

EBUSUS Y POMPEYA, CIUDADES MARÍTIMAS. TESTIMONIOS MONETALES DE UNA RELACIÓN

EBUSUS E POMPEI, CITTÀ MARITTIME.

TESTIMONIANZE MONETALI DI UNA RELAZIONE

ALICIA ARÉVALO GONZÁLEZ, DARÍO BERNAL CASASOLA Y DANIELA COTTICA

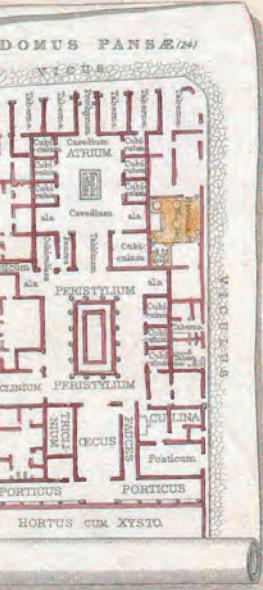
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- NOTE
- 1 Tomb with a marble door
 - 2 Tomb of Malleus
 - 3 Funeral Triclinium
 - 4 General Henchy or Circular Seat
 - 5 D.P. unexcavated
 - 6 Pedestal for the Statue of the Tetrarchy
 - 7 Gate leading to Herculaneum
 - 8 Stairs leading to the Upper
 - 9 House of the Triclinium
 - 10 Thermopolium
 - 11 House of the Vettii
 - 12 Gustum House
 - 13 Public Fountain
 - 14 House of a Musician
 - 15 Lodging Houses of Julius Polybius
 - 16 House of a Surgeon
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 - 18 House of Narcissus

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- 18 House of Narcissus
- 19 House of the Fauna-Dancers
- 20 Barberhouse
- 21 House of Sallust
- 22 House of a Doctor
- 23 House of the Three Graces
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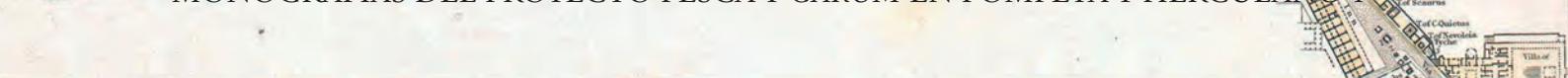


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MONOGRAFÍAS DEL PROYECTO PESCA Y GARUM EN POMPEYA Y HERCULANO I



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Are Ebusan coins at Pompeii, and the Pompeian pseudo-mint, a sign of intensive contacts with the island of *Ebusus*?

CLIVE STANNARD

Introduction

For many years, I have been documenting the strange phenomenon of the presence of massive numbers of Ebusan coin at Pompeii, linked to an equally massive production of coins imitating — and mixing — Ebusan, Massaliot, Roman, and other types, almost certainly at Pompeii itself.

Attilio Stazio (1955) first drew attention to the fact that coins of Ebusan type were common at Pompeii, on the basis of a purse-hoard from the sewers of a bath. He did not realise that many the apparently Ebusan coins of a very rudimentary style, with the god, Bes, on both sides (TC-28 in the *Catalogue* at the end of this paper), were central Italian imitations. The stylistic oddity of these pieces had earlier led Laura Breglia, in the first publication of these pieces, to identify them as “bronzetti di zecche galliche non identificate” (Mauri, 1950, fn. 1). In a similar way, coins with these types, found on the beach at Salerno in the 19th century, confused Padre Foresio: he “read” on one specimen the legend “DVX”, for Robert Guiscard, believing them all to be mediaeval, and classified them as “Imitazioni di nummi arabi” (Travaini, 1991: 191).

Marta Campo’s 1976 monograph on the coins of *Ebusus* — which included an extensive *corpus* of known specimens — listed, as Ebusan, a number of small issues, found only or mostly in northern European collections, that we now know to be central Italian imitations. She classed the coins that Stazio had reported from Pompeii as no. 71 of her group XVIII. I first became aware that the “rudimentary Bes” coins of no. 71 were imitations, not at Pompeii itself, but while building a database of “foreign” (non-Roman) coins that can be provenanced to *Minturnae* on the River Liri, or Garigliano, where the Appian Way crosses from *Latium* to *Campania*, where coins with Ebusan types are commonly found. On the basis of the much larger numbers of no. 71, relative to other components of group XVIII

found at *Minturnae* (where they are common), and those listed in Campo's *corpus* (where they are rare), I became convinced that these coins must be imitative issues from central Italy, and suggested this to her. She accepted my suggestion (Campo, 1993: 156). In 1998, I identified a number of further "Ebusan" types as being imitations struck in central Italy (Stannard, 1998: 222-229).

When the British School at Rome began deep excavations below the AD 79 destruction level in the House of Amarantus at Pompeii (I.9.11-12), I asked Andrew Wallace-Hadrill to let me know if Ebusan coins turned up¹. They did, and he kindly invited me to study the finds. In order to place these in context, and to fill out what I knew from *Minturnae*, I also studied the coins from a number of other Pompeian excavations². In the process, I found many new types, and, for the first time, identified imitations of *Massalia*, without as yet realising that the imitations of *Ebusus* and of *Massalia* were part of a single phenomenon: I published the various types as I then knew them in 2005 (Stannard, 2005a and 2005b).

