

FIDES

CONTRIBUTIONS TO NUMISMATICS

IN HONOR OF RICHARD B. WITSCHONKE





RICHARD B. WITSCHONKE

Alan Roche

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in Honor of Richard B. Witschonke

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PREFACE

This volume had its genesis, appropriately enough, among friends enjoying a fine lunch provided by a host, who as it happened was not at the table due to a scheduling conflict. The discussion of coins, wine, and the importance of friendship that afternoon naturally led to the consideration of ways to thank our host for his habitual generosity. Many who knew him were at one time or another a guest at his table; these moments of good cheer and serious conversation, he felt, were the best way to explore ideas in numismatics, to think of grand new projects, and to bring together old colleagues and new friends in an attempt to ever widen the circles of knowledge and acquaintance. As a host, he preferred to ask questions and let others do the talking, to recede to the sidelines (that afternoon to the point of invisibility!), convinced that his role was secondary to the “real” work of others. We all knew this not to be true. Although he modestly considered himself no more than an amateur, there is no question he made substantial contributions to numismatic scholarship, stewardship, and education. A volume of essays in his honor seemed the right answer for all he had done for us individually and collectively.

The enthusiastic response to the *Festschrift* for Richard Beyer Witschonke, “Rick” to most all who knew him, proved the value of the man and the project. Sadly, he did not live to see it completed, although he took great pleasure in reading early drafts of many of the papers. His decade-long battle with cancer, in which he displayed his typical good cheer and immense fortitude, came to an end on 24 February 2015. Now as a *Gedenkschrift*, we hope that this volume will serve as a fitting tribute to an exceptional individual.

Born in 1945 and raised in Connecticut, Rick graduated from Harvard Business School in 1972 with an MBA with high honors and took a position with American Management Systems (AMS), a technology consulting firm. Rick worked for AMS for most of his career, and after leaving the company in 2000, he continued to work in technology consulting in California before deciding to retire to Califon, New Jersey, to be with his partner Heidi Becker in 2003. Soon thereafter, he began to volunteer several days a week at the American Numismatic Society (ANS) in New York City, before becoming a Curatorial Associate in 2006. Numismatics, especially the coinage of the Roman Republic, had long been a major passion of his; another collecting passion was fine wine.

Rick’s coin collecting interests began as a teenager. In 1960 at age 15, he obtained a Roman Republican denarius from a Lu Riggs auction. His interest in *denarii* intensified after reading Edward A. Sydenham’s *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (1952), which inspired him to learn more about Republican coinage in general. Republican period coinage was his major collecting focus for the next several decades, during which time he assembled an impressively comprehensive collection of Roman Republican and provincial coins. Most of the Republican collection was sold over the last several years and is featured in the the 2013 Numismatic Ars Classica publication *The RBW Collection of Roman Republican Coins*. The second part of his collection, almost 3,500 Provincial coins of the Republican period he bequeathed to the ANS. This absolutely unique group of coins, probably the only area of Roman coinage that has never been properly catalogued, is comprised of coins from the third to first centuries BC, produced in various parts of the Mediterranean region under Roman control. A volume on this portion of the collection will be published in the near future by the ANS.

Rick's affiliation with the ANS began after his first visit in the late 1960s, when he became, for a while, the ANS's youngest member. In 1999, Rick was elected a member of the Society's Governing Council and served one term as an ANS Trustee. Where he felt better able to serve the Society, however, was in the curatorial department helping with the care of the Roman collection, and in sharing his passion for coinage with Summer Seminar students. With his immense enthusiasm for teaching and his conviction that the Seminar is one of the most important activities of the ANS, since it helps to train the next generation of numismatists, Rick was asked to co-direct the Seminar in 2006. Thanks to his enormous input and energy, an already good program was turned into a great program. His commitment to teaching was demonstrated again in the summer of 2014, when he was already in steep decline from the cancer and in tremendous pain; he still insisted on coming into the Seminar to teach his full roster of sessions.

Although he never considered himself a scholar, Rick nevertheless shared his vast knowledge of Republican coinage in a series of critical articles published by several of the most respected numismatic periodicals and helped as well to edit *Festschriften* for his close friends, one for Charles Hersch that appeared in 1998, and another for Roberto Russo, that appeared in 2013. Perhaps his greatest contributions to scholarship, however, stemmed from his experience as a businessman. A quick study, highly decisive, and hugely pragmatic, he was able to undertake large scale, complicated projects and see them to fruition. At the same time, he demonstrated an amazing openness to new ideas and perspectives, investing his time, resources and energy in assessing and launching new projects. Such traits were well demonstrated by the computerized die-recognition project he launched and financed, now being further developed by the ANS, which promises to create a software package for automating die studies that will be available in the near future. He also played an important role in the early stages of the ANS's various digital project initiatives, including Nomisma.org, and more recently in helping to organize and launch Coinage of the Roman Republic Online (www.numismatics.org/crro) and Coin Hoards of the Roman Republic (www.numismatics.org/chrr).

As is always the case, a volume such as this one would not have been possible without the assistance, diligence, and hard work of others not named on the title page or in the table of contents. Here we must thank Ute Wartenberg for her immediate and full support of the volume; Andrew Reinhard for his excruciating eye for editorial detail; Aadya Bedi and Alan Roche for image assistance; and Muserref Yetim, whose typesetting and design have given this book life.

Peter G. van Alfen

Gilles Bransbourg

Michel Amandry

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The Labors of Hercules on Central Italian Coins and *Tesserae* of the First Century BC

PLATES 1–9

CLIVE STANNARD

*Reges dicuntur multis urgere culullis,
Et torquere mero, quem perspexisse laborent
An sit amicitia dignus.*

Horace, *De Arte Poetica*

*'Tis said when kings a would-be friend will try,
With wine they rack him and with bumpers ply.*

John Conington, trans.

Rick Witschonke was a man of infinite wisdom and kindness, to whom I automatically turned for advice, a scholar, a man of taste and vastly generous, who had plied many numismatists—myself included—with much better wines than we perhaps merited, but of which we drank deep. Let us give thanks.

Rick was an editor of the 1998 Festschrift for Charles Hersh, to which I contributed,¹ and, some years afterwards, I discovered with amazement that Rick had continued to follow my work, and, for that reason, was collecting some of the odd and ugly things in which I specialize. May this paper serve as a sign of my appreciation.

* * *

1. Stannard (1998).

For many years, I have been assembling a database of coins that can be provenanced to the River Liri, at Minturnae. In the process, I have found many coins and *tesserae* that are so far unpublished, or, if published, are wrongly attributed. I have also searched for further specimens in public and private collections, most often among their unattributed coins. I here publish two separate groups of such pieces, which share the common theme of the Labors of Hercules. I illustrate all specimens that I know, of which I have casts or photos.

GROUP 1 (PLATE 1)

The flans of all specimens of Group 1 are all thick and triangular, with the possible exception of no. 4. Such flans are characteristic of many of the issues of what I call the Central Italian Assemblage of the Italo-Baetican Series,² to which Group 1 belongs.

The Italo-Baetican Series include two separate assemblages, one from Central Italy, and the other from Baetica (southern Spain), which are tied together by a shared set of rare and unique types. This is a non-state coinage, probably linked to trade and state contracts. The legends on the Central Italian Assemblage are all Latin. Many carry the names of members of the *Annia* gens, usually using a ligate ¥ , alone, or as the first two letters of the name. An important part of issues of the Central Italian Assemblage was isolated by Bahrfeldt and given to the Romans in Sicily,³ but legends, types, fabric, overstrikes, and provenance show that this was a misattribution. Most of the known provenances are from the Liri at Minturnae.

