

## Coins of the Pompeian Pseudomint and of the Italo-Baetican Series from Southern France

PLATE 42

CLIVE STANNARD\*, GISEÈLE GENTRIC\*\*,  
JEAN-ALBERT CHEVILLON,\*\*\*  
AND JEAN-CLAUDE RICHARD RALITE\*\*\*\*

A number of “pseudomints” in central Italy struck small change with types copying a number of city mints, in the second and first centuries BC. The Pompeian Pseudomint used Massaliot types, among others; it is therefore important to establish if its coins are found in France, and, if so, in which contexts. To date there has been only one sure attribution. We now publish, from Provence, two new Pseudomint coins, one from an archaeological context in the *oppidum* of La Cloche, which was destroyed in 49 BC, as well as two coins of the central Italian Italo-Baetican series. These coins may be dated to the late second and early first century BC, when, apart from Rome, all civic mints had closed, and are valuable for documenting contacts between the central Italy and Provence at this late date.

Clive Stannard and Suzanne Frey-Kupper (2008) described the phenomenon of the systematic imitation of the small bronze coinages of various foreign mints by a number of “pseudomints” in central Italy, in the second and first centuries BC. The understanding of these pseudomints has advanced considerably since that paper.

They called the most important of these—almost certainly at Pompeii, where its products formed the bulk of the small change at that time—“Pseudo-Ebusus/

\*clive.stannard@me.com

\*\* gisele.gentric@orange.fr

\*\*\* jeanalbertchevillon@wanadoo.fr

\*\*\*\* 34jcr@orange.fr

Massalia,” because these were the mints most frequently imitated; but it is now clear that it also copied Rome, and perhaps a number of minor Italian mints. Stannard and Pardini (2011) have published a coin that shows that Athens was also imitated. The name, “Pseudo-Ebusus/Massalia,” therefore creates confusion, because it obscures the fact that these coins combined the types of different mints in single issues, in ways that showed that it was not simply imitating the individual prototypes; it is therefore better called the “Pompeian Pseudomint.”<sup>1</sup>

Frey-Kupper and Stannard (2010) established a systematic catalogue of the types and type-combinations involved.<sup>2</sup> Their paper focused especially on the Pseudomint’s coins with Massalio types, and on the presence of such coins in French collections, because they could be taken for real Massalio coins (when they carry the normal legend, ΜΑΣΣΑ), or for Celtic imitations of Massalia (when they carry various anomalous legends). It discussed the four coins known from France at that time, which are in the Bibliothèque nationale, and illustrated here in Plate 63, 1–4.

### *Stannard TC-3.2*

*Obverse:* Laureate head of Apollo, right; border of dots.

*Reverse:* Bull butting right, on an exergual line; ΑΟΜΣ above; border of dots.

1. Æ 12 mm 270° 1.54 g Muret and Chabouillet 1889: 43, no. 2227  
(read as ΑΟΜ) = La Tour, pl. V, 2227 = Depeyrot 2002: 38, no. 50, 1 (read as ΑΟΜ)
2. Æ 13 mm 210° 1.46 g Muret and Chabouillet 1889: 44, no. 2242  
(read as ΑΜΣ) = La Tour, pl. V, 2242

### *Stannard TC-3.3*

*Obverse:* Same.

*Reverse:* Same, but ΑΟΣΣ above.

1 There is now a clearer picture of the general phenomenon of the pseudomints first discussed in Stannard and Frey-Kupper 2008. The importation of blocks of foreign coin for use as small change in central Italy has been documented in much greater detail (Stannard 2013, Frey-Kupper and Stannard forthcoming). These blocks were: coins of Ebusus (Campo 1976: issue XVIII) to Pompeii, in the mid-second century BC, which may have been at the origin of the Pompeian Pseudomint, and of Kos (Ingvaldsen 2002: issue XIX = Στεφανιάκη 2012: issue 39), perhaps to Minturnae, in the same period; more Italian overstrikes on these Koan imports are now known. Stannard and Carbone (2013) have made a die study of the group of pseudomints that Stannard and Frey-Kupper called “Pseudo-Panormus/Paestum”; these are not linked to the Pompeian Pseudomint, and may be from Minturnae, in the second quarter of the first century BC.

2 The catalogue has been updated: Stannard 2013, and Frey-Kupper and Stannard forthcoming. Coins are cited here according to this catalogue, by type combination (TC).

