mm 20             g 3,8     CANTILENA 1997, no. 37

## PTOLEMY APION, 104/101-96 BC

Group VII-module B, *NAeCy*, no. 109

*Obv.* Diademed head of Ptolemy I, wearing aegis, right, a club on his shoulder; border of dots.

*Rev.* Diademed head of Libya, right; cornucopia under chin; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ; border of dots.

15    Æ     mm 20             g 3,4     HOBBS 2013, no. 55

## AMMON/ISIS HEADADDRESS TYPES

NAeCy, nos. 104/106/107/113

2	Æ	mm 13	g 1,99	Said to be found just north of Rome
3	Æ	mm 12	0° g 1,07	STANNARD 2013a, no. 57
4	Æ	mm 11	g 0,77	STANNARD 2013a, no. 58
27	Æ	mm 13	g 2,6	HOBBS 2013, no. 69 (as Cyprus)
28	Æ	mm 12	g 2,31	HOBBS 2013, no. 70 (as Cyprus)
29	Æ	mm 12	g 1,74	HOBBS 2013, no. 71 (as Cyprus)
30	Æ	mm 11	g 1,5	HOBBS 2013, no. 72 (as Cyprus)
*	Æ	mm 14	g 2,64	HOBBS 2013, no. 68 (as Cyprus)

## PROBABLY CYRENAICAN OF UNCERTAIN ATTRIBUTION, LISTED AS HEAD OF PTOLEMY/HEAD OF LIBYA

23	Æ	mm 13	g 1,38	HOBBS 2013, no. 64; so listed, but reverse obliterated; central hollow on obverse possible
24	Æ	mm 13	g 1,20	HOBBS 2013, no. 65
*	Æ	mm 17	g 1,85	HOBBS 2013, no. 57

## UNCERTAIN ATTRIBUTIONS, PROBABLY NOT CYRENAICAN, LISTED AS HEAD OF PTOLEMY/HEAD OF LIBYA

18	Æ	mm 15	g 1,78	HOBBS 2013, no. 59; from the image, uncertain, though there may be trace of the reverse head; no central hollow
21	Æ	mm 14	g 2,23	HOBBS 2013, no. 62; listed as head of Ptolemy/head of Libya, but, from the image, uncertain; no central hollow
26	Æ	mm 12	g 1,6	HOBBS 2013, no. 67; listed as head of Ptolemy/head of Libya, but obverse obliterated, and reverse uncertain; no central hollow

## NOT CYRENAICAN, LISTED AS HEAD OF PTOLEMY/HEAD OF LIBYA

19	Æ	mm 15	g 2,70	HOBBS 2013, no. 60; the obverse may be a turreted head; no central hollow
----	---	-------	--------	---

*Rome*

Published finds of foreign coins from Rome are rare. Frey-Kupper documented 122 coins that derive from dredging of the River Tiber and the construction of the quays to channel it, between 1877 and 1890, when well over 10000 coins were found; the composition of the group she studied, however, cannot be regarded as statistically significant, because the basis on which these particular coins were set aside is unknown. The group includes one Cyrenaican coin: 1.

In the context of developing the Liri database, Stannard was shown 2, which was said to have been found about 20 km north of Rome, along the *Via Aurelia*.

A large group of coins from old excavations in Rome, conserved in the Capitoline Museum, is currently being studied by Marta Barbato, and is discussed in her paper in this volume, *Presenza di moneta straniera a Roma nella tarda Repubblica. Il caso delle monete di Cirene* (pp. 141-156); it includes c. 680 non-Roman coins, mostly dating to the third to the first centuries BC, of which 425 are legible, and listed in tab. 2; of these, 123 coins (29%) are of the Italo-Baetican (e.g., our fig. 7) and other informal Central Italian issues of the second and first centuries BC that Stannard is documenting<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. STANNARD 1994, STANNARD 1995a and STANNARD 1995b, STANNARD 2005a, STANNARD 2007, and



The six unmodified Cyrenaican coins in this material of between the end of the third and the beginning of the second centuries BC are illustrated on p. 152 (2-5 and 7-8); there are also two overstruck pieces (9 and 10), like those in our fig. 6. These eight Cyrenaican coins constitute 2,6% of the identifiable non-Roman, non-informal coins.

### *Pompeii and Gragnano*

Some information on finds of Cyrenaican coin at Pompeii is given in the volumes published by the Istituto Italiano di Numismatica, which compile information from all sources, *Regio* by *Regio*<sup>33</sup>; but the information is difficult to use for our purposes, as it may derive from old publications, when scholarship on these series was less advanced, and the lack of photographs makes it impossible to review the evidence. Moreover, coins from above and below the AD 79 levels, where most excavations have stopped, and where Cyrenaican coins are residual, are not often distinguished, which makes the information of little statistical significance in establishing find proportions. Very few Cyrenaican coins are, in fact, recorded. In CANTILENA 2008, p. 76, tab. 1 and pp. 127-127, the coins mentioned are from the AAPP excavations, recorded here as 15-30; p. 139 mentions the three coins from excavations in Vicolo di Narciso by the University of Perugia recorded as 8-10; and p. 166, the coin from the “domus, VI 5, 9”, is 11. In GIOVE 2013, pp. 40 and 67, the two coins mentioned are from the House of Amarantus, and recorded here as 3 and 4; no other Cyrenaican coins are mentioned. VITALE 2016 lists three Cyrenaican coins, generically identified; two are from the public buildings facing the East side of the Forum: one head of Ptolemy I/head of Libya and one Ammon/headdress of Isis from “VII 9, 43-66” (the latter from a stratigraphic context), and a sporadic head of Ammon/headdress of Isis from “VII?, 19” (apparently no *insula* recorded)<sup>34</sup>.

Excavations by the British School in Rome in the House of Amarantus (“I 9, 11-12”), below the AD 79 level, produced the two coins, 3 and 4<sup>35</sup>; a total of 60 legible non-Roman coins were found. The proportion of Cyrenaican coin is 3,3%.

Many finds from old excavations at Pompeii are conserved in the cabinet of the Archaeological museum in Naples; in working through these, Stannard recorded the two pieces, 5 and 6<sup>36</sup>.

Excavations by the “Servicio de Investigación Arqueológica Municipal” of the “Ayuntamiento de Valencia”, in the House of Ariadne (“VII 4, 51-31”), below the AD 79 level, recovered the coin recorded as 7; it is from a stratum of the colonial period, following Sulla’s conquest of the city<sup>37</sup>.

Excavations by the University of Perugia below the AD 79 level recovered 130 coins,

STANNARD 2013b.

<sup>33</sup> The volumes on *Regiones IX, VI, I and VII*: TALIERCIO MENSITIERI 2005, CANTILENA 2008, GIOVE 2013 and VITALE 2016 are already published.

<sup>34</sup> VITALE 2016, p. 252, 257 and 391. We thank her for giving us this information before publication of the volume.

<sup>35</sup> STANNARD 2013a, p. 386, nos. 57 and 58.

<sup>36</sup> We thank Teresa Giove for allowing us to study these materials.

<sup>37</sup> RIBERA I LACOMBA *et alii* 2013, pp. 193 and 208, fig. 1, no. 28.