In 2008, Suzanne Frey-Kupper and I for the first time showed that the coins with pseudo-Ebusan and pseudo-Massaliot types were die-linked products of a single mint (Stannard and Frey-Kupper, 2008). We characterised the phenomenon of the systematic imitation of foreign types as a "pseudo-mint". In 2010, we turned our attention to the imitations of *Massalia*, and the misinterpretation of the very few (four) of these coins in French museums — only one with a sure French prove-

1. For the excavations, see Fulford and Wallace-Hadrill, 1999. A summary list of the coins will be published in Stannard, forthcoming.

2. Sporadic finds, and coins from Paul Arthur's excavations, in preparation for the installation of electric lighting in the forum, held in the Uffici Scavi at Pompeii; from old excavations at Pompeii, in the National Archaeological Museum in Naples; in the purse-hoard, also in Naples; and from excavations in the House of the Postumii (VIII.4.4); as well as from a votive well at Gragnano (Privati di Stabiae), which closed in 89 BC, with Sulla's campaigns in the area (Cantilena, 1997). I have since benefited from the copious materials from the AAPP excavations in the "commercial triangle" of VI.1.14-18, 20-21, which Richard Hobbs allowed me to study, awaiting his definitive publication (Hobbs, 2003, 2005 and forthcoming), and from the coins from the excavations of the University of Perugia studied by Samuele Ranucci, which he shared with me (Ranucci, 2001, 2008a and 2008b). Albert Ribera of the Servicio de Investigación Arqueológica Municipal, Ayuntamiento de Valencia, gave me access to the finds in the Casa di Arianna (*Regio VII*, 4, 51 and 31) (Ribera *et alii*, 2007, 2008 and 2009) and along the Via degli Augustali (VII.9.25 and VII.4.29) (Bustamante *et alii*, 2010). He and Jean-Pierre Brun of the CNRS/Centre Jean Bérard de Naples allowed me to study the coins from their joint excavations along the Via degli Augustali during their 2011 season. For purposes of comparison, I also reviewed the coins in Museu Arqueològic d'Eivissa i Formentera in Ibiza, for which I thank the curator, Jordi H. Fernández Gómez. During this visit, I benefited from discussions with the resident archaeologist, Benjamí Costa Ribas. I thank them all.

nance — as Celtic copies of *Massalia*. Like the imitations with Ebusan types in northern European cabinets that we now attribute to the pseudo-mint, it is probable that travellers to Italy brought these pieces back to France in the 19th century. We also showed that the pseudo-mint imitated and mixed the types of Rome and possibly other mints, in addition to those of *Ebusus* and Pompeii (Frey-Kupper and Stannard, 2010: 114-131). In a forthcoming article, we identify two probable cases of very large blocks of minor coin — of *Kos* and *Ebusus* — being taken from one polity to another in the late Hellenistic period, in order, we suggest, to make good a shortage of small coin, and propose that this is the explanation for the presence of the huge number of Ebusan coins at Pompeii, as I had first suggested in 1998 (229) (Frey-Kupper and Stannard, forthcoming; for *Kos*, see also Stannard and Frey-Kupper, 2008, Appendix 1).

In this paper, I consider whether the phenomena of the massive presence of Ebusan coins at Pompeii, and of the imitation of Ebusan types at Pompeii, indicate some special relation between these two polities, in the 2nd and 1st century BC. I first investigate the types used by the pseudo-mint, and show that the types copied from *Ebusus* cannot meaningfully be isolated from the pseudo-mint's wider type-repertory. I discuss how the canonical Ebusan coins reached Pompeii in such numbers, and suggest this was through a huge, single transfer, probably towards the middle of the first century BC, after which the imitations began. I then discuss the monetary stock at Pompeii at this period, in order to place the Ebusan and Pseudo-Ebusan coins in context.

This paper also reflects my fruitful collaboration with Albert Ribera and Juan Vicente Salavert León, which is embodied in our paper on pp. 181-205 of this volume, and cited here as *Ariadna*: it is the first attempt systematically to investigate the coins of *Ebusus* and of the pseudo-mint in a succession of independently dated archaeological contexts. The two papers should be read together.

My conclusion is that neither the presence at Pompeii of massive numbers of canonical Ebusan coin, nor the issues of the pseudo-mint, supports the picture of especially close contacts between *Ebusus* and Pompeii.

Cataloguing the Pseudo-mint

A methodology for classifying the issues of the Pseudo-mint

In successive papers, I have struggled with how best to classify the issues of the pseudo-mint. I initially proposed grouping issues in the traditional manner, on the basis of shared obverse or reverse types, but was obliged in successive articles to propose differing groupings, as my understanding improved. It became apparent that the types cannot easily be allocated to obverse and reverse, because — in a number of

cases — the dies appear to be combined arbitrarily in either upper or lower position. I associate such die-mobility with the use of high-tin bronze to make dies (Stannard, 2011). The alloy is easily worked in an annealed state, but hard and brittle when tempered. The upper die therefore needs to be mounted in an iron die-sheath, which takes the direct hammer-blow. Unlike iron dies, where the upper die takes the form of a directly hammered shaft, and is different in shape from the lower die, bronze obverse and reverse dies were often of the same shape — usually a stick between 5 and 10 cm long tapering slightly at both ends — which could therefore be mounted in either the anvil or the die-sheath. Such dies are known for Roman coins (Malkmus, 2007: 237 figures 17-19).