3. Æ 12 mm 300° 1.15 g Muret and Chabouillet 1889: 43, no. 2228 (read as ΛΟΣΣ) = La Tour, pl. V, 2228 = Depeyrot 2002: 38, no. 52, 1 (read as ΛΟΣΣ)

*Stannard TC-3.4*

*Obverse:* Bust of Diana, right, bow and quiver on her shoulder; border of dots.

*Reverse:* Bes standing facing, on an exergual line, his left hand raised, and a cornucopia (?) on his right arm.

4. Æ 14 mm 30° 1.69 g Muret and Chabouillet 1889: 37, no. 1969 = La Tour, pl. IV, 1969 = Lagoy de Meyran 1837: 26, pl. I, 14 = Heiss 1870: 42

Before the discovery of the pseudomint, coins 1 to 3 had naturally been considered Celtic imitations of Massalia. Saulcy had first published 1, without provenance,<sup>3</sup> and thought it a Celtic issue from Vernègues-Lambesc. He had, however, published it in association with a coin of what Stannard calls the central Italian Italo-Baetican series,<sup>4</sup> with the types, head of Vulcan right/head of Mercury right, N;<sup>5</sup> this suggests that the two coins reached France together through the coin trade, or with French travellers returning from Italy, and were not actually found in France. Coins 2 and 3 are without provenance, which seems to suggest that they too had come from Italy, and were not found in France.<sup>6</sup> Coin 4 was therefore, until now, the only coin with a certain French provenance. It was found in Glanum (St. Remy), and attributed to Massalia on the basis of the head of Diana, and the fact that Glanum was a Massalio colony.<sup>7</sup>

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We now publish four further coins from southern France: two coins of the Pompeian Pseudomint, and two of the Italo-Baetican series.

Coin 5 (a specimen of Pseudomint TC-24) was identified by Gisèle Gentric among the coins from excavations by Louis Chabot between 1995 and 1997 in the hilltop *oppidum* of La Cloche, about 14 km north of Marseilles, as the crow flies.<sup>8</sup> The *oppidum*, which had a population of about 750, was sacked by Caesar's troops in 49 BC, and not reoccupied. Despite being so close to Massalia, and showing many signs of presumably amicable contacts with the city, the *oppidum* was

<sup>3</sup> Saulcy 1866: 410.

<sup>4</sup> Stannard 2005.

<sup>5</sup> Stannard 2005: 416.

<sup>6</sup> Frey-Kupper 2010: 136–138.

<sup>7</sup> Lagoy de Meyran 1837: 26–27.

<sup>8</sup> In twenty-five years of excavation, some 1,600 coins were found, and are now in the Cabinet des Monnaies et Médailles de Marseille: 86% are Massalio; 8.5% are from southern Gaul; and 5.5% are “foreign”, with coins from Iberia, northern Gaul, and a few from Italy, Sicily and Greece proper. The excavator, Louis Chabot, published some of the coins (1985, 1987, 1996, 2001, 2002)—mainly drachms and “très petits bronzes” of Massalia, and foreign

culturally Celto-Ligurian: this is shown, for example, by the three or more human skulls nailed over the entry to the site.<sup>9</sup>

The coin comes from the summit, near but not in what Chabot identified as a possible ritual area, in which were found animal bones and a variety of metal objects, including rings and pierced sheet metal, as well as 103 coins;<sup>10</sup> a fifth of these (23 coins), all bronze, were carefully pierced. The coins from the summit area are almost exclusively Massaliot, or local imitations of Massalia. Most are second-century BC obols, drachms, and bull-reverse bronzes, with a very few earlier coins, and a few pieces of the early first century BC (obols, Massaliot bronzes with the split legend, ΜΑΣΣΑ/ΛΙΑ,<sup>11</sup> local Massaliot imitations, potins, and a single coin of the Bituriges).

Coin 5 was found in a second-century BC context, which was, however, much disturbed in the first. The excavator's notes record 75 small finds from the context, of which twelve are Massaliot bronze coins, and there are two Roman bronzes: a *quadrans*, RRC 256/4, of Quintus Metellus of 130 BC, and an unidentifiable piece. The ceramic finds include a "Campanian bowl," and two sherds of late Campanian A (Lamboglia A5/7 and 27, 100–40 BC), testifying to contacts between Massalia and the Naples area.

Only one other specimen of TC-24 was known before now: 6, which does not share dies with 5. Its frog die, however, is shared with the only known example of TC-23, 7; the bull types, in both cases, are too poorly preserved to allow consideration of the dies.