117 legible, of which 74 were non-Roman, and four of these Cyrenaican (5,4%)<sup>38</sup>. Three of these were from a votive deposit in the Vicolo di Narciso, in front of the house at “VI 2, 16”, which contained a number of bronze coins: one Neapolitan coin of c. 325-200 BC<sup>39</sup>; five coins of Ebusus<sup>40</sup>, of c. 214-150 BC; a coin of the rare Spanish mint of Baria, of the late third to mid-second century BC<sup>41</sup>; a coin of Panormos, now dated to 170/160-140 BC<sup>42</sup>; and an anonymous Roman *semuncia* of the late third century BC<sup>43</sup>; a Spanish imitative *semis*<sup>44</sup>; two illegible pieces; and three Cyrenaican pieces (8-10). The closing date of the votive deposit, which presumably represents an accumulation over time, must depend on the Spanish imitative *semis*, which belongs to RIPOLLÈS, WITSCHONKE 2015, group F (with new dies), of the first third of the first century BC, as was proposed by Ranucci<sup>45</sup>. A fourth Cyrenaican coin (11) was found in the “domus, VI 5, 9” (“Casa dei Fiori”).

The excavations by the Universities of Cincinnati and Stanford (PARP:PS), at “VIII 6, 1-15”, below the AD 79 level, recovered 68 foreign coins (including 27 canonical Ebusitan and eight Massaliot coins), of which three are Cyrenaican (12-14)<sup>46</sup>; there are 118 coins of the Pompeian pseudo-mint, and 15 coins are recorded as being either canonical Ebusitan or coins of the Pompeian pseudo-mint imitating Ebusus. The three Cyrenaican pieces were found in strata of Imperial or later times<sup>47</sup>; they represent 4,4% of the foreign coins<sup>48</sup>.

The Anglo-American Project at Pompeii (AAPP) excavations at “insula V 1”, below the AD 79 levels, recovered 18 Cyrenaican coins<sup>49</sup>; the 16 pieces illustrated are recorded here as 15-30<sup>50</sup>. There are 82 “regional and foreign imports”, not counting Massalia and Ebusus<sup>51</sup>; and it is difficult to estimate the number of actual coins of these two mints, that is, to distinguish them from coins of the Pompeian pseudo-mint with these types<sup>52</sup>, because Hobbs does not always attempt to do so; the totals in his catalogue are as follows<sup>53</sup>:

<sup>38</sup> RANUCCI 2008, p. 153.

<sup>39</sup> *HN, Italy*, nos. 568 or 574.

<sup>40</sup> One CAMPO 1976, group XII, and four of group XVII.

<sup>41</sup> *CNH*, p. 74, no. 89.

<sup>42</sup> BAHRFELDT 1904, pp. 394-395, note 47; *SNG, ANS*, no. 605. For the chronology of *Q. Fab(ius)* see FREY-KUPPER 2013, pp. 221, 225, 262-265 and 387 (for this specimen from Pompeii, see also pp. 606 and 627, fig. 113).

<sup>43</sup> *RRC*, no. 41/11 or 56/8.

<sup>44</sup> RIPOLLÈS, WITSCHONKE 2015.

<sup>45</sup> RIPOLLÈS, WITSCHONKE 2015, p. 86; RANUCCI 2001, pp. 253-254: «Quindi allo stesso periodo, inizio I sec. a.C., sembrerebbe potersi datare la definitiva interruzione delle deposizioni di monete nella piccola stipe pompeiana. Non sembra infatti ipotizzabile una deposizione unitaria e simultanea delle monete, ma piuttosto un accumulo, in un periodo di tempo compreso tra l'ultimo quarto del III sec. a.C. e l'inizio del I sec. a.C.».

<sup>46</sup> PARDINI 2011, p. 69, nos. 29-31.

<sup>47</sup> PARDINI 2011, pp. 69 and 82.

<sup>48</sup> We thank Giacomo Pardini for his assistance.

<sup>49</sup> HOBBS 2013, pp. 131-132, cata. 55-67.

<sup>50</sup> We thank Richard Hobbs for giving us his original photographs.

<sup>51</sup> Cata. 1-82.

<sup>52</sup> Which Hobbs prefers to call «Campanian Ebusus», «Campanian Massalia» and «anomalous local types».

<sup>53</sup> For canonical Ebusus, cata. 385-401, 411-422, 424-430 and 729-731; for canonical/pseudo-mint Ebusus, 444-560 and 764-770; and for the pseudo-mint imitating Ebusus, cata. 402-410, 43, 431-443, 561-



	CANONICAL	CANONICAL/PSEUDO-MINT	PSEUDO-MINT	TOTAL
Ebusus	39	124	223	386
Massalia	9	262	31	302
Total	48	386	254	688

Table 3. Counts of Ebusan and Massaliot coins in HOBBS 2011.

Within the finds at Pompeii, the proportion of canonical Massalia to coins of the pseudo-mint imitating Massalia is general rather low<sup>54</sup>, while the proportion of canonical Ebusus to imitations of Ebusus is usually slightly less than 50%. Applying a ratio of 5:95 to canonical/pseudo-mint “Massalia”, and 55 for canonical/pseudo-mint “Ebusus” to the AAPP material<sup>55</sup>, we may very tentatively estimate that there are about 199 non-Roman coins<sup>56</sup>, on which basis, Cyrenaican coins would represent about 9,0% of the whole. However, four coins are at best uncertain (18, 19, 21 and 26), and two not illustrated<sup>57</sup>; if we discount these six coins, Cyrenaican coins represent about 6,0% of the whole. Of the nine Cyrenaican coins listed by stratigraphic unit<sup>58</sup>, one (cata. 62, our 21) is from an uncertain context that may be pre-89 BC, but perhaps of the mid to late first century BC<sup>59</sup>; the others are all in considerably later contexts.

A votive deposit at Privati-Castellammare di Stabia (Gragnano) contained over 600 coins, mostly bronze; these ran from the fourth to the early first centuries BC, when it closed, probably because of Sulla’s activities in the area that lead to the conquest of Pompeii, in 89 BC<sup>60</sup>. Four Cyrenaican coins have been published, and the two that were illustrated<sup>61</sup> are recorded here as 31 and 32. There is no systematic break-up of the coins into Roman and non-Roman coins, on the basis of which to estimate the part of the Cyrenaican coins in the foreign coins.

*Overstrikes on Cyrenaica, NAcCy, nos. 104/106/107/113, head of Ammon/headdress of Isis*

There are substantial number of overstrikes on the small head of Ammon/headdress of Isis pieces. The largest group (fig. 6) drew on Roman types, but not slavishly; while all use the prow reverse, the obverses often do not imitate Roman types. We have documented nine examples, six of which may be traced to the Liri; there are

728 and 732-763. For canonical Massalia, cata. 83-91; for canonical/pseudo-mint Massalia, cata. 92-151 and 166-367; and for the pseudo-mint imitating Massalia, cata. 152-165, 368-369 and 370-384.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. PARDINI 2013, p. 105, regarding the proportion of Massaliot coin in the PARP:PS material: «Gli scavi del PARP:PS hanno restituito apparentemente solo poche monete di questa zecca. A causa del pessimo stato di conservazione di questi bronzetti, infatti, è stato possibile attribuire con precisione solo 8 esemplari a Massalia, senza però poterli ricondurle ad un tipo preciso. Il numerario identificato corrisponde all’1,15% dell’intero campione e al 4% di tutte le monete d’importazione».

<sup>55</sup> Giving 13 Massaliot and 56 Ebusan coins.

<sup>56</sup> Regional and foreign imports (cata. 1-82), 82 coins + Massalia imports (cata. 83-91), 9.

<sup>57</sup> HOBBS 2013, nos. 57 and 68 (\* in our catalogue).

<sup>58</sup> HOBBS 2013, pp. 183-210, Appendix 1.

<sup>59</sup> HOBBS 2013, p. 184, context 271.259.

<sup>60</sup> CANTILENA 1997.

<sup>61</sup> Cata. 36 and 37.

two further specimens in the materials from unpublished coins from old excavations in Rome that Marta Barbato is studying: p. 152, nos. 9-10, of this volume.