Coins where two “obverse” or two “reverse” dies are paired are indicative of the use of bronze rather than iron dies, and I have also documented such two-headed and two-tailed Republican and Imperial Roman coins (Stannard, 1987 and 1995).

Because of the mobility of dies in the pseudo-mint, Suzanne Frey-Kupper and I proposed a two-step methodology for describing the issues, first cataloguing the individual types, and then listing the known type-combinations (Frey-Kupper and Stannard, 2010: 115-120). In this way, the identification numbers may be standardised, and the numbering extended as new material appears.

A provisional catalogue of the issues of the pseudo-mint

I have updated the tables and illustrations in Frey-Kupper and Stannard, 2010, and attach these to the present paper, as a *Provisional catalogue of the coins of the Pompeian pseudo-mint*. in which:

- Table 1 lists the known types.
- Table 2 lists the known type-combinations, which are illustrated in figures 10 and 11.
- Table 3 suggests how the type-combinations may be classified into groups.

Unless otherwise specified, all references to the pseudo-mint’s types, type-combinations and groups in the rest of this paper, and in *Ariadna*, are to this *Catalogue*. Type-combinations are cited with the prefix, “TC-”.

The prototypes imitated by the pseudo-mint³

The pseudo-mint drew its types from a number of mints — certainly *Ebusus*, *Massalia* and Rome, and possibly *Luceria* or *Venusia* — and often mixed the types

3. This section updates section 5 of Frey-Kupper and Stannard, 2010.

of different mints: this is significant in understanding the real nature of contacts between Pompeii and *Ebusus*, because the pseudo-mint is not copying *Ebusus* alone. In a few cases, not only the main types were copied, but the accompanying symbols or letters as well: this makes it possible to date some of the prototypes, and provides a *terminus post quem* for their imitations.

Bes and bull: Ebusus

The types borrowed from *Ebusus* are Bes, and a butting bull. Bes — assimilated into Punic religion from Egypt — was the tutelary deity of *Ebusus*. His image probably reached Pompeii both directly from Egypt and from the Punic world, not least through the coins of *Ebusus* (Frey-Kupper, forthcoming). Other Egyptian types appear quite early at Pompeii, for example in the Nile mosaic in the House of the Faun, of the late 2nd century BC. As Bes was assimilated, so his image was “Italianised”. The Isis Temple at Pompeii has a totally “Italianised” fresco of Bes seated, of the 1st century AD, which shows how completely he had been assimilated by then (figure 1). The pseudo-mint’s depictions of Bes range from fairly accurate copies to the rudimentary and highly schematic images on TC-28 and TC-29, and to the “Italianised” images on TC-26 and TC-34 to TC-36.

The pseudo-mint draws bull types from both Ebusan and Massaliot models. I try to distinguish these, in the type-list in the *Catalogue, table 1*. A strong weighty body, with rounded shoulders and a head well down, characterises the Ebusan bull (*bull 8-10*). The Massaliot bull (*bull 1-6*) has relatively long legs, and a strongly bent front leg.

The figure of Bes (*Bes 1 and 2*), and the Ebusan style bull (*bull 8-10*), are drawn from the two Ebusan bronze issues in figure 2. They are dated in accordance with Campo (1993: 154-155), and Ripollès *et alii* (2009: 107-108), except that, in the case of prototype B (*Ebusus*, gr. XVIII), I have suggested a end date in the third quarter of the 2nd century BC.

- Prototype A = *Ebusus*: 123-125, group XII, nos. 14-17, *circa* 214-*circa* 195 BC, Æ unit

Obv. Bes standing facing, wearing a tunic, a hammer in his raised right hand, a snake on his left arm; usually a symbol to left; linear border.

Rev. Bull butting left; linear border.

- Prototype B = *Ebusus*, 127-129: group XVIII, nos. 50-53, *circa* 214-195 BC; nos. 54-60 and 62-70 (*Ebusus* group XVIII, nos. 61 and 71 are really issues of the pseudo-mint), *circa* 195-*circa* 150/130 BC, Æ unit

Obv. Bes standing facing, wearing a tunic, a hammer in his raised right hand, a snake on his left arm; usually symbol to left.

Rev. Same as the obverse.