#### *Stannard TC-24*

*Obverse:* Bull butting right on exergual line; no visible legend; border of dots.<sup>12</sup>

*Reverse:* Frog seen from above; border of dots

5. Æ 16 mm 0° 1.68 g La Cloche PL F10-013

*Obverse:* Same, but [ΜΑΣΣ]Α (?) above

*Reverse:* Same.

coins—but left aside 859 Massaliot bronzes with bull reverses, amongst which 5 was found. The systematic study of the remaining 1500 coins is underway, and will provide a picture of coin use in an *oppidum* near Massalia in the first half of the first century BC. A number were found in datable strata.

9 Chabot 2004. For the skulls, see pp. 150–152

10 Bones: Roux 2016; metal: Vigie 2016; coins: Gentric 2016.

11 Feugère and Py (2011: 132–133, PBM-50) confirm this dating, by a review of the archaeological evidence. For other issues, the destruction of 49 BC provides a *terminus ante quem*.

12 The bull imitates Massaliot bulls of Gentric's style B (1987: 397), used on Feugère and Py's PBM-35 to PBM-50, the earliest of which dates to before 175 BC (Feugère and Py 2011: 122), and the latest of which continues into the first century.

6. Æ 15 mm 30° 1.40 g AAPP excavations, Pompeii, Hobbs 2013: 142, no. 382

*Stannard TC-23*

*Obverse:* Helmeted head of Mars right; border of dots.

*Reverse:* Same.

7. Æ 16 mm 30° 2.02 g Bathhouse purse-hoard;<sup>13</sup> Pompeii, Naples P9041 = Hobbs 2013, 212, BH18

The second new Pseudomint coin, 8, was identified by Jean-Albert Chevillon in a local collection. It is said, on good authority, to have been found in the lower Rhône valley. The obverse die is an almost certainly shared with 9, from Pompeii.

*Stannard, TC-20*

*Obverse:* Helmeted head of Mars right; • behind (?).

*Reverse:* Bull butting right, on exergual line.

8. Æ 11 mm 90° 1.23 g Collection Ph. Pécout, Caromb, Vaucluse, France

9. Æ 12 mm 90° 0.81 g PARP PS excavations 2007 C11-7, Pompeii

In addition to the coins of the Pseudomint, there are two new coins of the Italo-Baetican series from southern France. The first (10) is a “Dionysus/panther”, from excavations at Lattes.

*Obverse:* Head of Dionysus, crowned with ivy, right; border of dots.

*Reverse:* Panther, head facing, standing right, a *thyrsus* on its shoulder; border of dots.

10. Æ 18 mm 30° 2.65 g Feugère and Py 2011, 424, ITA-19

The second Italo-Baetican coin (11) was identified by Jean-Albert Chevillon in a collection in Marseille; it was bought in Toulon in 1999, in a block of local finds of Massaliot bronzes. The only other known specimen (12), which is from the same dies, is in the British Museum. These pieces share the “obverse” die with 13, which Max Bahrfeldt believed to be Romano-Sicilian. Stannard has reattributed the majority of Bahrfeldt’s groups 3 and 4 to the central Italian assemblage of the Italo-Baetican issues.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> For the Bathhouse purse hoard, see most recently Stannard 2013: 144–145.

<sup>14</sup> Stannard 2005. Many of these pieces, like 11–13, name various members of the *Annia gens*, almost always written with a ligate AN: ÆN. The now clear die links between coins 10, 11 and 12 for the first time associate the *Annia gens* with one of the characteristic Italo-Baetican types: the *aryballos* and strigils, suspended from a carrying ring, in this case, carried by a dog.

*Obverse:* Panther, standing right on an exergual line, a thyrsus on its shoulder;  
 Γ · Ν | in exergue; border of dots.

*Reverse:* Dog standing right, carrying a ring in mouth, from which are suspended  
 two strigils and an *aryballos*; Γ Ν or Ν above; border of dots.

11. Æ 13 mm 0° 2.12 g Marseille, Collection Th. Mesclé  
 12. Æ 14 mm 90° 2.64 g BM uncertain SP pl. 2872 3/7; Stannard,  
 2005, 53, 12

*Obverse:* As last.

*Reverse:* Winged Cupid seated right on a cushion, his arms lashed behind him.

13. Æ 15 mm 330° 1.92 g Bahrfeldt 1904: 417, no. 66; pl. IV, 74.