The Coins

Issue 1.1. Geryon right/Hercules, *as*?

Obv. Geryon, with a single body, three heads and three pairs of arms and legs, advancing right, helmeted, cuirassed, holding a shield before him, and brandishing spears; border of dots.

Rev. Hercules fighting the Hydra right, a shield on his left arm (?), a club in his raised right hand; border of dots.

| | | | | |
|----|---|---------|--------|------------------------------|
| 1. | Æ | 17 mm ↗ | 6.60 g | Liri 11.027 |
| 2. | Æ | 15 mm ✓ | 7.56 g | Paris Z3146A |
| 3. | Æ | 15 mm ↑ | 6.65 g | Berlin Fox |
| 4. | Æ | 15 mm ↗ | | Liri 100.082 |
| 5. | Æ | 18 mm | 5.90 g | Liri 100.278 |
| 6. | Æ | 16 mm | 6.69 g | Liri 44.153 |
| 7. | Æ | 17 mm ↓ | 7.18 g | BM uncertain, 1866.12-1.4371 |
| 8. | Æ | 16 mm ↗ | 7.24 g | Liri 4.191 |

2. Stannard (1995c, 2005, and 2014). I have not published a definitive study of these issues, but have prepared and circulated a number of provisional catalogues (Stannard 1994, 1995a, and 2007). I hope to soon complete a monograph on them.

3. 1904, particularly his groups 3 and 4: 407-445.

| | | | | |
|-------|-------|---|--------|--------------------------------------|
| 9. Æ | 17 mm | → | 7.41 g | Liri 5.056 |
| 10. Æ | 15 mm | ↑ | 6.05 g | Liri 26.010 |
| 11. Æ | 15 mm | ↙ | 6.00 g | Liri 35.008 = <i>Minturnae</i> II 23 |
| 12. Æ | 15 mm | ↘ | 5.90 g | Liri 35.003 = <i>Minturnae</i> II 24 |
| 13. Æ | 18 mm | | 8.90 g | Liri 100.279 |
| 14. Æ | 16 mm | | 7.36 g | Found just north of Rome |
| 15. Æ | 15 mm | | 6.50 g | Liri 100.439 |

Issue 1.2. Geryon left/Hercules, *as*?

Obv. As nos. 1–15, but Geryon advancing left, rather than right.

Rev. As nos. 1–15.

16. Æ 26 mm ↗ 7.22 g Berlin Rauch = *FITA*, pl. 1, 16

This is a much-overstruck piece, which I analyze below. The uppermost strike is listed here as no. 16.

Issue 1.3. Hercules/Hercules, *as*?

Obv. and *rev.* As nos. 1–15.

17. Æ 20 mm ↙ 7.84 g Paris Z3146B

The coin was struck from two “reverse” dies. This shows that the dies were mobile, probably taking the form of small, biconical, high-tin bronze shafts that could be mounted either in an anvil (which is what it is usually meant by an “obverse” die) or an iron sleeve, which could bear the hammer blows, the bronze being too brittle (the “reverse” die). I have now demonstrated such die-mobility in a number of different ancient mints.⁴ In the descriptions here, “obverse” means only the image on the left in the plates, and “reverse” that on the right.

Issue 1.4. Geryon/Hercules and Antaeus, *semis*?

Obv. Geryon right; border of dots.

Rev. Hercules holding Antaeus off the ground; border of dots.

18. Æ 15 mm ↗ 2.34 g Liri 13.031

The dies and metrology of Group 1

Group 1 uses a number of obverse and reverse dies (Table 1).

4. Stannard (1987, 1995).

Table 1. The dies of Group 1

| Issues 1.1–1.3 | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| Nos. 1–6 | O ₁ /R ₁ |
| Nos. 7–15 | O ₂ /R ₂ |
| No. 16 | O ₃ /R ₃ |
| No. 17 | O _? /R ₂ ? |
| Issue 1.4 | |
| No. 18 | O ₄ /R ₄ |

The obverse dies may be distinguished as follows: on O₁, the central legs are not attached to the body, but join each other just below the tunic; on O₂, the legs are more spindly than on O₁, and the front legs bend more sharply downwards; and on O₃, Geryon moves left, not right. O₄ is a smaller image.

The reverse dies may be distinguished as follows: on R₁, Hercules's head is smaller than on other reverses, and his left knee is raised slightly higher than on R₂; on R₃, Hercules's right elbow is raised higher than on the other dies; and R₄ is a different image. Some of the Hydra's heads (looking like tentacles) can be seen on O₂, most clearly on no. 12; one passes between the shield-arm and the body, and another touches the front of the shield. None of the specimens of O₁ show this convincingly, but this may be due to their poor conservation. In the case of no. 17, which pairs two "reverse" dies, the die on the left is probably R₂, judging by size of Hercules's head, and the presence of the Hydra's head between the body and the shield-arm; the die on the right is too poorly conserved for judgement.

Dating Group 1

The dating of Group 1 can be approached in two ways: through the overstrikes of no. 16; and through comparison with the largest of the central Italian issues, with Dionysus/panther types.

The Overstrikes of no. 16

No. 16 is a very confusing coin that shows four successive strikes, which I illustrate on pl. 1, and which I describe from the top down.

Layer 1 (a) is the Geryon/Hercules types of no. 16. I think layer 2 (b) is one of the many informal Central Italian issues of the late second and first century BC, and not a coin of a city mint. I have not, however, ever recorded such a coin:⁵

5. The iconography of Bellerophon on Pegasus striking downwards with a lance and the Chimaera is early, and is already fixed on fifth century BC Attic pottery. On coins, it appears on Corinthian triobols and bronzes of Leukas of the fourth century BC, and continues through RRC 395/1, L-COSSVTI C.F SABVLA, 72 BC, into Imperial times.

Obv. Chimaera standing right.

Rev. Bellerophon riding Pegasus right, and striking downwards with a spear.

In layer 3 (c), only the reverse is visible, the obverse having been obliterated by the later overstrikes. It is a prow right of a style used on post-*Lex Papiria asses*, struck between c. 91 BC (*RRC* 338, L·P·D·A·P, and *RRC* 339, Anonymous) and 88 BC (*RRC* 345, CN·LENTVL). This style is particularly common on *RRC* 341, Q·TITI, 90 BC. The diagnostic details are: the deck structure rendered as a single room with a peaked roof; directly below this the oar-box, “a reinforced bulge to protect the oars from side ramming ... represented as a solid square with an X within”;⁶ and the ship’s side below the mid-wale, or central reinforcing beam, rendered as a row of squares with central dots. I illustrate an *as* with a prow of this style as no. 19.

19. *RRC* 339/1a, anonymous *as*, c. 91 BC; British Museum, registration number R.8296.

Layer 4 (d) is the original coin that was first overstruck. The flan is triangular, but now much spread by the successive overstrikes. Only the obverse is visible, the reverse having been obliterated by later strikes.⁷ The wreathed head of Janus is characteristic of the Central Italian Assemblage, and, judging by the size of the head, it appears to be of the issues that I illustrate as nos. 20⁸ and 21; the coins illustrated share an obverse die, and the Janus type, with the usual value-mark, suggests that they were meant as *asses*, despite the weight.⁹

Obv. Laureate head of Janus; I above; all in laurel-wreath.

Rev. Laureate head of Saturn right; border of dots.