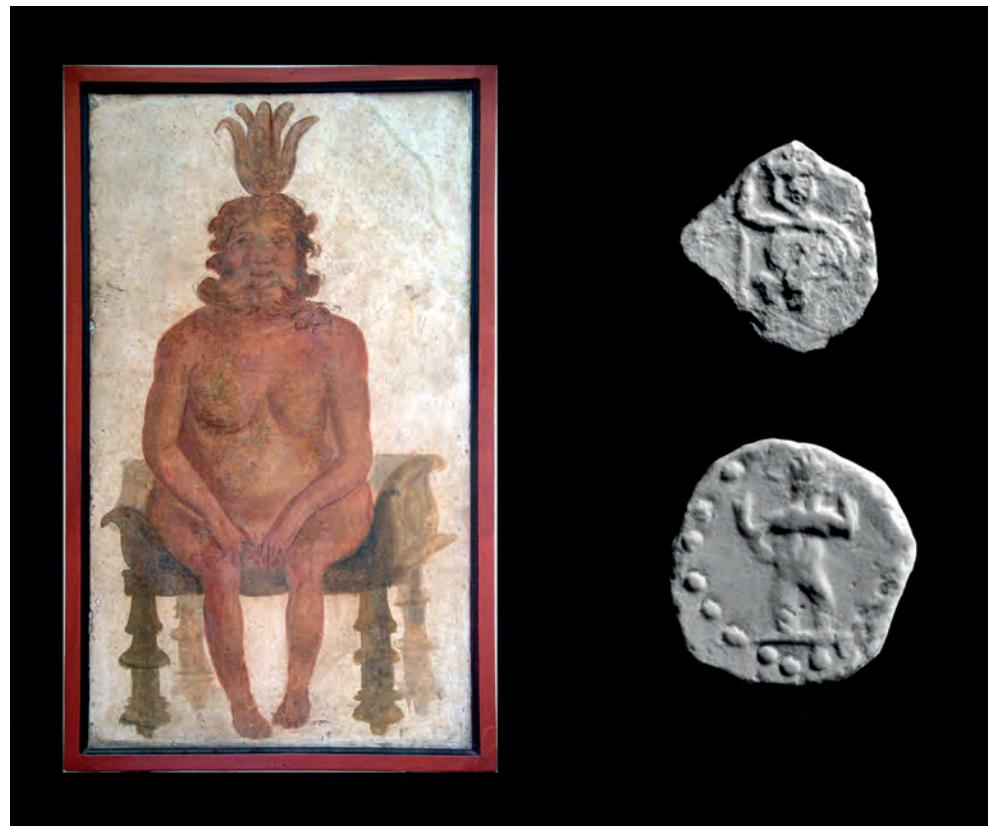


Figure 1. “Italianised” Bes at Pompeii from the north wall of the sacrarium of the temple of Isis in Pompeii, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, inv. 8916; Anon., 1992, 58, no. 1, and Catalogue, nos. 26 and 34



Figure 2. Prototypes A and B: Ebusus. Bes and bull

In the *Catalogue*, figure 10, nos. 14-17 are the Ebusan bull, No. 15 is an accurate copy of both faces of prototype A, and could easily be taken for the canonical coin, but for its style, and its linkages to other, obviously non-Ebusan types. The Bes type is also used in combination with Massaliot types in TC-2, TC-9, TC-11 and TC-18, and with Roman types in TC- 5 and TC-21.

Apollo and bull: Massalia

The pseudo-mint also copied the standard bronze types of *Massalia*: a head of Apollo, and a butting bull. *Massalia* used these types over a long period, but some of the imitations also reproduce the letters that differentiate individual issues, which makes it possible to identify the specific prototypes (figure 3). On some pseudo-Massaliot pieces, $\overline{\Lambda}/O$ appear to either side of the obverse head of Apollo (*Apollo* 2): these are copied from prototype C, struck from *circa* 150 to 125 BC. Other pseudo-Massaliot pieces copy prototype D, with the Massaliot butting bull and ΔA in exergue (*bull* 2), struck from the *circa* the 130s BC to 100 BC. The pseudo-mint also pairs the $\overline{\Lambda}/O$ obverse with the ΔA reverse (TC-1), a combination that does not occur at *Massalia* itself. These types are also used in combination with types of Ebusan and Roman origin, the obverse of prototype C with Rome (TC-4), and the reverse of D with *Ebusus* (TC-2) and Rome (TC-4 and TC-19).

- Prototype C = Feugère and Py, 2011: 124, PBM-40-4, *circa* 150-100 BC, Æ , 12-17 mm.
Obv. Head of Apollo right; $\overline{\Lambda}$ to left; O to right; border of dots.
Rev. Bull butting left; ΜΑΣΣΑ above, ΛΙΗΤΩΝ in exergue; border of dots.
- Prototype D = Feugère and Py, 2011: 127, PBM-47-9, *circa* the 130's-100 BC, Æ , 16 mm.
Obv. Head of Apollo right; border of dots.
Rev. Bull butting right; ΜΑΣΣΑ above; ΔA in exergue; linear border.

Py (2006: 215) dates the introduction of the head right type (with PBM-39 and 40) to after the middle of the 2nd century BC. Both prototypes C and D are common, and remained in circulation for some time. PBM-45 to PBM-48, from stratigraphic evidence at Lattes, appear before 125 BC, are abundant before 100 BC, and become much rarer after 100 BC, and rarer still after 75 BC (Py, 2006: 234 and 235, figure 53). Py and Feugère (2011: 132) date them to “avant 125, mais sans doute peu avant”.

The most common pseudo-Massaliot coins, with the legends, ΜΑΣΣΑ, ΑΟΜΣ, ΜΟΣΣ, ΟΑΣΣ and ΑΟΣΣ (*Catalogue*, figure 10, nos. 3.1-3.5) most probably derive



Figure 3. Prototypes C and D: Massalia

from originals with only ΜΑΣΣΑ above the bull, without the rest of the ethnic (ΛΙΗΤΩΝ) in exergue, which begin with PBM-40. Almost all imitations have the head of Apollo right. A few, however, have heads left (*Catalogue*, figure 10, no. 3.6): if this is not casual, it may reflect earlier Massaliot bronzes with the head left. The head left also appears paired with a Roman type (TC-10) and with an Ebusan type (TC-11).

Head of Mars and horse's head: Rome

The pseudo-mint also uses a beardless or bearded helmeted head of Mars (*Mars* 1-3). The beardless prototype (*Mars* 1) appears to be drawn from the Roman issue, *RRC* 25, of 241-235 BC, which includes both silver and bronze coins (figure 4, E and F). The reverse of this prototype — a bridled horse's head — is also copied (*horse's head* 1-4)⁴. The fact that both faces of this prototype are copied (though not paired in issues of the pseudo-mint) makes this prototype fairly sure.