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Stannard proposes dating the output of the Pseudomint in general to c. 140/130–90/70 BC. Coins 5 and 8 both belong to Stannard's group A, which mixes Massaliot, Ebusan, Roman, and other types, of relatively good style. The Massaliot prototype imitated in group A, with ΔA in the reverse exergue,<sup>15</sup> began to be struck just before 125 BC, but the imitations need not have begun immediately. The coins of group A are not nearly as common as the very prolific "rudimentary Bes/Bes" coins (Stannard TC-28), none of which are yet known from France, which may—despite their abysmal style—be earlier: the earliest Pseudomint coin from excavations at Pompeii is a specimen of TC-28, found in a drainage canal running under tavern 50 on the Via della Fortuna, in a context dated to c. 140–c. 120 BC.<sup>16</sup> Group A coins were in use before Sulla's conquest of Pompeii in 89 BC;<sup>17</sup> so our two coins may have been struck towards the end of the second century BC, and at least coin 5 travelled to France before the destruction of La Cloche in 49 BC.

The Dionysus/panther (10) issue is very large—with about 130 projected obverse dies—and can be securely dated by overstrikes on Roman coins to around the period of the Social War, c. 92–87 BC.<sup>18</sup> Its place of issue is uncertain, but it was very probably in southern Latium. It is common amongst the coins from the River Liri, at Minturnae; it has been found at many sites in Italy from Latium north; in the western Mediterranean, in addition to this coin from Lattes, specimens have also been found at Narbonne and in excavations at Cabrera de Mar and Emporion in Catalonia.<sup>19</sup> Coin 11, however, is very rare, and there is no other provenanced find.

<sup>15</sup> Feugère and Py 2011: 132, PBM-47.

<sup>16</sup> Ribera, Salavert, and Stannard 2013: 190, 13

<sup>17</sup> Hobbs 2011: 85.

<sup>18</sup> Stannard 2015.

<sup>19</sup> Stannard and Sinner 2014.

These coins are an important index of contacts between Provence and central-western Italy (Campania and southern Latium), in the early first century BC, but the intensity of such contacts is difficult to evaluate on numismatic grounds, because of a lack of comparable coin evidence. By that time, all non-Roman mints in peninsular Italy, except Paestum and Velia, had closed. In considering the presence of Pompeian and Italo-Baetican coins in Provence, it is important to note that Roman coin does not seem to have reached Pompeii itself in quantities sufficient for local commerce, whence the need for the imitative issues, and the use of old and foreign coin.<sup>20</sup> The situation seems to have been similar in the Roman colony of Minturnae, which is probably the site of the later Pseudomint A,<sup>21</sup> which imitated mainly Paestum and Panormos, and where many imitations of Roman *quadrantes* seem to have originated.

Michel Feugère and Michel Py's comprehensive compilation of thousands of pre-Augustan coins from southern France shows that Roman Republican coins were not present in huge numbers; they list, for example, 1000 *asses*, but these amount to only 3.4 percent of all coins listed,<sup>22</sup> and many of them may have arrived in early Imperial times.

Table 1. Italian and Sicilian coins from southern France.

Mint	Date Range (BC)	Number	Mint	Date Range (BC)	Number
Alaisa	240–200	2	Capua	216–211	1
Brundisium	217–100	1	Larinum	210–175	1
Irnum	200–1	1	Neapolis	270–200	6
Locri	265–207	1	Rhegion	370–270	2
Poseidonia	350–300	1	Rhegion	215–150	1*
Salapia	260–240	2	Syracuse	510–200	9
Taras	350–228	4	Dionysus/panther	c. 92–87?	1
			= 10		
Arpi	250–190	1			

\* *HN Italy*, 2564.

Table 1 includes the 33 Italian and Syracusan coins listed by Feugère and Py, three of which are from La Cloche: a coin of Alaisa of 240–200 BC, a coin of Syracuse,

<sup>20</sup> For the monetary stock at Pompeii: Stannard 2013: 142–147 and Frey-Kupper and Stannard forthcoming, fig. 5.

<sup>21</sup> Stannard and Carbone 2013.

<sup>22</sup> Feugère and Py 2011: 436.

of 215–212 BC, and the coin of Poseidonia, of 350–300 BC;<sup>23</sup> Gisèle Gentric has identified a further Rhegiot coins from La Cloche, which is also listed, and marked by an asterisk.