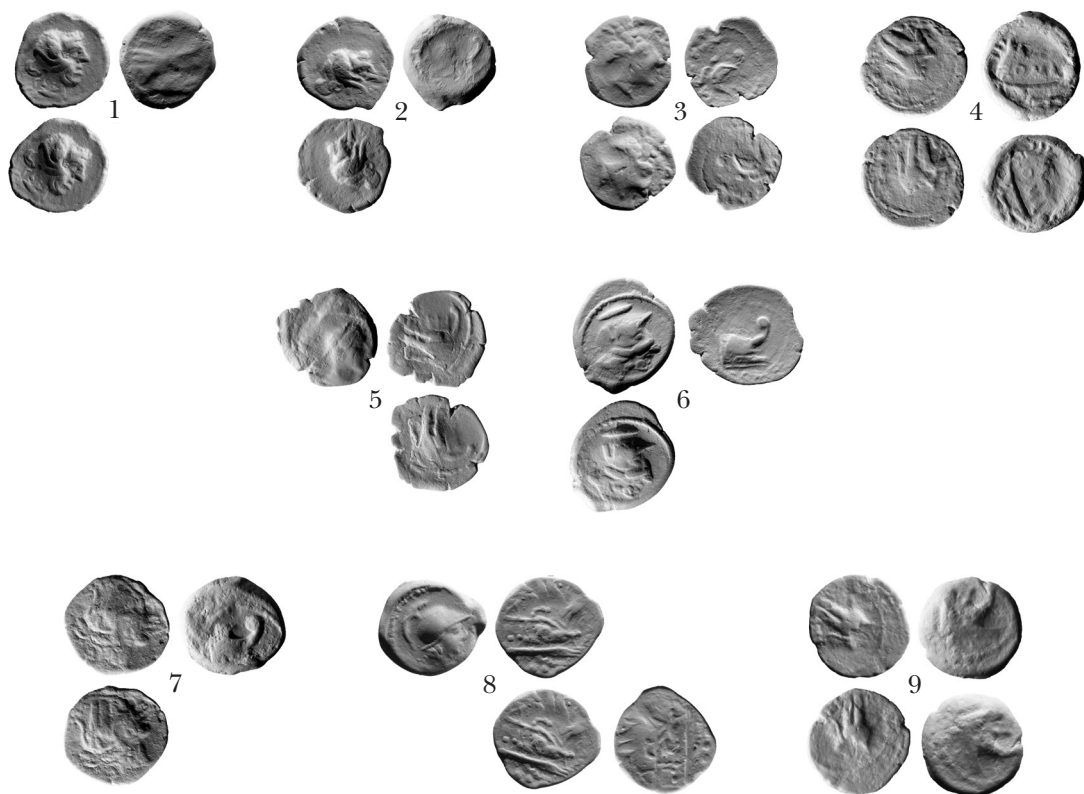


Figure 6. Imitative Roman types, struck over *NAeCy*, nos. 104/106/107/113, Uncertain Ammon/Isis headdress.

*Obv.* Head of Apollo right.

*Rev.* Prow right; symbol above.

1    Æ    mm 14    330°    g 1,88    Berlin 5533 IF

*Obv.* Same as last; same die.

*Rev.* Prow right; border of dots.

2    Æ    mm 14    0°    Liri 15.014

*Obv.* Head right.

*Rev.* Unreadable; border of dots.

3    Æ    mm 14    240°    g 1,11    Liri 5.235

*Obv.* Same as last; same die.

*Rev.* Prow right; ROMA above

4    Æ    mm 15    270°    g 1,73    Paris Ailly 1375

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

*Rev.* Prow right; border of dots.

5    Æ    mm 15    180°    g 1,76    Liri 30.004

6     Æ     mm 17     240°     g 2,10     Liri 11.004

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

*Rev.* Same as last.

7     Æ     mm 15     150°     g 3,37     Liri 14.033

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

*Rev.* Same as last.

8     Æ     mm 15     180°     g 2,47     Kestner 2760

There seems to be a second overstrike: a small Victory right, holding out a crown, is visible at 3 o'clock, relative to the prow.

*Obv.* Unclear, perhaps a head right; border of dots.

*Rev.* As last.

9     Æ     mm 15                     g 2,13     Liri 53.014

The Cyrenaican head of Ammon/headdress of Isis piece is also used as a flan in what Stannard has described as the Italo-Baetican series<sup>62</sup>. These are characterized by, amongst other things, the use of a number of otherwise unique or very rare types: a ring from which hang two strigils and an *aryballos*; Vulcan; and the “man with a shovel on his shoulder”, who probably mixes attributes of a *furnacator* and a mime; many issues of the Italian assemblage of the Italo-Baetican series are signed by members of the *Annia gens*, often using a ligate **N**<sup>63</sup>.

In the Italian assemblage, there is a large group of overstrikes that use the type of the man with a shovel (fig. 7, 1 is an example) on post-*Lex Papiria asses*; these were probably produced in the late 80s BC, as the undertype of 2 (an *as* of 84 BC) shows. The overstruck *asses* are accompanied by what seems to be a divisional piece, of which the four examples are known (3-5 and 8); 3 is struck over a Cyrenaican head of Ammon/headdress of Isis (*NAeCy*, nos. 104/106/107/113); 5 may also be<sup>64</sup>; and 8 is over what is by far the largest issue in the Italian assemblage, Dionysus/panther (9 and 10), which begins at a weight of about g 8, and declines rapidly, without fixed intermediate levels, to about g 2<sup>65</sup>. The issue is enormous, with 85+ obverse and 115+ reverse dies, for a projected ±130 obverse and ±200 reverse dies, and may be dated, by overstrikes, to the time of the Social War; the coin overstruck is at about the middle of the weight range (g 5,44). This group of overstrikes is therefore contemporary with, or postdates, the Dionysus/panther.

One of these pieces, 6, has itself been overstruck with another Italo-Baetican type, head of Vulcan right/bearded head of Hercules right, which forms part of a large series of issues with a head of Vulcan on the obverse, and, in the larger denomination,

<sup>62</sup> STANNARD 1995a and STANNARD 1995b, STANNARD 2005a, STANNARD 2007, STANNARD 2011, STANNARD 2013b.

<sup>63</sup> These issues have not yet been systematically published, but see STANNARD 1995b, STANNARD 2005a and STANNARD 2007.

<sup>64</sup> STANNARD 2007, pp. 32-33, series 50a for the overstruck *asses*, and 50b, for the overstruck Cyrenaican coins.

<sup>65</sup> STANNARD 2007, pp. 4-20, series 15; STANNARD 2015, pp. 361-365; STANNARD, SINNER 2014, pp. 160-163.

a head of Mercury on the reverse (11-16)<sup>66</sup>.

There is a further issue with a head of Janus and value-mark/head of Vulcan right<sup>67</sup> (17-19), many of which are struck over Roman *quadrantes*, like 18 and 19. All these series end with rarer, smaller and lighter issues with the same types: 6 with 7, 9 with 10, 11-15 with 16, and 17-18 with 10. All seem to have been made by Romans, or supporters of the Romans, during this period. It does not appear that the Roman-type overstrikes in fig. 6 are directly linked to the Italo-Baetican issues in fig. 7 overstruck on head of Ammon/headdress of Isis. While the latter belong to the 80s BC, it may be that the former are later, perhaps of the 70s-50s BC.

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

*Rev.* Man carrying an *askos*, a shovel on his shoulder, walking right; border of dots.

1 Æ mm 28 300° g 11,29 Paris Ailly 1336 = BAHRFELDT 1904, p. 435, a (this coin)

2 Æ mm 29 120° Liri 51.003

Struck over *RRC* 354/3b, C·LICINI·L·F, of 84 BC; oriented to show the undertypes.