We can be certain that the prototype with the bearded head of Mars (figure 4, G) is the sixty-*as* gold piece struck between 211 and 208 BC, because the accompanying value-mark, ↓X, was copied at the same time (*Mars* 3).

These Roman prototypes are the only precious metal types imitated. The pseudo-mint never uses the obverse and reverse types of these prototypes together, but pairs them with a number of types of Massaliot, Ebusan and other origin. They were no longer current when imitated, and testify to the continued presence of old coins at Pompeii, whether or not these formed part of the daily monetary stock.

The *Mercury* prototype is also Roman, the unvarying standard type of the *sextans*.

- Prototype E = *RRC*: 141, n° 25/1, AR, *didrachm*, 241-235 BC.
Obv. Bearded and helmeted head of Mars right, the helmet decorated with a griffon; border of dots.
Rev. Bridled horse's head right; a sickle to left; ROMA below; linear border.
- Prototype F = *RRC*: 141, no. 25/3, Æ, *litra*, 241-235 BC.
Obv. Bearded and helmeted head of Mars right; border of dots.
Rev. Bridled horse's head right; a sickle to left; ROMA below; linear border.

4. A bridled horse's head (with an obverse bearded Mars) is also found on the Roman *didrachm* of 280-276 BC (*RRC* 13/1), as well as (with an obverse head of Minerva) on the bronze *litra* struck a little before 269 BC (*RRC* 17/1). but these pieces may be set aside, for reasons of style. The beardless head of Mars on the *didrachm* (*RRC* 27/1) and the *litra* (*RRC* 27/2) of 230-226 BC, which are close in style to the series *RRC* 25, could also have been the model, but their reverse is a horse galloping right. The horse's head that appears on much Punic coinage (*cf. SNG Cop., North Africa*, nos. 144-178) can be set aside, as it is never bridled, and of a very different style.



Figure 4. Prototypes E, F and G: Rome: Mars and horse's head

- Prototype G = RRC, p. 154, no. 44/2, Rome, AV, sixty *asses*, 211-208 BC⁵.
Obv. Bearded and helmeted head of Mars right; ↓X below left; border of dots.
Rev. Eagle standing right on a thunderbolt; ROMA in exergue.

Frog: Luceria or Venusia

The pseudo-mint also uses the type of a *frog* seen from above. This is used in a number of rare Italian mints. Various cast coins, from Tuder in Umbria (*HN Italy*: 21, nos. 39, 43 and 48)⁶, and from uncertain central Italian mints (*HN Italy*: 52, no. 371, and 54, no. 403)⁷, can probably be excluded. Either of the two struck coins, from Luceria (figure 5, J) and Venusia (K), both in northern Apulia, could be the prototype, if the Pompeian type is not an independent invention.

- Prototype J = *HN Italy*: 80, no. 682, Luceria (Northern Apulia), \AA E struck *uncia*, circa 211-200 BC⁸.
Obv. Laureate head of Apollo right, bow and quiver on his shoulder; • to left; border of dots.
Rev. Frog seen from above; LOVCERI around; border of dots.
- Prototype K⁹ = *HN Italy*: 83, no. 725, Venusia (Northern Apulia), \AA E struck *semuncia*, circa 210-200 BC.
Obv. Frog seen from above; border of dots.
Rev. Crab seen from above; below; linear border.

5. Other “Mars gold” issues carry various reverse symbols: RRC: 179, no. 88/1 (lance-head), uncertain south-east Italian mint; p. 194, no. 105/2 (pentagram), and 106/2 (staff), uncertain Etruscan mints(?).

6. No. 43 was illustrated as possible prototype H in Frey-Kupper and Stannard, 2010.

7. No. 371 was illustrated as possible prototype I in Frey-Kupper and Stannard, 2010.

8. There is also a cast *uncia* with the types, frog seen from above / barley grain (*HN*: 79, no. 674, Luceria (northern Apulia), circa 211-200 BC), which I do not illustrate.

9. For consistency, the numbering of prototypes continues that used in Frey-Kupper and Stannard, 2010.



Figure 5. Prototypes J and K: Luceria and Venusia

Tortoise: Rome

The pseudo-mint also uses a *tortoise* type. By far the most likely prototype is Roman¹⁰, if the Pompeian type is not an independent invention (figure 6, L).

- Prototype L = RRC 141, no. 24/7, Rome, Æ cast *sextans*, circa 265–252 BC.

Obv. Tortoise seen from above.

Rev. Six-spoked wheel; • and • within opposing spokes.



Figure 6. Prototype L: Rome

How did such numbers of canonical Ebusan coin get to Pompeii in the first place?

The coins of the pseudo-mint with Ebusan types should not mask the fact that canonical Ebusan coins are also present at Pompeii in huge numbers. In fact, only about half the coins with Ebusan types are imitations (Stannard, 2005b: 124): in the AAPP excavations, 48%; in the British School excavations, 48%; and in the material conserved in the Uffici Scavi at Pompeii, 32%.