20. Æ 18 mm ↗ 5.50 g Liri 26.016

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

21. Æ 19 mm ↖ 3.20 g Liri 23.002

Comparison of Issues 1.1–3 with the Dionysus/panther issue

Group 1 is one of the heaviest central Italian issues (Table 2), and the issue with most consistent use of triangular flans.

6. McCabe (2013: 116).

7. The fact that the obverse of layer 3 and the reverse of layer 4 are not visible might suggest that the wreathed Janus and prow belong to a single coin. However, I know of no such coin in the Central Italian Assemblage, nor of such a prow type. Even if contemporaneous with the post-*Lex Papiria asses* these issues, it seems unlikely that a central Italian reverse would have adhered so closely to a Roman prototype. It is therefore most probable that these are separate layers.

8. Bahrfeldt (1904: 414, no. 62).

9. Stannard (2014: 374, fig. 6, no. 36) publishes an imitative Roman *quadrans* also struck over a coin like pl. 1, nos. 20 and 21, of this article. Stannard (2014: 371–373, fig. 5, nos. 18–33), illustrates a number of central Italian pieces that use Janus and value-mark types. They may be compared to the Janus/wreathed reverse Romano-Sicilian issues (Bahrfeldt 1904, group 1), of the second century BC, which *RPC* I (170) accepts as *asses*; these range in weight between 9 and 5 g.

Table 2. Metrology of Group 1

| | |
|--------------------|--------|
| N | 15 |
| Mean | 6.92 g |
| Standard Deviation | 0.84 g |

It is instructive to compare Group 1 with the largest issue of the Central Italian Assemblage, with Dionysus/panther types.¹⁰ I have recorded 300 weighed specimens, and have identified 85+ obverse and 115+ reverse dies, for a projected ± 130 obverse and ± 200 reverse dies, in a sample of 345 coins. The issue is characterized by an immediate and steady decline in weight, from about 10 to about 2 grams (discounting aberrant weights at both ends of the range), with no obvious intermediate steps, as Fig. 1 shows.

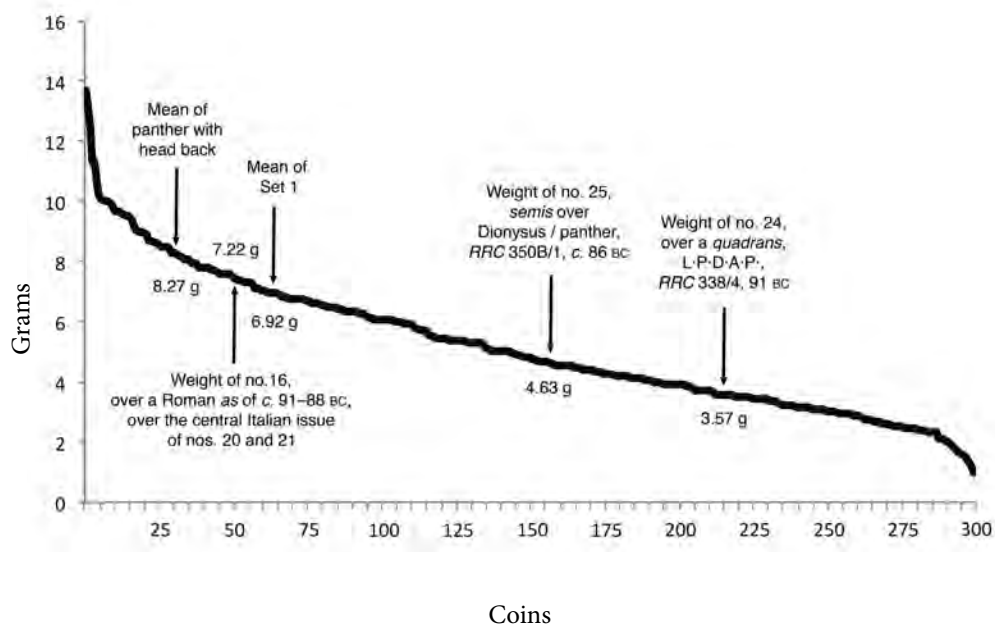


Figure 1. Decline in weight of the Dionysus/panther issue

In general, triangular flans cluster towards the beginning of the issue, at weights that are compatible with the weights of Group 1. Triangular flans become rarer as the issue progresses. The earliest part of the issue may be the type with the panther with the head turned back (no. 22), because this is always on triangular flans, and heavy (Table 3).

10. I discussed this issue in Stannard (1998: 212–213). I discuss it again, in the context of discoveries of coins of this type in Catalonia, in Stannard and Sinner (2014).

Table 3. Metrology of the type with the panther with the head turned back

| | |
|--------------------|--------|
| N | 12 |
| Mean | 8.27 g |
| Standard Deviation | 1.46 g |

Nos. 23–25 are the more usual reverse type, with the panther facing right. These three pieces show the decline in weight and in flan size. The heaviest examples are often on triangular flans.

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

Rev. Panther, with head turned back, bounding right; a thyrsus lying below; border of dots.

22. Æ 19mm ↓ 9.17 g BM uncertain 1909.5-4.2

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

23. Æ 21mm ← 8.64 g Madrid

24. Æ 18 mm ↘ 4.77 g Liri 11.041

25. Æ 11mm ↘ 1.62 g Liri 45.439

Overstrikes on Roman coins date the middle part of the Dionysus/panther issue: no. 26 is struck over a *quadrans* of 91 BC; and no. 27 is a *semis* of c. 86 BC, struck over this issue.

Over a *quadrans*, L·P·D·A·P·, RRC 338/4, c. 91 BC; ⚔ is visible to the right of Dionysus on the obverse, and a prow right at 1 o'clock on the reverse.

26. Æ 18mm ↖ 3.57 g Liri 26.007

Semis, RRC 350B/1, c. 86 BC, with prow left, over Dionysus/panther; the panther can be seen at 11 o'clock on the reverse

27. Æ 21mm ↙ 4.63 g Italo Vecchi Auction 3, 13 September 1996, no 586

The evidence of the Dionysus/panther issue concords with that of the overstrikes of no. 16. It places Group 1 in parallel to the beginning of Dionysus/panther issue. The lack of any plateau in the falling standard of that issue suggests that it was produced in crisis conditions,¹¹ and that it was of short duration. No. 16, with the Geryon/Hercules and Hydra types, must be later than the *as* undertype, which is probably of 91 or 90 BC. Group 1 probably lasted for a very short time, too.

The volume of the Dionysus/panther issue excludes their being *tesserae*; they must have been coins. Indeed, many of the Italo-Baetican issues—both the Baetican assemblage and the Central Italian Assemblage—carry value-marks, as *asses*, *trientes* and *quadrantes*.¹² Groups 1 and 2 are closely

11. There is no parallel to such a precipitous decline in standards in Roman bronze at the beginning of the first century BC; the phenomenon is specific to this issue.

12. Stannard (1995 (c), and 2005) describe a variety of issues with uncial values. Stannard (2014: 371, fig. 5) illustrates many Central Italian Assemblage issues with Janus and value-mark types.

linked by fabric, overstrikes one on another, and shared names, and I therefore regard them both as having had monetary value.