*Obv.* As last.

*Rev.* Ram (?) standing right; border of dots.

3 Æ mm 17 330° g 1,61 Liri 15.003

4 Æ mm 17 210° g 1,94 Liri 13.033

Undertypes do not appear to be Cyrenaican.

5 Æ mm 17 0° g 1,82 Berlin Wellenheim 7005 8128

Undertypes unreadable.

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

*Rev.* Bearded head of Hercules right; L·CAE before; border of dots.

6 Æ mm 15 240° g 1,09 Berlin Dressel

Struck over a piece like 3-5 above.

As last, but smaller and lighter, and no legend; overstruck, perhaps on Cyrenaica.

7 Æ mm 15 0° g 1,11 Copenhagen uncertain; cf. BAHRFELDT 1904, no. 104

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

*Rev.* Illegible.

8 Æ mm 21 180° g 5,44 University of Alicante excavations at Pompeii,

*Regio* VII, *Insula* III, inv. 5375<sup>68</sup>

Struck over a piece like 9-10 below.

*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.

9 Æ mm 21 270° g 8,64 Madrid

<sup>66</sup> STANNARD 2007, pp. 45-46, series 69a-75.

<sup>67</sup> STANNARD 2007, p. 44, series 67-68.

<sup>68</sup> We thank Prof. José Uroz Sáez, University of Alicante, for permission to cite this unpublished coin.

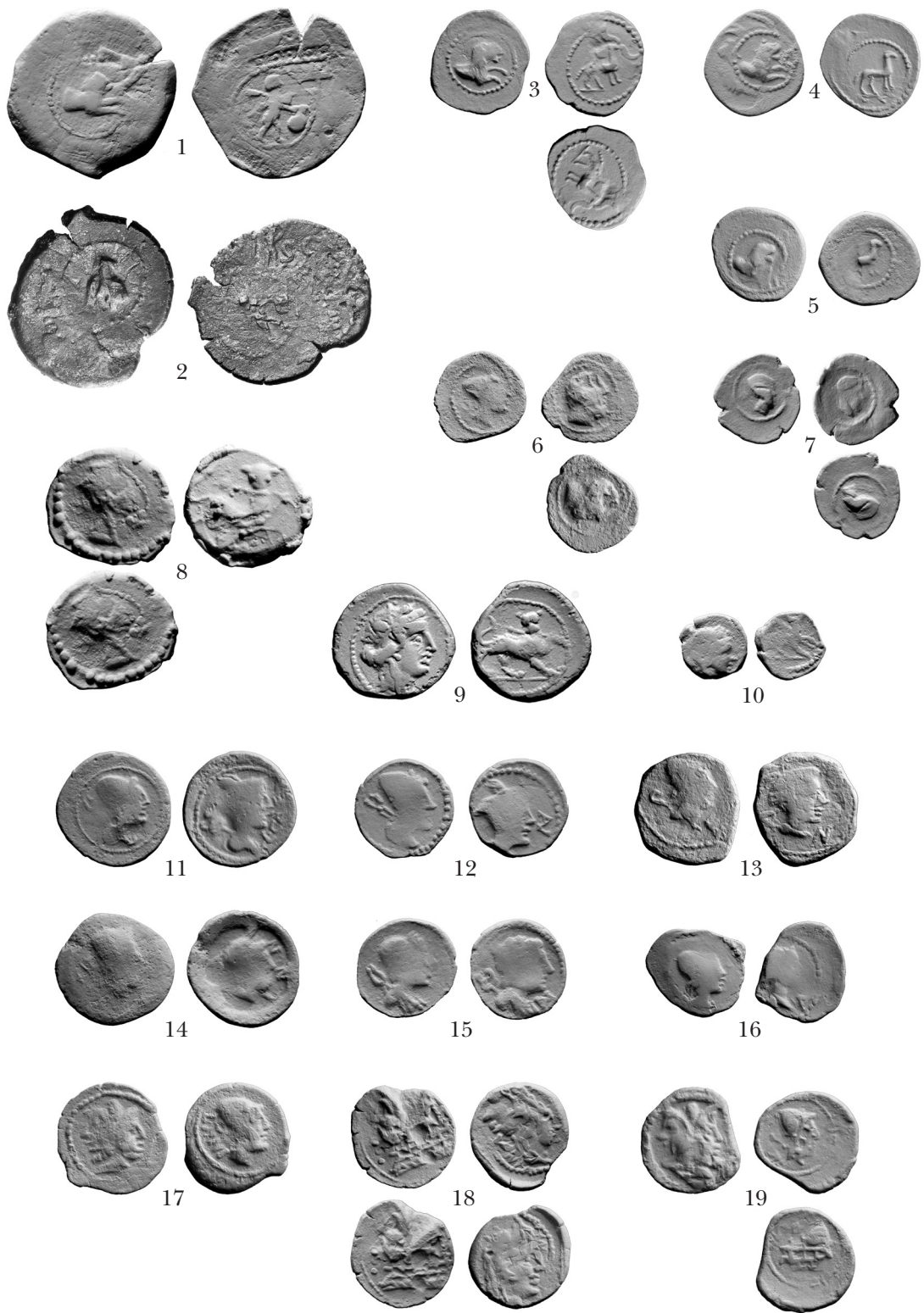


Figure 7. Overstrikes on NAeCy, nos. 104/106/107/113, and the Central Italian Italo-Baetican assemblage.

As last, but smaller and lighter.

10 Æ mm 11 120° g 1,62 Liri 45.439

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

*Rev.* Head of Mercury, wearing winged petasus and caduceus on shoulder, right; L·CAE before; border of dots.

11 Æ mm 19 0° g 3,38 Berlin IB = BAHRFELDT 1904, p. 67, no. 1

*Obv.* As last.

*Rev.* As last, but N up to left.

12 Æ mm 16 330° g 2,58 Paris F4127 = BAHRFELDT 1904, p. 68, no. 2

*Obv.* As last, but E (?) before; border of dots.

*Rev.* As last, but straight up to left.

13 Æ mm 19 30° g 6,87 Paris, Greek uncertain

*Obv.* As last; no legend.

*Rev.* As last, but ANNI before.

14 Æ mm 19 90° g 2,79 Copenhagen uncertain

*Obv.* As last.

*Rev.* As last, but no petasus; N before; border of dots.

15 Æ mm 15 330° g 2,15 Hunterian 3,733,22

As last, but smaller and lighter.

16 Æ mm 16 60° g 1,45 Paris, Greek uncertain 7, 131

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

*Rev.* Head of Vulcan right, wearing pileus and tongs on shoulder; L·NNI behind; border of dots.

17 Æ mm 18 30° g 3,90 Liri 14.002; cf. BAHRFELDT 1904, p. 64.

18 Æ mm 17 g 2,45 Liri 23.003; cf. BAHRFELDT 1904, p. 64

Struck over a *quadrans* with prow left, Cr. 350B/3, of c. 91-86 BC. On the reverse, the letters, ...NI, are visible to right, but little else of the overtype.

As last, but without reverse legend, and smaller and lighter.

19 Æ mm 17 30° g 3,47 Madrid

Struck over a *quadrans*, with the prow right.

### Conclusions

The coins of Cyrenaica are common in finds in central Italy, as a proportion of the non-Roman coins, as tab. 4 shows.

GROUP	%		GROUP	%
Rome (old excavations)	2,3		Perugia University	5,4
Liri	3,7		PARP:PS	4,4
House of Amarantus	3,3		AAPP	6,0

Table 4. Cyrenaica as a proportion of foreign coins in the groups studied.