A number of factors suggest that the massive presence of canonical Ebusan coin at Pompeii is to be explained by a single transfer of a block of coins from *Ebusus* to Pompeii, rather than by continuing contacts of any nature between them. The most telling argument for this is their overwhelming presence at Pompeii. Nowhere else in Italy — or anywhere outside *Ebusus* itself — are they as abundant. Nonetheless, “Ebusan” bronze coin — canonical and of the pseudo-mint — is not uncommon

10. Cast coins with this type are known from Tuder (*HN Italy*: 21, no. 39), and from uncertain mints (*HN Italy*: 52, no. 366; 53, no. 380, and 54, no. 404).

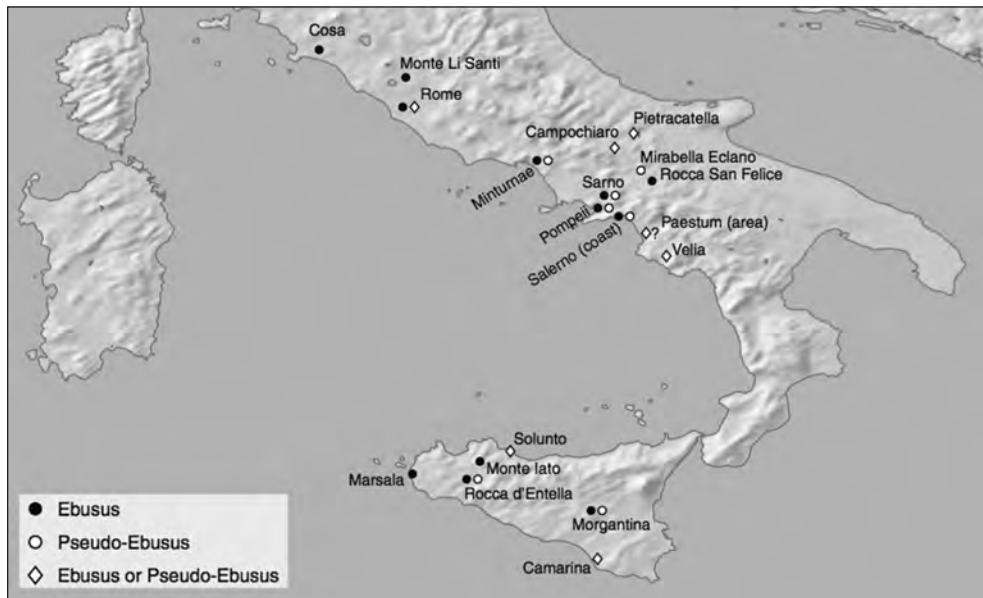


Figure 7. Finds of Ebusan and Pseudo-Ebusan coins in Italy and Sicily (= Stannard and Frey-Kupper, 2008, 371, figure 2)

in southern Italy and Sicily, as figure 7 shows. (It is often impossible, in the literature, to distinguish canonical from imitative coins, because the understanding of the imitative coins is recent, and because few of the coins are illustrated.) Suzanne Frey-Kupper and I have argued that the bulk of these coins are likely to have been received, not directly from *Ebusus*, but from Pompeii, with imitative and canonical issues travelling together, in proportions similar to those at Pompeii. The scattered finds throughout Italy and Sicily should therefore *not* immediately be taken as indicating direct contacts between the find-sites and *Ebusus*.

No piecemeal trade flows can have brought such numbers of canonical Ebusan bronze coin to Pompeii. Whereas silver coin was of intrinsic value, and an exportable store of value, acceptable in exchange for trade goods, bronze small change was of little interest to a foreign trader. Ebusan bronze was almost certainly fiduciary, and the metal value was of much lower intrinsic value than the conventional value established by the issuing authority, and underwritten by the ability to use it in the local market, and probably to meet obligations to the state. It was therefore of value only in its local monetary system. Communications in the ancient world were also too poor for it to be possible to amass large numbers of bronze coin and return them to their place of origin for redemption: this could not have underwritten their value outside their home market.

A further argument against trade being at the origin of the Ebusan coin in Pompeii is the complete absence of a counter-flow of the pseudo-mint's coins to *Ebusus*, which would surely have occurred, if the two places were in intense commercial

contact. I have personally checked the very large number of coins in the Museu Arqueològic d'Eivissa i Formentera, and did not find a single one of the pseudo-mint's coins. Nor are they present in the large, locally constituted Martín collection:

Ahora, tras el examen de más de 7.000 piezas procedentes de la donación Martín Mañanes es seguro que las monedas Campo 1976 grupo XVI [*i.e.*, Catalogue, table 3, TC-11 and TC-5] deben excluirse de la producción de *Ebusus*, así como las del grupo XVIII, que muestran un peso más reducido y un estilo tosco [*i.e.*, Catalogue, table 3, TC-28.1-28.4, group D], pues no se ha encontrado ninguna de ellas entre las piezas de la mencionada donación. (Ripollès *et alii*, 2009: 115).

The relative proportions of the various Ebusan issues present in Italy also argue against the coins having arrived piecemeal. Table 1 compares the volumes of various Ebusan issues, on the basis of finds in Ibiza, with their presence in central Italy. Ripollès argues convincingly that the Ibzan finds are a representative sample of Ebusan coin production from the 4th to the 1st century BC. The most copious issues are of the late 4th and 3rd century BC. Groups III, VIII and XI together account for 64.7% of total production; in Italy, they account for only 8.3% of finds. In Italy, group XVIII represents 87% of finds, whereas group XVIII represents only about 8.9% of Ebusan coin production. The Italian finds also contain a scattering of earlier coins, including a relatively small number of the immediately previous issue, group XII. There are a very few specimens of the immediately following issue, group XIX, dated to after *circa* 91 BC.