They note that foreign coins were present in sites abandoned early, and so show that it is wrong, as has sometimes been argued, to believe that most foreign coins reached Gaul with Caesar's invasions. There is, however, a problem of interpretation deriving from the high residuality of bronze coin, at least in central Italy, and possibly in Gaul. For example, the Isla Pedrosa shipwreck, of about 140 BC, includes Neapolitan coins already 100 years old,<sup>24</sup> and the bathhouse purse hoard from Pompeii, of the 70s BC, contains coins of Katane and Neapolis 150 years old.

The two datable coins of the Pompeian Pseudomint, and the two Italo-Baetican coins, are therefore a useful contemporary witness to contacts between west-central Italy and southern Gaul in the late second and early first centuries BC.

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<sup>23</sup> Feugère and Py 2011: 419–424. Silver is not included: a tetradrachm each of Naxos and Syracuse, and a diobol of Taras; a Dionysus/panther from Emporion is not included. Feugère and Py list coins 1 and 3 of this article, with the note that no examples are surely known from Gaul.

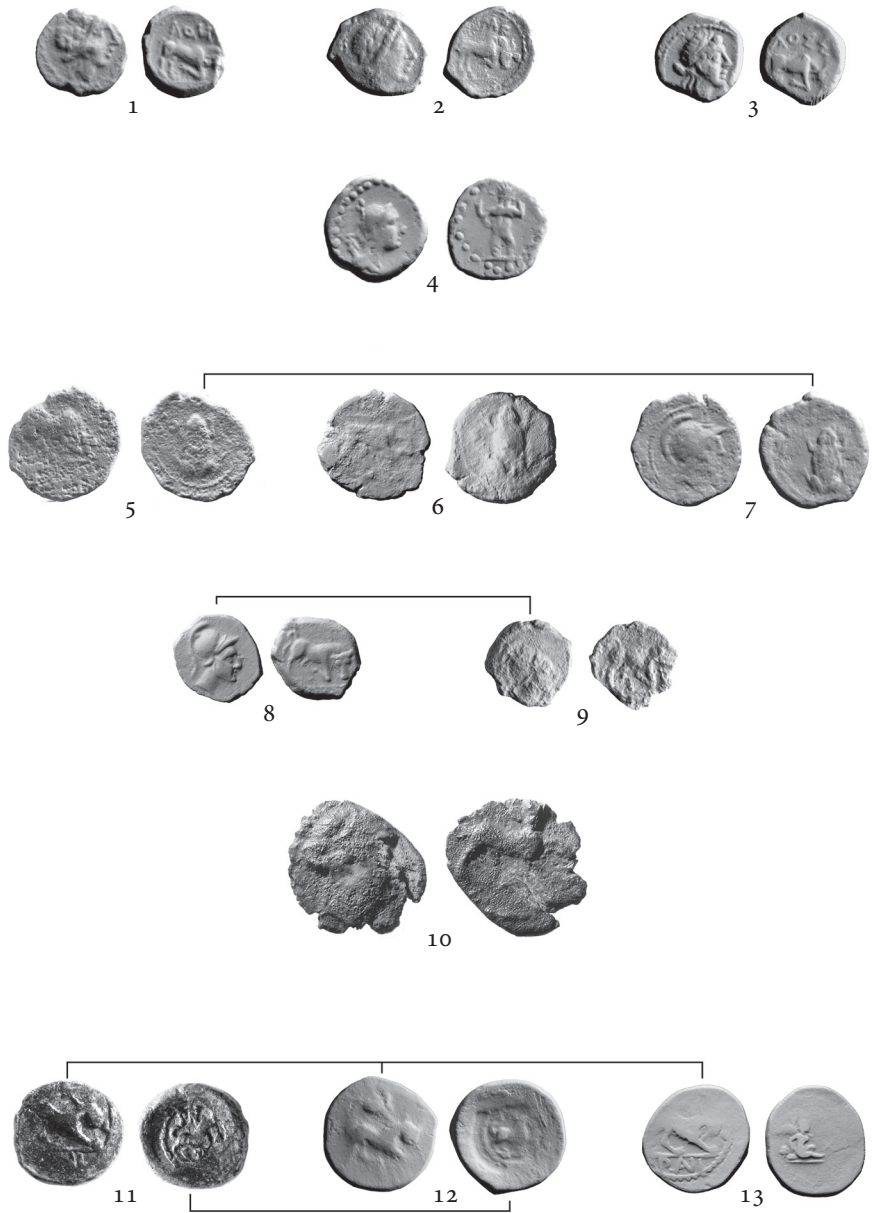
<sup>24</sup> Stannard and Sinner 2014: 171–173.



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Plate 42



The Pompeian Pseudomint and the Italo-Baetican Series