The largest sample, and so the statistically most significant, is from the Liri; however, there are similar portions of Cyrenaican coin in the other groups that we have been able to identify. In the AAPP sample, the particularly large number of Ebusan coins among the foreign coins is a special phenomenon, for which allowance must be made, because, as Stannard has shown, a very large block of Ebusan coin was deliberately brought to Pompeii, c. 140 BC, for use as small change<sup>69</sup>; if we exclude Ebusan coin from the estimated foreign 199 coins, the sample falls to 142, and the percentage of Cyrenaican coin rises to 8,4%. In considering why there are so many Cyrenaican coins in the AAPP excavations, the late date of the site must be taken into account: while the residential and commercial areas had been laid out by the second century BC, the period of greatest construction was the first century<sup>70</sup>; the other samples may therefore include more coins from earlier times, when Cyrenaican coins were not flowing towards Italy, and when other coins are therefore more relatively frequent, than the coins from this site.

A further matter of interest is the different ratio between earlier coins, and the small, late head of Ammon/headdress of Isis coins, in the Liri and other samples, as shown in tab. 5; the Liri sample has by far the largest proportion of these coins.

GROUP	RATIO	%
Rome (old excavations)	2:6	33,3
Liri	63:72 <sup>71</sup>	87,5
House of Amarantus	7:30 <sup>72</sup>	23,3

Table 5. Proportion of Head of Ammon/headdress of Isis to all other issues.

One explanation may be a question of arrival times; the two coins from Gragnano (head of Ptolemy I/head of Libya) arrived before the closing of the deposit, which was probably in 89 BC; and the only other coin with a pre-89 BC archaeological date, from the AAPP excavations, is also a Ptolemy I/head of Libya piece; the higher ratio in the Liri material, compared to Pompeii and Rome (though the samples are too small for statistical confidence) suggests either that Minturnae was particularly involved in the Roman take-over of Cyrenaica, or that a large number of head of the late Ammon/headdress of Isis coins were deliberately brought to central Italy. We need, therefore, to consider if this, and the overstriking of the Head of Ammon/headdress of Isis pieces (fig. 6 and 7), is further evidence for the recently recognised phenomenon of the importation into central Italy of blocks of foreign small change, for monetary use.

Stannard and Frey-Kupper have documented at least two such blocks: from Kos, perhaps to Rome itself, or Minturnae, at some stage between about 180/170 and 130 BC, and from Ebusus to Pompeii, probably about 140 BC<sup>73</sup>. Once in Italy, the

<sup>69</sup> STANNARD 2013c; FREY-KUPPER, STANNARD forthcoming.

<sup>70</sup> HOBBS 2013, p. 3.

<sup>71</sup> Disregarding the later coins of *Lollius* and *Crassus*.

<sup>72</sup> Including unillustrated HOBBS 2013, cata. 57 (Head of Ptolemy I/head of Libya), and cata. 68 (Head of Ammon/headdress of Isis).

<sup>73</sup> The importation of such blocks, and the Pompeian pseudo-mint, are considered in detail in FREY-

Koan coins were overstruck with a variety of types, mainly Roman, while, at Pompeii, a pseudo-mint imitated the Ebusan types and muled them with the types of Massalia, Rome and Athens<sup>74</sup>. The phenomenon of pseudo-mints continued into the mid-first century BC, included with pseudo-mints that muled the types of Panormos, Paestum and Rome (pseudo-mint A); and others, Rome and Menaion (pseudo-mint B); and Rome, Termessos and the Italo-Baetican “man with a shovel” (pseudo-mints C and D)<sup>75</sup>. These pseudo-mints were not at Pompeii, but perhaps at Minturnae<sup>76</sup>.

The variety and the muling of the types that were imitated points to the coins that were actually in people’s hands in central Italy between the second half of the second century BC to the Principate, and so to the pragmatic use of all sorts of foreign coin to make good the dearth of small change. As we noted, the break-up into periods of the coins from the River Liri listed in RUEGG 1995 and GIOVE 1998 suggests that a coin in eight (12,5%) in use at Minturnae in the late Republic was foreign, and to this must be added the many coins of the Italo-Baetican and informal issues, perhaps a further quarter to a third of the number of foreign coins.

The overstriking of Cyrenaican coin with imitative Roman types is part of this phenomenon, and coeval with the later pseudo-mints. The Cyrenaican head of Ammon/headdress of Isis pieces appear to be the only systematically overstruck issue<sup>77</sup>, in the first century BC (apart from a plethora of overstrikes in the Italo-Baetican issues); whoever overstruck them evidently had a substantial block of these coins to hand, and it is most unlikely that they were simply sorted out from the mass of foreign coins available. Were the very numerous head of Ammon/headdress of Isis coins deliberately imported, with an eye to using them in a monetary function, as such, or overstruck (as was the case with Koan coin a half century or so earlier), or were contacts between Minturnae and Cyrenaica so frequent, after 96 BC, as to draw in a mass of these coins, which were then opportunistically given a monetary function, and circulated generally in Latium and Campania?

Stannard and Frey-Kupper have proposed the following set of criteria, by which to evaluate the possibility of the deliberate importation of a block of foreign coins, for monetary use in the importing area<sup>78</sup>.

KUPPER, STANNARD forthcoming; see, earlier, STANNARD, FREY-KUPPER 2008, and, for Ebusus, STANNARD 2013c.

<sup>74</sup> For a type catalogue of the coins of the Pompeian pseudo-mint, see FREY-KUPPER, STANNARD forthcoming, or STANNARD 2013c.

<sup>75</sup> STANNARD, CARBONE 2013.

<sup>76</sup> CRAWFORD 1982 assembles many examples of imitations of Roman bronzes (mainly from AILLY 1864-1869); however, it had until recently not been recognized that many such coins are die-linked to coins imitating other mints, as STANNARD, CARBONE 2013 documents: «An important and inescapable conclusion is that it is wrong to look separately at one set of imitative types within complexes that mule prototypes from different issuing-authorities. For example, to look only at imitations of Roman coins within the mixed issues of the pseudo-mints discussed here denatures the phenomenon, and makes it impossible to draw out the rich information that these unprepossessing coins provide about the monetary history and the economy of Italy in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC. The diversity in the types used by the pseudo-mints almost certainly mirrors the diversity of coins in the hands of the communities that used them. Not to see the whole range of imitative types together, and to isolate the coins imitating one of a number of prototype mints, is to look at a sliver of a broken mirror» (pp. 277-278).

<sup>77</sup> We know a single imitative coin struck over a coin of the “Volcae Arecomici au personnage en toge” (DE LA TOUR 1892, VI, no. 2677; STANNARD 1998, pp. 211-122, no. 11).

<sup>78</sup> FREY-KUPPER, STANNARD forthcoming.



- a. The numbers of relevant coins in the receiving area, checked against their relative frequency in other areas that might be expected to have received them;
- b. The presence of only a specific issue, or set of issues, without significant numbers of the preceding or following issues, checked against their relative frequency at origin;
- c. The one-sidedness of the exchange, that is, the lack of evidence of a two-way flow of coins between the areas involved, which would testify to sustained contacts;
- d. The relationship of the coins to non-numismatic finds;
- e. The evidence of the use of the coins in the currency area of importation, including through imitations and overstrikes.