	Group	Ibiza (N: 2,183)		Central Italy (N: 169)	
		Number	%	Number	%
Late 4 th and 3 rd century BC	II	13	0.6	1	0.6
	III	413	18.9	—	—
	VIII	301	13.8	11	6.5
	XI	699	32.0	3	1.8
<i>circa</i> 214-195 BC	XII	236	10.8	5	3.0
	XVIII, 50-54	26	1.2		
<i>circa</i> 195- <i>circa</i> 125 BC	XVIII, 54-70	169	7.7		
<i>circa</i> 214- <i>circa</i> 125 BC	All XVIII	195	8.9	147	87.0
After 91 bc	XIX	95	4.4	2	1.2
			89.4		100.0

Table 1. Volumes of emissions in Ibiza, and finds in central Italy¹¹

11. The figures from Ibiza are for the Planas and Martín collections (Ripollès *et alii*, 2009: 110, table 3, 113, table 6 and 116, table 9). Except for group II, I list only the larger groups. The figures for central Italy (the River Liri and Pompeii) are from the table in Stannard, 2005a: 125.

The Italian finds are consistent with a sample of the circulating coinage in *Ebusus* towards the end of the 2nd century BC having been transferred as a single block to Pompeii, late in the issue life of group XVIII, after most earlier coins had fallen out of circulation, but before group XIX was issued. It is, of course, probable that not all the Ebusan coins in Italy came in this block, and that occasional coins trickled in over time. The few group XIX coins may have arrived later in this way. The finds in Provence show that group XIX did travel abroad, as *circa* 60% of finds of Ebusan coin there are of group XIX (Py, 2006: 685-687), though one may not simply extrapolate from this to the situation in Italy.

That the coins came in a block to Pompeii is the most parsimonious explanation, and more likely than the alternative, namely that the Ebusan coins started arriving piecemeal as the result of increasing trade contacts from the late 3rd century or early 2nd century BC, peaking massively with the arrival of coins of group XVIII, and finishing abruptly, before group XIX was issued.

Given the very large number of Ebusan coins already known from Pompeii, even though there have as yet been few excavations under the AD 79 floor, the transfer was probably of at least hundreds of thousands of coins. This is not a major logistic problem: 100,000 coins would have weighed only about 250 kilograms. Is it possible that the block was so large as to cause group XVIII to be under-represented in the coins remaining in *Ebusus*? Both Campo (1979: 112) and Ripollès comment on the apparently small volume of group XVIII. Ripollès suggests:

[...] que hubo una drástica reducción del volumen de producción, aunque es de suponer que parte de la moneda anterior todavía se encontraría circulando, ya que en la Antigüedad la emisiones no se retiraban, por lo que este descenso de producción no tuvo necesariamente una repercusión negativa en la vida de los intercambios monetarios ebusitanos. (Ripollès *et alii*, 2009: 117).

If this suggestion, however, were correct, there should be a far larger part of older coins in the Pompeian block. It seems more likely that group XVIII had largely replaced earlier coin, by the time the block left *Ebusus*. That the 1st century BC Xarraca and Joan d'en Cama hoards contain only group XIX (Ripollès *et alii*, 2009: 129) suggests that group XIX, in its turn, replaced group XVIII, unless this is due to selective hoarding of group XIX.

The end date of group XVIII is uncertain. Given the relatively small size of the emission, which begins *circa* 214 BC, for group XVIII, nos. 50-53, and *circa* 195 BC for the rest, a closing date between 150 and 130 BC seems reasonable. Benjamí Costa Ribas has suggested that it is related to:

the conquest of Majorca and Minorca by the consul Quintus Caecilius Metellus [wich] had huge repercussions for all the islands [...] From the last quarter of

the 2nd c. BC, archaeological data point to a setback in the Ibiza economy that put an end to the cycle of economic growth experienced during the previous 75 years. A crisis is detected in the Ibiza countryside where some settlements are abandoned [...] Note that in the last quarter of the 1st c., no coins were minted on Ibiza [...] Ibiza trading posts in the Balearics were abandoned. The events coinciding with the end of the 2nd c. suggest that the decline in Ibiza's economic activity was associated with the conquest of Majorca and Minorca by Roman troops. (Costa Ribas, 2007: 91-92.)

In any case, the fact that the block contained issues of various ages shows that it was not drawn from the current production of the Ebusan mint. Where, then, was it held before its transfer to Pompeii? Was it initially acquired with the intention of transferring it to Pompeii, or was this a subsequent decision?

It is doubtful that the coins were simply sold as scrap metal, because there is no evidence (such as countermarking) of the practice of demonetising and retiring issues in *Ebusus*. If not scrap, and the coins retained a higher fiduciary than metal value, one wonders at what "price" they might have been purchased. It is difficult to see either why a purchaser would have agreed to pay the fiduciary value of the coins (which would be destroyed once transferred abroad), or why a supplier might have agreed to sell coin at under face value. If overpaid at origin, the purchaser's motive is unclear, unless the expense and difficulty of making coin from raw metal, and the urgency of finding small change, outweighed these costs. If the transfer was peaceable, who were the actors, private persons (traders and money-changers), or representatives of the two polities (*Ebusus* and Pompeii)? A block of this size is unlikely to have been in the hands of private individuals or small traders, or even money-changers. Its volume suggests that the block came, in one way or another, from state sources.