Like Group 1, most specimens of the Dionysus/panther issue come from the Liri at Minturnae. The Dionysus/panther issue circulated up to and beyond Rome,¹³ where a number of as yet unpublished specimens have appeared in recent excavations in Piazza Vittorio, in the area of the Horti Lamiani, in Rome.¹⁴ I have recorded a number of specimens found just north of Rome (including no. 14), and in Ostia.¹⁵ Rare specimens occur as far away as Cosa,¹⁶ Bolsena,¹⁷ Roselle,¹⁸ Gualdo Tadino in Umbria,¹⁹ Lattes²⁰ and Narbonne²¹ in southern France, Emporion and Cabrera de Mar²² in Catalonia, and in Albania.²³ This wide distribution is not surprising, given the size of the issue. On the other hand, I know no specimen from Pompeii, and very few coins of the Central Italian Assemblage generally, despite having worked with many coins from excavations into late Hellenistic strata there in recent years, and having reviewed the material from old excavations in the Museum at Naples.²⁴ The fact that Pompeii revolted from Rome in the Social War, and so probably did not receive many coins from the areas of Roman domination, and my analysis of the metrology and overstrikes of the Dionysus/panther issue, suggest that it must be dated to the Social War period, as must therefore Group 1. The circulation pattern of the Dionysus/panther issue suggests that both it and Group 1 were struck by some philo-Roman group, perhaps *publicani*. This raises many very interesting questions. Where and how was it put into circulation? In what milieu did it circulate?

The Dionysus/panther issue and Group 1 must also be placed in the wider chronology of the Italo-Baetican series in general. The highest certain date I know is for struck lead pieces, including some certainly of the Central Italian Assemblage that were found in the shipwreck off Isla Pedrosa in Catalonia, which are dated by associated ceramics to c. 150/130 BC.²⁵ Other issues (cf. issue 2.1, below) were struck after the end of the Social War. Whatever group issued them therefore appears to have had at least half a century of activity, so that it was not purely a phenomenon of the Social War. In the Baetican assemblage, a number of coins carry the legend, Γ.S, which has been read as *publica societas*, with

13. Traviani (1983: inv. 363827). Molinari (1995: 139) publishes a poorly preserved and so unillustrated piece from the excavations at the *Meta Sudans*: “Soltanto una moneta è stata rinvenuta in un contest così antico. Sebbene l'esemplare non sia di buono stato di conservazione, e quindi di difficile lettura, l'identificazione del pezzo si può ritenere corretta ... proviene da una fase di abbandono della via *glareata*, in uso almeno dalla fine del IV secolo a.C. alla metà del III a.C. Sulla scorta delle evidenze stratigrafiche la conclusione della fase di abbandono non può essere datata oltre la metà del II a.C.; in tale limite cronologico va collocate anche la serie monetale in questione.” Also Cesano (1932, 85), “Questo pezzo comunissimo ... Nel Medagliere del Museo Nazionale Romano ne sono conservati parecchi es. anepigrafi, di provenienza ignota, ma con la maggiore probabilità ritrovati nelle terre laziali, nel Tevere presso Roma ed a Roma stessa.”

14. I thank Giacomo Pardini for this information.

15. Including Spagnoli (2003: fig. 2 = 315, catalogue no. 9).

16. Buttrey (1980: 39, no. 6).

17. Garrucci (1885: 59-60).

18. De Benedetti and Catalli (2013: 84, no. 10), “Zecca incerta (Minturtnae)?”

19. Ranucci (forthcoming).

20. Py (2006, vol. 1: 598, no. 1540).

21. I thank Simone Scheers for this information.

22. Stannard and Sinner (2014, no. 1).

23. Cesano (1932: 58; pl. VI, no. 8), “monete raccolte sparsamente sul suolo illiro-epirotico dalla Missione Italiana.”

24. I thank the Keeper of the Coin Cabinet, Teresa Giove, for having allowed me to do this research.

25. Richard and Villaronga (1975), which I discuss in Stannard (1995 (c): 88-92, 2005: 50-57, and Stannard and Sinner figs 11 and 12).

the implication that this is a “company coinage”, issued by those exploiting Spanish oil-production.²⁶ This legend, however, is not present in the Central Italian Assemblage.

GROUP 2 (PLATE 2)

The Coins

Group 2 comprises two issues. The larger piece (issue 2.1)—of which I know only two specimens, from a single pair of dies—shows Hercules and the Nemean lion. Issues 2.2 and 2.3—which do not use Hercules types—are probably fractions of issue 2.1, as issue 2.2 carries a similar legend (L·CA/S SI and CA SI).

Issue 2.1. Hercules and lion/Hercules and Antaeus; L·CA/S SI

Obv. Hercules standing left, strangling the Nemean lion; L·CA down to left; club to right; border of dots.

Rev. Hercules standing facing, lifting Antaeus of the ground by the waist; S up to left and SI up to right; all in a wreath.

28. Æ 21 mm ← 6.45 g Liri 100.088 = Numismatica Ars Classica 8, 3 March 1995

29. Æ 21 mm ↖ Winterthur casts, with the mention “Parma aus Korinth”

Issue 2.2. Lyre/goat and kid; M·V/CA SI

Obv. Goat standing left, with kid suckling right; CA up before, SI above; border of dots.

Rev. Lyre; M·V up to right; border of dots.

30. Æ 16 mm ↘ 2.46 g Liri 14.026

31. Æ 17 mm ↗ 1.87 g Copenhagen uncertain

32. Æ 15 mm ↗ Liri 32.003

Issue 2.3. Lyre/goat and kid; M·V/IC

Obv. As nos. 30–33, but no legend.

Rev. As nos. 30–33, but M·V down to left, IC to up to right; border of dots.

33. Æ 16 mm ↘ 2.80 g Berlin no ref.

34. Æ 16 mm ↖ 2.65 g Liri 14.027

26. García-Bellido (1986: 29–30) mentions both mining and oil-production, but Claude Domergue has advised me (personal communication) that he sees no evidence of these series being linked to mining.

The dies, metrology and dates of Group 2

Group 2 uses a number of obverse and reverse dies (Table 4).

Table 4. The dies of Group 2

| Issue 2.1 | |
|------------------|--------------------------------|
| Nos. 28 & 29 | O ₁ /R ₁ |
| Issues 2.2 & 2.3 | |
| No. 30 | O ₂ /R ₂ |
| No. 31 | O ₂ /R ₃ |
| No. 32 | O ₂ /R ₄ |
| No. 33 & 34 | O ₃ /R ₅ |

In the case of O₂, the legend may appear to be absent (no. 30), or partially absent (no. 32), but this is the result of imperfect strikes. The O₃ goat is smaller than the O₂ goat. Reverse dies R₂–R₅ may be distinguished by the legends: R₃ and R₄ carry the same legend, but the shape and lay-out of the letters differs.

The only known weight for issue 2.1 (6.45 g, no. 28) would fit with issue 1. The known coins of Group 2 do not use triangular flans, but many of the issues of the Central Italian Assemblage do not use only such flans. The weights of issue 2.2 are similar to issue 1.4 (no. 18, 2.34 g).

One of the two specimens of issue 2.1, and three of the five specimens of issue 2.2, have a Liri provenance. The wreath surrounding the Hercules and Antaeus type on the reverse of issue 2.1 is characteristic of much of the Central Italian Assemblage. I am therefore reasonably certain that Group 2 was produced either at Minturnae, or somewhere else in southern Latium. The obverse type of issue 2.1 was copied from the denarius, *RRC* 380/1, C·POBLICI·Q·F, of 80 BC (pl. 5, E). I therefore propose to date Group 2 to the second quarter of the first century BC. This means that some issues of the Central Italian Assemblage continued to be produced after the end of the Social War.