In the case of the head of Ammon/headdress of Isis pieces in central Italy:

- a. We know these pieces flowed into central Italy in considerable numbers, but we have little information as to their relative presence elsewhere.
- b. Coins of a number of earlier issues accompanied this issue (as seems to have been the case with the Ebusan coins to Pompeii, but not with the Koan importation), but the relatively high proportion of the head of Ammon/headdress of Isis coins in the Liri database (tab. 6) might suggest that a block went there.
- c. We do not have the information required to evaluate this criterion, that is, whether the monetary stock in use in central Italy about 90 BC flowed back into Cyrenaica, and, in any case, the circumstances of Rome's take-over would mask the significance of this criterion. (In the case of both Kos and Ebusus, there is no masking historical event, and no flow back.)
- d. A proper evaluation of this criterion would require considering whether other artefacts accompanied the coins from Cyrenaica to central Italy, at that time. In considering the spread of Numidian coin across the Mediterranean, Paolo Visonà has stressed the need to test the coin evidence against the evidence of other goods, particularly ceramics, including to ask whether coin arrived as part of general commercial interaction, or moved for some other reason; if specifically Cyrenaican goods could be identified and traced, it might be possible to integrate consideration of numismatic and other categories of archaeological finds. In the case of Croatia and Bosnia, which have yielded the largest number of finds of Carthaginian and Numidian bronze coins outside North Africa, Visonà notes the absence of evidence of any African produce, and concludes that obsolete coin was carried there by Roman traders as scrap<sup>79</sup>.
- e. We have certain evidence of the use of these coins, once overstruck, in central Italy, and it is highly probably that the un-overstruck coins were also pressed into use as small change.

While it is possible that a block of Cyrenaican coin was deliberately brought into central Italy, the evidence is not adequate to decide the question, and, for the moment, it seems wisest to assume an unorganised flow of these coins, followed by opportunistic overstriking of a group of them. The probable date of arrival of Cyrenaican coin in central Italy is relevant in this context; the little archaeological evidence we have suggests that they were arriving at least in the early first century BC, soon after Rome inherited the kingdom, and they could not, at that stage, have been scrap; and, in this regard, it should be noted that the Koan and Ebusan blocks were not scrap, either. The

<sup>79</sup> VISONÀ 2013 and VISONÀ 2014, in particular pp. 127-128.

relative rarity of the coins of *Lollius* and *Crassus* in these finds, struck after the creation of the Roman province in 74 BC, and the large proportion in the Liri of the head of Ammon/headdress of Isis pieces, at the port of Minturnae, seem to suggest that most coins moved at some time between 96 and the 70s BC, but the precise circumstances behind this phenomenon (administrative, commercial or military, including perhaps even their deliberate importation for use as small change) are unclear.

Whatever the fact, the presence and circulation of Cyrenaican minor coin in central Italy is part of the larger phenomenon of the growing need for small change in an increasingly market economy, from about the middle of the second century BC, as wealth flowed to Rome and its allies, as a result of successful warfare. Philip Kay has recently argued that the period from about 150-50 BC saw the most rapid growth in the economy of Rome and of its central Italian allies, unmatched even in the high Empire; he estimates that *per capita* GDP grew at an annual compound rate of 0,54%, and increased by 72% between 150 and 50 BC<sup>80</sup>; the extremely high growth rates of modern industrial economies may make this seem unspectacular, but it is very rapid for ancient, pre-industrial economies. Tab. 6 assembles various indices of rapid growth in this period.

MEASURE	150 BC	100 BC	50 BC
Total nominal value of monetised expenditure (% of nominal income GDP) (1)	39%	56%	68%
Estimated velocity (V) of circulation in mainland Italy (2)	1,26 X	1,43 X	2,47 X
Italian nominal GDP (millions of <i>denarii</i> ) (3)	976	2464	3760

Table 6. Indices of growth in the economy of mainland Italy, 150-50 BC (Source: KAY 2014: (1) 317, tab. 11.20; (2) 319, tab. 11.21; (3) 322, tab. 11.23).

Roman small change did not reach its allies, like Pompeii<sup>81</sup>, or even its colonies, like Minturnae, in quantities sufficient for the rapid growth in market transactions in expanding urban settlements; it probably did not even suffice for Rome and its immediate vicinity; moreover, after Sulla, Rome stopped coining bronze altogether. As Stannard has shown, central Italy is characterized by a large number of informal, low-value bronze coinages, between the middle of the second century BC and the flood of Augustus' large-scale new coinage<sup>82</sup>. This is not a general phenomenon of late Hellenistic times, as it does not occur in mainland Greece, or Asia<sup>83</sup>. This is the environment in which Cyrenaican coins operated, once they had arrived in first century

<sup>80</sup> KAY 2014, p. 324.

<sup>81</sup> For a discussion of the limited role of Roman bronze in the Pompeian monetary pool at this period, see STANNARD 2013c, pp. 142-147.

<sup>82</sup> CRAWFORD 1985, p. 185, noted that, after Sulla's issue, «no mainstream bronze was struck by Rome until Caesar. One is left with the image of a state that did not give a damn for the provision of small change. The gap was in fact remedied by the production in Italy and to a lesser extent in Spain of unofficial imitations of bronze fractions».

<sup>83</sup> The nearest parallel is the imitation of Roman bronze coin in Spain, in particular the *semisses* recently investigated in RIPOLLÈS, WITSCHONKE 2015.

BC central Italy: they joined the mass of varied Roman, obsolete Italian, imported foreign and imitative, and informal coinages, that were all pressed, it seems, into use.

A caveat is in order: wherever the Cyrenaican coins originally arrived, many are likely to have circulated away from the place of entry during the first century BC, so that we should not try to read too much from the evidence of individual finds, and find-spots; nonetheless, we need to consider the routes that Cyrenaican coin took into Italy. Cavagna suggests that they moved successively through Sicily, the toe of Italy, and then up the Italian peninsula<sup>84</sup>; however, he reports only 22 Cyrenaican bronze coins from all Sicily (comprising eight coins of unknown origin in museums in Syracuse and Agrigento, 13 coins reported in MANGANARO 1989 and CARBÈ 1993 to be in private collections, and the single provenanced coin from excavations in Lipari); Suzanne Frey-Kupper, in her paper in this volume (pp. 191-223), describes the only other Cyrenaican coin with a certain Sicilian origin, from excavations at Monte Iato (pp. 195-196, fig. 2, no. 1). In any case, there is a relatively much higher presence of Cyrenaican coin in central Italy, and it seems, instead, that they came directly by sea to a number of ports, including Pompeii, Minturnae and Ostia.



Figure. 8. A Cyrenaican coin from the *oppidum* of La Cloche<sup>85</sup>.

PTOLEMY APION, 104/101-196 BC

Group VII-modulo B, *NAeCy*, no. 110?

*Obv.* Diademed head of Ptolemy I, wearing aegis, right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Diademed head of Libya, right; cornucopia under chin; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ; border of dots.

Æ mm 17 0° g 2,74 La Cloche 1486-2K6-022 = FEUGÈRE, PY 2011, LYB-442 (this coin)

The secondary diffusion of the mass of Cyrenaican coins from central Italy, during the first century BC, is difficult to document. The coin in fig. 8 may be one example. It comes from excavations in the hilltop Celto-Ligurian *oppidum* of La Cloche, about 14 km from Massalia, as the crow flies, which was founded in the third century BC, sacked by Caesar's troops in 49 BC, and never reoccupied. Feugère and Py, in their exhaustive compendium of coins found in Southern France, list only 33 coins from Italy and Sicily (Rome excluded); these include three coins from La Cloche: a coin of Alaisa of 240-200 BC, a coin of Syracuse, of 215-212 BC, and the coin of Poseidonia, of 350-300 BC; and Gisèle Gentric has identified a fourth coin, from Rhegion, of 215-150 BC<sup>86</sup>. There is also a coin of the Pompeian pseudo-mint at La Cloche, and another from the Rhône Valley, as well a coin of the Italo-Baetican series from Toulon, and another from Lattes, all of which can be dated to about the end of the second century

<sup>84</sup> CAVAGNA 2015, pp. 299-301, and, in particular, the dispersion map in fig. 28.

<sup>85</sup> We thank Gisèle Gentric for pointing out this coin, and providing the photograph.

<sup>86</sup> FEUGÈRE, PY 2011, p. 436.

BC<sup>87</sup>; this proportion of relatively rare and datable central Italian coins, which make up 10,7% of all the Greek Italian and Sicilian coins reported from Southern France, strongly suggests frequent contact between central Italy and southern France, at about the time this Cyrenaican piece arrived at La Cloche; it probably rode this route north, and, if so, does not testify to direct contact between Cyrenaica and Massalia.

<sup>87</sup> STANNARD *et alii* 2015.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AILLY P.-P. BOURLIER, BARON DE 1864-1869, *Recherches sur la monnaie romaine, depuis son origine jusqu'à la mort d'Auguste*, Lyon
- ALEXANDROPOULOS J. 2007, *Les monnaies de l'Afrique antique: 400 av. J.-C.-40 ap. J.-C.*, Toulouse
- BAHRFELDT M. 1904, *Die römisch-sicilischen Münzen aus der Zeit der Republik*, "Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau", 12, pp. 331-447
- BELLINI G.R. 1996-1998, *Minturnae Antiquarium: Monete dal Garigliano*, 3 vols., Rome-Milan
- BUTTREY T.V. 1983, *The Roman coinage of Cyrenaica, first century BC to first century AD*, in *Studies in Numismatic Method Presented to Philip Grierson*, ed. by C.N.L. BROOKE, C.I. STEWART, J.G. POLLARD, T.R. VOLK, Cambridge
- BUTTREY T.V., ERIM K.T., GROVES T.D., HOLLOWAY R.R. 1989, *Morgantina Studies, II, The Coins*, Princeton
- CAMPO M. 1976, *Las monedas de Ebusus*, Barcelona
- CANTILENA R. 1997, *Le monete*, in P. MINIERO, A. D'AMBROSIO, A.M. SODO *et alii*, *Il santuario campano in località Privati presso Castellammare di Stabia. Osservazioni preliminari*, "Rivista di Studi Pompeiani", 8, pp. 39-50
- CANTILENA R. 2008, *Pompei. Rinvenimenti monetali nella Regio I*, Rome (Istituto Italiano di Numismatica, Studi e materiali, 14)
- CARBÈ A. 1993, *Elementi per una storia della circolazione monetale a Messina*, "Archivio Storico Messinese", 63, pp. 3-65
- CAVAGNA A. 2015, *Monete tolemaiche oltre l'Egitto e i suoi territori*, Milano (Acta e Studia, 13)
- CNH = VILLARONGA L., *Corpus nummum hispaniae ante Augusti aetatem*, Madrid 1994
- CRAWFORD M.H. 1982, *Unofficial imitations and small change under the Roman Republic*, "Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica", 29, pp. 139-164
- CRAWFORD M.H. 1985, *Coinage and Money Under the Roman Republic: Italy and the Mediterranean Economy*, Oxford
- DE LA TOUR H. 1892, *Atlas de monnaies gauloises*, Paris
- DE LIGT L. 2012, *Peasants, Citizens and Soldiers - Studies in the Demographic History of Roman Italy 225 BC-AD 100*, Cambridge
- FEUGÈRE M., PY M. 2011, *Dictionnaire des monnaies découvertes en Gaule méditerranéenne (530-27 av. notre ère)*, Montagnac
- FREY-KUPPER S. 1995, *Monete dal Tevere. I rinvenimenti "greci"*, "Bollettino di Numismatica", 25, pp. 33-73
- FREY-KUPPER S. 2013, *Die antiken Fundmünzen vom Monte Iato (1971-1990). Ein Beitrag zur Geldgeschichte Westsiziliens*, Lausanne (Studia Ietina, 10)
- FREY-KUPPER S., STANNARD C. 2010, *Les imitations pseudo-Ebusus/Massalia en Italie centrale: typologie et structure, présence dans les collections et dans les trouvailles de France*, "Revue Numismatique", 166, pp. 109-147
- FREY-KUPPER S., STANNARD C. forthcoming, *Evidence for the importation and monetary use of blocks of foreign and obsolete bronze coins in the ancient world*, in *Infrastructure and Distribution in Ancient Economies. The Flow of Money, Goods and Services. Proceedings of an international conference held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, 28-31 October 2014*, ed. by B. WOYTEK, Vienna (Denkschriften der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften)
- FRIER B.W., PARKER A. 1970, *Roman coins from the River Liri*, "The Numismatic Chronicle", pp. 89-109

- GIOVE T. 1996, *Monete dal Fiume Garigliano*, in *Minturnae Antiquarium. Monete dal Garigliano*, 1, Guida alla Mostra, ed. by G.R. BELLINI, pp. 95-99
- GIOVE T. 1998, *Soprintendenza Archeologica di Napoli e Caserta*, "Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica", 45, pp. 129-286
- GIOVE T. 2013, *Pompei. Rinvenimenti monetali nella Regio I*, Rome (Istituto Italiano di Numismatica, Studi e Materiali, 16)
- HN, Italy = *Historia Numorum, Italy*, ed. by N.K. RUTTER, London 2001
- HOBBS R. 2013, *Currency and exchange in ancient Pompeii: Coins from the Anglo-American Project in Pompeii excavations at Regio VI, Insula I*, London
- HOUGHTALIN W.E.L. 1985, *Roman coins from the River Liri. III*, "The Numismatic Chronicle", 145, pp. 67-81
- KAY P. 2014, *Rome's Economic Revolution*, Oxford
- KROLL, J.H. 1993, *The Greek Coins*, Princeton (The Athenian Agora, 26)
- MANGANARO G. 1989, *Movimento di uomini tra Egitto e Sicilia (III-I Sec. A.C.)*, in *Egitto e storia antica dall'ellenismo all'età araba. Atti del Colloquio internazionale, Bologna, 31 agosto-2 settembre 1987*, ed. by L. CRISCUOLO, G. GERACI, Bologna, pp. 513-553
- MARTINI R. 1988, *Monetazione bronzea romana tardo-repubblicana*, I, Milan
- METCALF W.E. 1974, *Roman coins from the River Liri. II*, "The Numismatic Chronicle", VII s., 14, pp. 42-52
- NAeCy = ASOLATI M., *Nummi Aenei Cyrenaici. Struttura e Cronologia della Monetazione Bronzea Cirenaica di Età Greca e Romana (325 a.C.-180 d.C.)*, Rome 2011 (Monografie di Archeologia Libica, 32)
- PARDINI G. 2011, *Rinvenimenti monetali a Pompei. Contesti e circolazione*, tesi di dottorato, Dipartimento di Scienze del Patrimonio Culturale, Università degli Studi di Salerno (testo consultabile presso il sito web [elea.unisa.it/bitstream/10556/1332/1/tesi%20G.%20Pardini.pdf](http://elea.unisa.it/bitstream/10556/1332/1/tesi%20G.%20Pardini.pdf))
- PARDINI G. 2013, *Consumo e produzione di moneta a Pompei tra tarda Repubblica e primo Impero: spunti per una riflessione*, "Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica", 59, pp. 101-142
- PICARD O., BRESC C., FAUCHER T., GORRE G., MARCELLESI M.-C., MORRISON C. 2012, *Les monnaies des fouilles du Centre d'Études Alexandrines*, Alexandria (Études Alexandrines, 25)
- RANUCCI S. 2001, *Pompei, Regio VI: Interessante composizione di un piccolo deposito votivo*, "Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica", 48, pp. 249-258
- RANUCCI S. 2006, *Le monete*, in *Un museo per Otricoli. L'Antiquarium di Casale San Fulgenzio*, ed. by L. CENCIAIOLI, Perugia, pp. 99-108
- RANUCCI S. 2008, *Circolazione monetaria a Pompei. La documentazione numismatica dagli scavi dell'Università di Perugia*, "Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica", 54, pp. 151-175
- RANUCCI S. 2013, *Lo sviluppo della circolazione monetaria a Pompei in epoca repubblicana ed il ruolo delle monete straniere e delle imitazioni*, in *Ebusus y Pompeya, ciudades marítimas. Testimonios monetales de una relación*, ed. by A. ARÉVALO GONZÁLEZ, D. BERNAL CASASOLA, D. COTTICA, Cádiz, pp. 157-165
- RANUCCI S. 2014, *The coin finds in their archaeological context*, in *The House of Sallust in Pompeii (VI 2, 4)*, ed. by A. LAIDLAW, M.S. STELLA, Portsmouth, RI (Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series, 98), pp. 241-254
- RIBERA I LACOMBA A.V., SALAVERT LEÓN J.V., STANNARD C. 2013, *La moneda en la Casa de Ariadna (VII,4,51-51) de Pompeya. El contexto arqueológico de las monedas de Ebusus y de las series imitativas de la pseudo-ceca de Pompeya*, in *Ebusus y Pompeya, ciudades marítimas. Testimonios monetales de una relación*, ed. by A. ARÉVALO GONZÁLEZ, D. BERNAL CASASOLA, D. COTTICA, Cádiz, pp. 181-204
- RIPOLLÈS P.P., WITSCHONKE R.B. 2015, *The unofficial Roman Republican semisses struck in Spain*, in *Studies*