GROUP 3 (PLATES 3 AND 4)

The Coins

Issue 3.1. Hercules and the Hydra; L·COS/Hercules and Antaeus

Obv. Hercules right, club raised in his right hand, grasping the Hydra of Lerna with his left hand; L·C to left, O between Hercules's legs and S below Hydra; border of dots.

Rev. Hercules, right, lifting Antaeus, left, off the ground; border of dots.

| | | | | |
|-------|-------|---|--------|---|
| 35. Æ | 21 mm | ↘ | 4.30 g | Paris 637 |
| 36. Æ | 17 mm | ↙ | 2.56 g | Brussels Inv. II, 15013 |
| 37. Æ | 12 mm | | 3.81 g | Lindgren (1193, 1646) |
| 38. Æ | 21 mm | ↓ | 3.04 g | Berlin IB |
| 39. Æ | 20 mm | ← | 3.86 g | Munich uncertain |
| 40. Æ | 18 mm | | | British Museum uncertain SP pl. 6/10 |
| 41. Æ | 20 mm | ↘ | 3.86 g | Vienna 32769 |
| 42. Æ | 20 mm | → | 3.49 g | Found just north of Rome (44.031) |
| 43. Æ | 19 mm | ↓ | 3.98 g | Forum Ancient Coins stock no. 24952, 28 November 2008 |

Issue 3.2. Hercules and the hydra; L·COS/Victory in a biga ; L·COS

Rev. Victory driving a biga right, holding out a wreath; ·L· above horses' heads; COS below horses.

| | | | | |
|-------|-------|---|--------|-------------------------------------|
| 44. Æ | 18 mm | ↖ | 3.02 g | Liri 4.204 |
| 45. Æ | 16 mm | ↗ | 1.95 g | Liri 14.020 |
| 46. Æ | 18 mm | ↗ | 2.65 g | Said to be found just north of Rome |
| 47. Æ | 20 mm | ↗ | 3.22 g | Fitzwilliam McClean illegible |
| 48. Æ | 17 mm | | 3.08 g | Nummorum Auctiones 6, 876 |
| 49. Æ | 21 mm | ↑ | 3.69 g | Paris Z3156 |

Overstruck; a small bearded and laureate head right can be seen on the reverse.

Issue 3.3. Hercules and the Ceryneian hind/Cupid on a cock; A C or C A

Obv. Hercules kneeling on the back of the fallen hind of Ceryneia, both right, grasping its antlers; border of dots.

Rev. Winged Cupid riding a cockerel right; A between their heads; C below the cockerel's chest; border of dots.

| | | | | |
|-------|-------|---|--------|--|
| 50. Æ | 17 mm | | 2.66 g | Künker 97, 31 February-6 March 2005, no. 167 |
| 51. Æ | 17 mm | ↑ | | Liri 51.010 |
| 52. Æ | 15 mm | ↙ | 1.12 g | Liri 100.021 |
| 53. Æ | 18 mm | ↘ | 3.20 g | Liri 14.021 |
| 54. Æ | 14 mm | ↘ | 1.13 g | Liri 14.023 |
| 55. Æ | 16 mm | | 2.03 g | Paris |
| 56. Æ | 17 mm | → | 1.87 g | Liri 100.022 |

Overstruck; the image under the reverse is unclear, but is probably a trophy at 11 o'clock.

| | | | | |
|-------|-------|---|--------|-------------|
| 57. Æ | 15 mm | ↖ | 1.57 g | Liri 14.280 |
| 58. Æ | 15 mm | ↘ | 2.09 g | Liri 14.022 |
| 59. Æ | 14 mm | ↙ | 1.36 g | Liri 14.281 |

60. Æ Sestini (1796: 571, no. 7; pl. XIII, no. 4²⁷)
 61. Æ Riggauer 1881: 91; pl. 1, no. 24)

Issue 3.4. Hercules and two centaurs/Two gladiators fighting

Obv. Hercules in a biga drawn by two centaurs; border of dots.

Rev. Two gladiators, with round shields, fighting; the one on the left holds a whip, the right, a sword; border of dots.

| | | | | | |
|-------|-------|---|--------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 62. Æ | 17 mm | ↑ | 2.44 g | Berlin 8158 IB | |
| 63. Æ | 18 mm | ✓ | 2.38 g | Vienna 32700 | |
| 64. Æ | 17 mm | ↑ | 2.69 g | Copenhagen uncertain | |
| 65. Æ | 18 mm | ← | 3.22 g | Madrid | |
| 66. Æ | 17 mm | ↖ | 2.03 g | Paris Z3144 | |
| 67. Æ | 17 mm | → | 2.75 g | Paris Z3145 | |
| 68. Æ | 16 mm | ✓ | 1.68 g | Liri 14.025 | Pierced. |
| 69. Æ | 17 mm | | 1.78 g | Liri 14.024 | Reverse eroded away. |

Group 3 is not linked by fabric, or legend, to any issues of the Italo-Baetican series, so I regard it as a set of *tesserae* with coordinated Hercules types. It has not before been published in its entirety. In 1796, however, Domenico Sestini published a specimen of issue 3.3 (Hercules and the Ceryneian hind/Cupid on a cock, illustrated here as no. 60),²⁸ and speculated as to which city may have struck it. The C below the cock's chest was not visible on this specimen, and he read the solitary A as probably the ethnic of Apollonia in Sicily.

Medaglia de M. *Sanclamente*, e nella quale non se ha se non una sola lettera, cioè un A. principio della Città a cui appartenere deve; ma è difficile l'indovinarne la vera seda, ignorando anche la vera provenienza, con tuttociò sembra di qualche Città di Sicilia, e forse l'unica di Appollonia.

In 1881, Hans Riggauer illustrated the reverse of a piece of this issue in Vienna (here, pl. 4, no. 61)—which, judging from the pattern of die-breaks on the right in the two images, seems to be the same piece—and deduced that the A did not indicate a town.

Das Wiener Cabinet besitzt eine nach Apollonia Cretae gewiesene Münze, die auf der einen Seite Herakles zeigt, der einen Hirsch zu Boden drückt; die andere Seite zeigt Eros auf einem Hahn reitend, die Zügel führend; rechts in Felde A. Das A hat offenbar zur Deutung auf Apollonia Anlass gegeben, wofür gar nicht spricht. Ich vermuthete, dass wir es nur mit einer Marke zu thun haben.²⁹

27. The artist has misinterpreted the cock's hind leg as being Cupid's right leg.

28. Sestini (1796: 571, no. 7; pl. XIII, no. 4).

29. Riggauer (1881: 91; pl. 1, no. 24).

It is not clear how the piece came to be attributed to Crete in the Vienna Cabinet. Svoronos agreed with Riggauer:

Nous avons reçu de Vienne, comme appartenant à [la ville de Apollonia] la pièce suivante : *Héraclès* domptant le cerf. Grènetis./A dans le champ. *Eros* sur un coq. Grènetis. Cette pièce a déjà été publiée par M. le d^r Hans Riggauer qui la regarde, avec raison, je crois, comme une tessère plutôt que comme une monnaie. Ses types sont sans aucun autre exemple en Crète.³⁰

With this, scholars' interest in the piece seems to have fallen away. I have not traced other discussion of this piece, or of the other issues in the group.

The dies, metrology, overstrikes and dating of Group 3

Four obverse and five reverse dies were used in Group 3. All dies are readily distinguished, except in issue 3.3. Issue 3.3 uses two obverse dies: on O₂, Hercules is bigger, leans further forward, and holds the hind's horns lower than on O₃. It also uses two reverse dies, which may be differentiated by the slant of the letter A: on R₄, A is rotated clockwise at an angle of about 45° from the vertical; on R₄, A is vertical.

Table 5. The dies of Group 3

| | | |
|------------|------------------|--------------------------------|
| | Issue 3.1 | |
| Nos. 35–43 | | O ₁ /R ₁ |
| | Issue 3.2 | |
| Nos. 44–49 | | O ₁ /R ₂ |
| | Issue 3.3 | |
| Nos. 50–52 | | O ₂ /R ₃ |
| Nos. 53–56 | | O ₃ /R ₃ |
| Nos. 58–61 | | O ₃ /R ₄ |
| | Issue 3.4 | |
| Nos. 62–69 | | O ₄ /R ₅ |

Table 5 provides the metrology of Group 3. It is interesting how much the issues differ, despite quite a large sample. I do not think it has any significance.

30. Svoronos (1890: 9, no. 1).

Table 6. Metrology of Group 3

| | All | Issue 3.1 | Issue 3.2 | Issue 3.3 | Issue 3.4 |
|--------------------|--------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| N | 30 | 7 | 6 | 9 | 8 |
| Mean | 2.61 g | 3.51 g | 2.94 g | 1.89 g | 2.37 g |
| Standard Deviation | 0.84 g | 0.53 g | 0.59 g | 0.83 g | 0.52 g |

There are two obvious overstrikes in Group 3: no. 49 and no. 56; unfortunately, neither is easily identifiable. Elements of the undertype of no. 56 that extend beyond the image of the oertype include a spear, perhaps a mace, and a cross attached to a pole coming from the centre of the coin; the image may perhaps be a trophy. The undertype of no. 49 is a bearded and laureate head right. Both undertypes are probably parts of the Central Italian Assemblage, but I do not know the actual coins.

Of the 33 real pieces (that is, not considering the images, nos. 60 and 61), 12 can be provenanced to the Liri. It is therefore almost certain that these pieces belong to the Central Italian Assemblage. They appear to be *tesserae*, that is, with no evident exchange value. It is interesting to see that two specimens were found just north of Rome, because I have argued that the dearth of small change in the first century BC led to many foreign coins being pressed into daily use, and to the phenomenon of pseudo-mints.³¹ I think it highly likely that these *tesserae* joined this pool of small change.

Three of the types used in Group 3 are copied from Roman *denarii* and help date it. The prototype of the obverse of issue 3.4 is *RRC* 229/1, M·AVRELI COTA, 139 BC (pl. 9, X), and of the reverse is *RRC* 294/1, T·DEIDI, of 113/112 BC (pl. 9, Y). Victory in a biga (the reverse of issue 3.2) is a standard type for Roman *denarii* between the 180s and the 130s BC. Group 3 therefore dates to the very late second century BC, or sometime in the first half of the first century BC, but it is not possible to place it more precisely, or in relation to Group 1 and the Social War.

The programmatic way in which the group presents a number of the Labors of Hercules and associated types, in a coordinated manner, may suggest that it was made in or for some center of a Hercules cult. The quality of the engraving is high. The number of specimens that have come down to us suggests that the number struck was quite large.

THE ICONOGRAPHY (PLATES 5–9)

These issues testify to the great popularity of Hercules in Roman first century BC Italy, and to a rich and ancient iconographic repertoire on which to draw. Six of the twelve Labors, which King Eurystheus of Tiryns set for Hercules, and related exploits, are pictured. A number of non-Herculean types accompany them. Some of these types were previously used on coinage, others not.

³¹ Stannard and Frey-Kupper (2008), Frey-Kupper and Stannard (2010), Stannard and Pardini (2011), and Stannard and Carbone (2013).

On plates 5–9, I show examples of the relevant images from the pieces catalogued,³² at twice life-size, and I have, where useful, combined images from different pieces, to make as complete a representation as possible.

Strabo³³ reports that a Roman commander carried off to Rome a group of sculptures of the Labors of Hercules by Lycippos, the renowned sculptor of the fourth century BC, because they were lying about in a sacred precinct at Alyzia, in Acarnania, a deserted region. They may have been made about 314 BC, when Lycippos was working for Cassander, and Alyzia became a polis.³⁴ The statues probably reached Rome at some time in the second century BC. They were to be very influential in fixing the iconography of the Labors.

First Labor. The Nemean lion (Plate 5)

Hercules and the Nemean lion is one of the most pictured of the Labors, from early times. In the version shown on issue 2.1, Hercules strangles the lion, with both arms clasped together around its neck, from above, so that the back of the lion's head is squashed against Hercules's chest, with the jaws pointing harmlessly downwards. There are many numismatic precedents for images of this Labor. Hercules kneeling (so shortening and fitting the image to the circle of a coin) is found, for example, on a gold 100 *litrae* of Dionysos I of Syracuse, 405–367 BC (A), and on silver diobols of c. 325–280 BC, at Tarentum, Calabria (B), and other cities. A standing and half-facing Hercules is found on silver staters of Herakleia, Lucania, of c. 390–340 BC (C), on Tarantine diobols, and on bronzes of Suessa, Latium, of c. 265–240 BC (D). On all these coins, Hercules faces right. In Group 2, Hercules faces left, as he does on the denarius, *RRC* 380/1, C·POBLICI·Q·F, of 80 BC (E), which is, in all probability, the immediate prototype. This iconography reflects Lycippos's statue, and is much used on Roman engraved gems of the first century BC.³⁵

Second Labor. The Lernaen hydra (Plate 5)

The struggle against the Hydra, with its many venomous heads, is a very ancient part of the Hercules cycle. The image of Hercules, a club raised high in his right hand to strike the monster, appears in the Archaic period, but he is usually helped by his nephew, Iolaos, who gave him the firebrand to cauterize the necks, as he decapitated the hydra. (Because of this help, Eurystheus disallowed the Labor.) Later images show Hercules alone, as on a Greek engraved gem of the fourth century BC (F). This pose, ready to strike overarm, is exactly reproduced on a Roman engraved gem of the first century BC. Hercules in the pose of issues 1.1 and 3.2, with a more sideways strike, is found on a coin of Phaistos, Crete (G), of the early third century BC.³⁶ This pose continues beyond our pieces, into Roman Provincial coinage in the third century AD (I), and even into Christian catacomb painting of the fourth century AD (J).

32. Victory in a biga is such a common type on Roman *denarii*, that I do not bother with it. Nor do I consider the non-Herculean types of issues 2.2 and 2.3.

33. *Geography*, 10.2.21.

34. Moreno (1984: 119).

35. Toso (2007: 174).

36. Le Rider (1966: pl. XXIII, 23).

Third Labor. The Ceryneian Hind (Plate 6)

The image in issue 3.3, of Hercules mastering the Ceryneian Hind, is not used in Roman Republican coinage. The model is Lycippos's statue from Alyzia, which clearly made a great impact. K illustrates a bronze statue in the Museum at Palermo, which copies the Lycippean original. The Ceryneian Hind is not a common image on Roman engraved gems, although known on Greek archaic and Etruscan gems. The first few, rare gems to use the type are of the first century BC.³⁷ The image in issue 3.3 may therefore be the first use on a coin or *tessera*. It is unlikely to have come directly from Lycippos's statue, and one of those rare gems is probably the immediate precursor.