*in ancient coinage in honour of Andrew Burnett*, ed. by R. BLAND, D. CALOMINO, London, pp. 51-108

RPC, I = BURNETT A., AMANDRY M., RIPOLLÈS P.P., *Roman Provincial Coinage, I, From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 B.C.-A.D. 69)*, London 1992

RRC = CRAWFORD M.H., *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge 1974

RUEGG S.D. 1995, *Underwater Investigations at Roman Minturnae: Liris-Garigliano River*, Jonserved

SNG, ANS, IV = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, The Collection of the American Numismatic Society, Part 4, Sicily, II, Galaria-Styella*, New York 1977

STANNARD C. 1994, *The Local Coinages of Central Italy in the Late Roman Republic: Provisional Catalogue*, 2 vols., Rome (photostat)

STANNARD C. 1995a, *The Local Coinages of Central Italy in the Late Roman Republic: Provisional Catalogue*, Rome (photostat)

STANNARD C. 1995b, *Iconographic parallels between the local coinages of central Italy and Baetica in the first century BC*, "Acta Numismatica", 25 (July), pp. 44-97

STANNARD C. 1998, *Overstrikes and imitative coinages in central Italy in the late Republic*, in *Coins of Macedonia and Rome. Essays in honour of Charles Hersh*, ed. by A. BURNETT, U. WARTENBERG, R.B. WITSCHONKE, London, pp. 210-229

STANNARD C. 2005a, *Numismatic evidence for relations between Spain and Central Italy at the turn of the first and second centuries BC*, "Revue Suisse de Numismatique", 84, pp. 47-79

STANNARD C. 2005b, *The monetary stock at Pompeii at the turn of the second and first centuries BC: Pseudo-Ebusus and Pseudo-Massalia*, in *Nuove ricerche a Pompei ed Ercolano, Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Roma 28-30 Novembre 2002*, ed. by P.G. GUZZO, M.P. GUIDOBALDI, Pompei (Studi della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei, 10), pp. 120-143

STANNARD C. 2007, *The local coinages of central Italy in the late Roman Republic: Provisional Catalogue*, Rome (photostat)

STANNARD C. 2011, *The iconography of two groups of struck lead from Central Italy and Baetica in the second and first centuries BC*, in *Proceedings of the XIV<sup>th</sup> International Numismatic Congress, Glasgow 2009*, I, ed. by N. HOLMES, Glasgow, pp. 1046-1055

STANNARD C. 2013a, *Monete dallo scavo stratigrafico della Casa di Amarantus I. 9. 11-12*, in *Pompei. Rinvenimenti Monetali nella Regio I*, ed. by T. GIOVE, Rome (Istituto Italiano di Numismatica, Studi e Materiali, 16), pp. 377-387

STANNARD C. 2013b, *Quartered and counter-marked Republican asses, and the Central Italian Italo-Baetican Assemblage*, in *Essays in Honour of Roberto Russo*, ed. by P.G. VAN ALFEN, R.B. WITSCHONKE, Zurich-London, pp. 365-376

STANNARD C. 2013c, *Are Ebusan and Pseudo-Ebusan coin at Pompeii a sign of intensive contacts with the island of Ebusus?*, in *Ebusus y Pompeya, ciudades marítimas. Testimonios monetales de una relación*, ed. by A. ARÉVALO GONZÁLEZ, D. BERNAL CASASOLA, D. COTTICA, Cádiz, pp. 125-155

STANNARD C. 2015, *The labours of Hercules on Central Italian coins and tesserae of the first century BC*, in *Fides. Contributions to numismatics in honor of Rick Witschonke*, ed. by P.G. VAN ALFEN, M. AMANDRY, G. BRANSBOURG, New York, pp. 357-386

STANNARD C., CARBONE F. 2013, *Pseudo-mints again: A die-study*, in *La numismatique pour passion. Études d'histoire monétaire offertes à Suzanne Frey-Kupper par quelques-uns de ses amis à l'occasion de son anniversaire 2013*, ed. by S. FREY, Lausanne (Études de Numismatique et d'Histoire Monétaire, 9), pp. 255-302

STANNARD C., FREY-KUPPER S. 2008, *"Pseudomints" and small change in Italy and Sicily in the late Republic*, "American Journal of Numismatics", II s., 20, pp. 351-404

STANNARD C., GENTRIC G., CHEVILLON J.-A., RICHARD RALITE J.-C. 2015, *Coins of the Pompeian pseudomint and of the Italo-Baetican series from southern France*, "American Journal of Numismatics", 27, pp. 219-228

- STANNARD C., PARDINI G. 2011, *A new coin of the Pompeian pseudo-mint muling Ebusus and Athens*, "Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica", 57, pp. 53-65
- STANNARD C., SINNER A.G. 2014, *A Central Italian coin with "Dionysus/Panther" types and contacts between Central Italy and Catalonia in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC*, "Saguntum", 46, pp. 159-180
- STANNARD C., SINNER A.G. 2016, *Central Italian coins with "Dionysus/Panther" types from Hispania Ulterior*, "Saguntum", 48, pp. 181-182
- SVORONOS J.N. 1904, *Ta Nomismata tou Kratous ton Ptolemaion*, 4 vols., Athens
- TALIERCIO MENSITIERI M. 2005, *Pompei. Rinvenimenti monetali nella Regio IX*, Rome (Istituto Italiano di Numismatica, Studi e Materiali, 11)
- VISMARA N. 1998, *Monete greche e provinciali romane dal Garigliano*, in *Minturnae Antiquarium. Monete dal Garigliano*, II, *Monete greche, provinciali romane e tessere romane (di bronzo e di piombo)*, a cura di G.R. BELLINI, Rome-Milan, pp. 7-104
- VISONÀ P. 2013, *Out of Africa. The movement of coins of Massinissa and his successors across the Mediterranean. Part one*, "Rivista Italiana di Numismatica", 114, pp. 119-149
- VISONÀ P. 2014, *Out of Africa. The movement of coins of Massinissa and his successors across the Mediterranean. Part two*, "Rivista Italiana di Numismatica", 115, pp. 107-138
- VITALE R. 2016, *Pompei. Rinvenimenti monetali nella Regio VII*, Rome (Istituto Italiano di Numismatica, Studi e Materiali, 18)