As in the case of Lycippos's statue, in both images Hercules is not wearing his emblematic lion's skin, and is beardless. In the images of Hercules that appear on coins and medals in Imperial times (L), which maintain the basic construction of Hercules kneeling on the animal's back, and gripping its horns, he usually wears the lion's skin and is bearded. This may not reflect another prototype, but the addition of Hercules's attributes, for completeness.

Accompanying type: Cupid-on-a-cockerel (Plate 6)

In issue 3.3, the accompanying type—a winged Cupid on a cockerel—is not part of the Hercules cycle, and it is unclear why it should be paired with it. In Roman art, Cupid rides a number of creatures. On Republican coins, he rides a dolphin (*RRC* 390/2, L-LVCRETI TRIO, 76 BC; *RRC* 463/3, MN-CORDIVS RVFVS, 46 BC), or a goat (*RRC* 353/1 & 2, MN-FONTEI C-F, 85 BC), but not a cockerel. In the ceramic votive, N, he rides a cockerel. Cupid-on-a-cockerel occurs occasionally on engraved gems,³⁸ but, where Cupid rides a bird, it is most usually a goose, the attribute of his mother, Venus (pl. 6, M & O). This icon, then, does not seem to go back to an important prototype, but to be an image from popular culture.

Tenth Labor. The Cattle of Geryon (Plate 7)

The story of Geryon and his cattle is ancient. The first mention is in Hesiod.³⁹ Stesichorus of Himera (c. 640–555 BC) wrote a long Homeric *Geryoneis*, set in the far west, on the mythical Island of Erythia,⁴⁰ which can be seen as a response to the experience of colonization.⁴¹ A complex and articulated story was established at a very early stage. The outside of a *kylix* painted by Euphronios (P) illustrates the two key episodes in the iconography: the fight with Geryon, and the driving off of his cattle.

The image of Geryon on issues 1.1 and 1.2 and 1.3 is particularly interesting, because I do not know of the image of Geryon alone on coinage or *tesserae*, except on these pieces, and it is extremely rare on gems.⁴² I have not been able to find a direct prototype for our pieces. Geryon alone does appear on mosaics in Imperial times (Q). The story of Geryon is also used on a number of Roman

37. Toso (2007: 171 & fn. 17).

38. Cf. Furtwängler (1895, nos. 8532, 8533, 7525).

39. *Theogony*, 287.

40. Blázquez (2008).

41. Franzen (2009).

42. Toso (2007: 171, fn. 18).

Provincial coins—including of Geta and Gallienus in Perinthos, Thrace, and in Alexandria under Antoninus Pius (R)—though it is not the fight with Geryon, or Geryon alone, that is pictured, but rather Hercules driving off the cattle.

Virgil, Propertius, Ovid, Livy and others appropriated and extended the story. While driving the herd back to Tiryns, Hercules fell asleep on the Aventine Hill in Rome, and Cacus, son of Vulcan, stole some of the cattle, driving them backwards, to hide where they were going. Betrayed by Caca, his sister, or by the lowing of the captured animals, Cacus was killed by Hercules, who set up an altar in the *Forum Boarium*.⁴³ There seems little doubt that the capture of the cattle of Geryon was more significant than the fight, in the understanding of the period, which makes the Geryon alone type so unusual.

Eleventh Labor. The apples of the Hesperides. Antaeus (Plate 8)

The story of Antaeus was also ancient, and much used on Attic Pottery.⁴⁴ There, the image is almost always of the pair wrestling on the ground, as on the crater by Euphronios in the Louvre, or on the amphora in the British Museum (S). The image of Antaeus lifted from the ground, on issues 1.1 and 1.3, appears to have been an Italian invention, and perhaps first as a coin type: “The first visual evidence of Herakles lifting him from the ground is a Tarantine coin of the third century BC [T], and the first written source stating that Antaeus drew his strength from the Earth is Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 9.183–4).”⁴⁵ The same image as on our coins appears in the Tomb of the Nasonii, on the Via Flaminia, excavated in 1674, which dates to c. 150 BC (U). It is quite common on Roman Republican engraved gems.⁴⁶ It remained popular on Roman provincial coinage, for example, in Tarsos in Cilicia, Nikaia in Bithynia, and at Alexandria (V).

Hercules in a biga drawn by centaurs (Plate 9)

Issue 3.4 is thematically linked into the Hercules cycle by the centaurs, who in this case draw a biga. The centaur is an ambivalent creature: the centaur, Cheiron, educated Achilles and was a friend of Hercules, and the centaur, Pholos, entertained him on his way to capture the Erymanthian Boar. But Hercules also fights and kills many of them after they are driven wild by the smell of an open wine-jar. The fight between the centaurs and the Lapiths is emblematic of Greek order fighting wild chaos.

The image on issue 3.4 might, at first glance, appear to show Hercules, carrying a shield on his right arm, walking up behind the centaurs, but the reins in his left hand are clear: the “shield” is in fact the front of the chariot basket, in which Hercules stands. The image is probably derived from the denarius, *RRC* 229/1, M·AVRELI COTA, of 139 BC (X). Some differences in the two images—on the *tesserae*, the centaurs do not carry branches, and walk; on the denarius, they do, and gallop—may indicate that our image is not a direct copy, but part of the same tradition. Crawford comments that “the coin type should be regarded as an artistic variant of the normal Hercules in a biga type, perhaps

43. Capdeville (1995: 98–146).

44. Brize (1998).

45. Marsh (1999: 11).

46. Toso (2007: 185).

chosen to highlight Hercules as a conqueror.”⁴⁷ More simply, it shows the standard artistic conceit, whereby the attributes drawing the biga characterise the divinity: examples are Juno drawn by goats (*RRC* 231/1), Venus by cupids (*RRC* 320/1), Diana by stags (*RRC* 336/1), Ceres by snakes (*RRC* 385/4 and 491/2), and Cybele by lions (*RRC* 385/4 and 491/2).

Accompanying type: Victory in warriors fighting

The other face of issue 3.4 is copied from the denarius, T·DEIDI, *RRC* 294/1, of 113 or 112 BC (Y).

SOURCE OF IMAGES ON PLATES 5 TO 9

Plate 5

- A. Sicily, Syracuse, AU 100 *litrae*, Dionysios I, 405–367 BC, *SNG ANS* 327–328. Nomos, Auction 3, 10 May 2011, lot 29.
- B. Calabria, Tarentum, AR diobol, c. 325–280 BC, *HN Italy* 976. Leu Numismatik, Auction 86, 5 May 2003, lot 208.
- C. Lucania, Herakleia, AR stater, c. 330 BC, *HN Italy* 1378. Roma Numismatics, Auction 2, 2 October 2011, lot 17.
- D. Campania, Suessa, Æ 21, c. 265–240 BC, *HN Italy* 448. Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 64, 17 May 2015, lot 1993.
- E. Rome, denarius, *RRC* 380/1, C·POBLICI·Q·F, 80 BC. Heritage-Gemini, Signature Ancient Coins Auction, 14 April 2011, lot 192.
- F. A Greek engraved garnet of the fourth century BC, set in a second century AD Roman ring. British Museum, no. 1814.0704.1380.
- G. Crete, Phaistos, AR stater, c. 280 BC, Le Rider 1966: pl. XXIII, no. 23. LHS Numismatik, Auction 95, 25 October 2005, lot 638.
- H. Roman engraved onyx, first century BC. Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum: *AGD* III, no. B.23; Toso 2007: 176; pl. XXI, no. 77.
- I. Thrace, Hadrianopolis, Gordian III, AD 238–244, Æ 25 mm. Jurukova 1987, 641. Classical Numismatic Group, coin shop, no. 750448.
- J. Catacombs of the Via Latina, fourth century AD. Image from the Archivio Storico FMR e dell’Archivio Gualdoni.

Plate 6

- K. Roman bronze statue, copying Lycippos, first century BC. Museo Archeologico Regionale di Palermo.
- L. Thrace, Anchialos, Æ medallion, Gordian III, AD 238–244. *AMNG* 622. Gemini, Auction III, 9 January 2007, lot 433.
- M. Hellenistic faience vase in the form of a winged Eros riding a cock, probably made in Alexandria,

47. *RRC*: 263.

c. 300/250 BC, said to be from a tomb in Tanagra, Boeotia. British Museum, no. 1875,1110.2.

- N. Hellenistic ceramic of Eros, wearing a crown of ivy, riding on a cockerel, third century BC? Photo: Rien Bongers.
- O. Detail from a mosaic of Neptune, Amphitrite, sea monsters and Erotes riding birds and dolphins, in the Bardo Museum, Tunis, from Utica, third century AD? Photo: Sarah Cornell.

Plate 7

- P. Attic red-figured *kylix* by Euphronios (painter) and Kachrylion (potter), 510–500 BC, from Vulchi. Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich, inv. 2620. From Harrison and MacColl. 1894.
- Q. Detail of a mosaic from Lliria, Spain, first half of the third century AD. Museo Arqueológico Nacional de España, Madrid. Photo: Jan O'Hara.
- R. Egypt, Alexandria, Antoninus Pius, Æ drachm. Geißen 1978, 1350. Triton V Auction, 16 January 2002, lot 1776.

Plate 8

- S. Attic black-figured amphora, attributed to the Leagros Group, c. 510–500 BC. British Museum, no. 1843,1103.14.
- T. Calabria, Tarentum, AR diobol, c. 325–280 BC, *HN Italy* 1063. Classical Numismatic Group, Auction 76, 12 September 2007, lot 51.
- U. Drawing of the now lost painting in the Tomb of the Nasonii, Bartoli and Bartoli 1706: tav. XIII.
- V. Egypt, Alexandria, Antoninus Pius, AD 138–161, Æ drachm, of AD 142/3. *BMC* 1054. Triton, Auction XI, lot 531.

Plate 9

- W. Rome, denarius, M·AVRELI COTA, *RRC* 229/1a, 139 BC. Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger, Auction 384, 2 November 2005, lot 492.
- X. Rome, denarius, T·DEIDI, *RRC* 294/1, 113 or 112 BC. Private collection.

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- AGD III = Gercke, P., V. Scherf and Zazoff, P. 1970. *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen. III. Braunschweig, Göttingen, Kassel*. Weisbaden.
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- RPC I = Burnett, Andrew, Michel Amandry, and Pere Pau Ripolles. 1992. *Roman Provincial Coinage, vol. I (From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44BC – AD 69))*. London and Paris.
- RRC = Crawford, Michael H. 1974. *Roman Republican Coinage*. Cambridge.

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PLATE 1

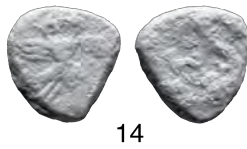
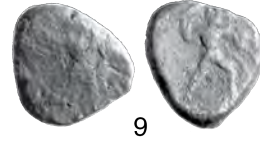


PLATE 2



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PLATE 3

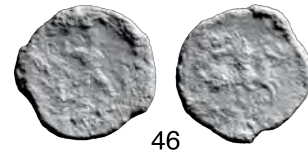
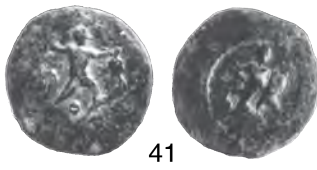


PLATE 4



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PLATE 5



A



B



C



D



29



E



7 + 11



35 + 44



F



G



H



I



J

PLATE 6

53



L



K

53 + 54



M

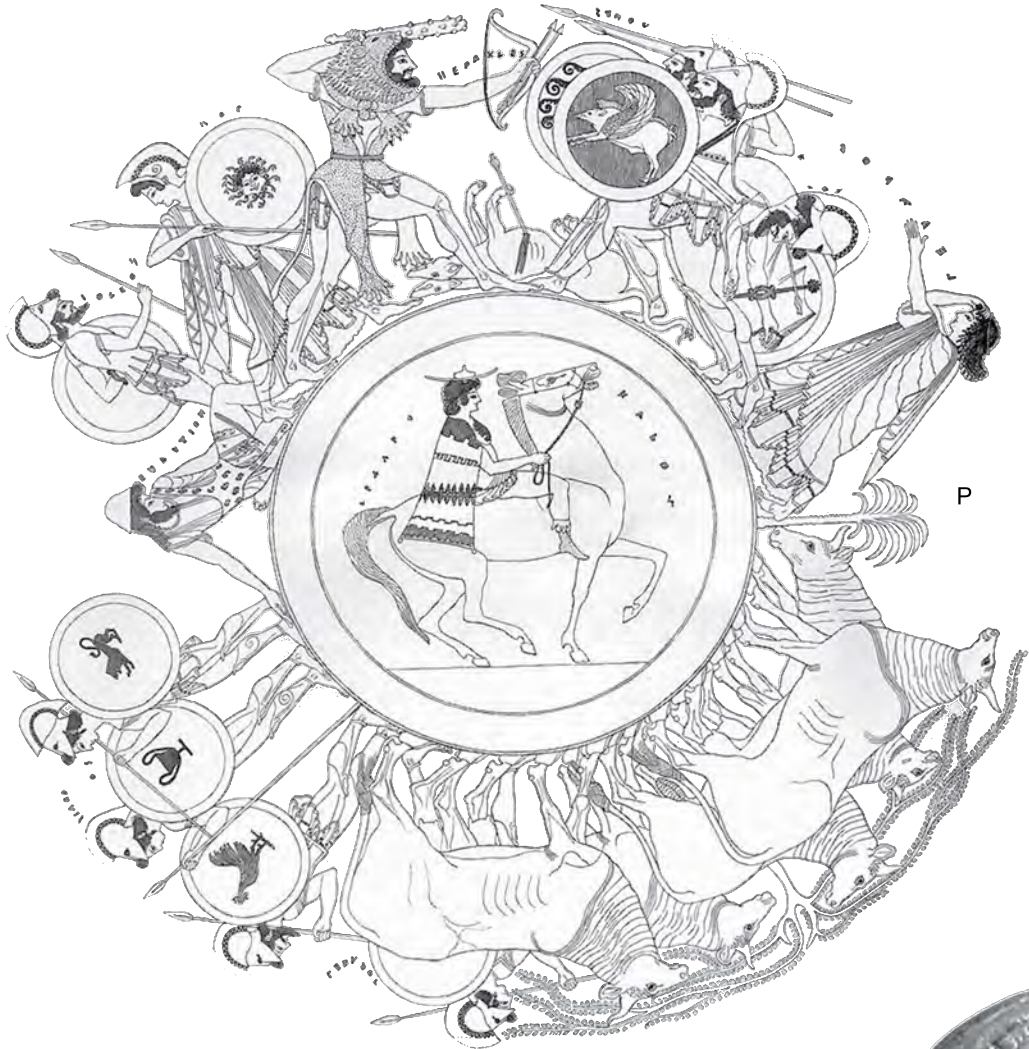


N



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PLATE 7



P



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PLATE 8



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36



T



U



V

PLATE 9

69 + 62



X



62 + 67
+ 66



Y