Another possibility is that the coins were taken from *Ebusus* as war booty, and there appears to be only one likely occasion when this could have occurred, namely the conquest of the Balearic Islands by *Quintus Caecilius Metellus* in 123 BC. The presence of Roman forces in the neighbouring islands, during the conquest of the Balearics, perhaps including Pompeian troops, could have provided the occasion for the coins to be acquired, by force or otherwise. *Ebusus* was a separate polity, and *Metellus'* military activities were limited to the islands of Majorca and Minorca, but Costa Ribas does not exclude the possibility that Rome interfered in Ebusan affairs at that time. While, on balance, the archaeological evidence from the Casa di Arianna in Pompeii, rehearsed below, suggests that the block arrived before the conquest, the possibility should be kept open for the moment.

Evidence for the transfer of a large block of bronze coin from one late Hellenistic polity to another is not limited to *Ebusus* at Pompeii: a large block of Koan coin (facing head of Herakles / club and bow in bow-case and quiver; Ingvaldsen, 2002,

group XIX) was transferred to central Italy (probably Rome), at some stage between about *circa* 180/170 BC and *circa* 130 BC (Stannard and Frey-Kupper, 2008: 385-391; and Frey-Kupper and Stannard, forthcoming). The issue is often overstruck with types derived from a *denarius* of 137 BC, *RRC*: 267, no. 235/1, SEX·POM. All the theoretical questions raised in the Ebusan context apply as well in the Koan context. In that case, we know no occasion for a seizure of the block as booty.

Dating the arrival of the block of Ebusan coins and the Pseudo-Mint

Two separate sets of information can help date these phenomena: archaeological evidence from Pompeii, and the dates of some of the prototypes that the pseudo-mint imitated.

At the time this paper was written, Richard Hobbs was preparing the coins from the AAPP excavations (VI.1.14-18, 20-21) for publication (Hobbs, 2013), and kindly provided me with a number of provisional results. He had identified coins of the pseudo-mint in strata either sealed by the destruction levels of Sulla's siege in 89 BC, or in the destruction levels themselves, as evidenced by the presence of sling shot. These included group C (imitating *Massalia*; TC-3) and the "rudimentary Bes" imitations of TC-28.1 to TC-28.4¹². I confirm the presence in the votive well at *Privati di Stabiae* (Gragnano) (Cantilena, 1997) — which closed as a result of Sulla's campaign — of canonical *Ebusus* groups XII and XVIII, and the pseudo-mint's TC-3, TC-27 and TC-28.

Ariadna is the first attempt to relate the coins of *Ebusus* and of the pseudo-mint to independently dated archaeological strata, in the Casa di Arianna and some adjacent sites, dug between 2004 and 2009. Table 2 (= 200, table 1 *Ariadna*) lists the coins found, from strata earlier than the time of Augustus. Some initial results of the 2011 excavations are also given. These contexts provide the current best *termini post quos* for the arrival of the block, and the first issues of the pseudo-mint.

		<i>Ebusus</i>	Pseudo-mint	Rome	Cut Rome	Greek	Illegible
Initial levels	<i>circa</i> 160- <i>circa</i> 140/130 BC	6		2			4
Late Samnite period	<i>circa</i> 140/130- <i>circa</i> 80 BC	1	5	4		1	4
Colonial period	<i>circa</i> 80- <i>circa</i> 30 BC		5	2	2	1	
Total		7	10	8	2	2	8

Table 2. Coins from the 2004-2009 excavations in the Casa di Arianna

12. I thank him for this information.

No coins were found in the scarce strata attributed to the first third of the 2nd century BC, which are directly over natural. The coins in the initial levels, *circa* 160–*circa* 140/130 BC, include six certain or probable specimens of *Ebusus* XVIII (prototype B), as well as two Roman *asses*, one (*RRC* 176/1) issued in a year between 168 and 158 BC. No coins of the pseudo-mint were found (*Ariadna*, 189) in these levels. This provides a *terminus post quem* for the arrival of the block of Ebusan coins of *circa* 130 BC, and probably earlier, but this is critically dependent on the dating of the stratum.

The strata of *circa* 140/130–*circa* 80 BC contain the first of the pseudo-mint's coins. One was found in a drainage canal running under tavern 50 on the Via della Fortuna, in a context dated to *circa* 140–*circa* 120 BC (*Ariadna*, 190, no. 13). With a caveat regarding the possible imprecision in the dating of the context, it seems reasonable to assume a conservative *terminus post quem* of *circa* 120 BC, at the lower edge of this range, for the first coins of the pseudo-mint. The frequency with which the coins of the pseudo-mint turn up in the AAPP strata sealed at the time of Sulla's siege in 89 BC also suggests that they had been in production for some time, at that stage.

Massaliot prototypes C and D are both dated, on the basis of archaeological evidence in France, within the general range of *circa* 150–100 BC. In the case of prototype D (PBM-47-9):

La découverte de plusieurs variétés en plusieurs exemplaires sur l'*oppidum* du Baou-Roux confirme l'apparition des monnaies à deux ou trois lettres d'exergue [PBM-47-9 has two, ΔA] avant 125, mais sans doute peu avant car aucune autre attestation assurément aussi ancienne n'a été à notre connaissance publiée. Beaucoup des types en revanche sont datés par la stratigraphie dans le dernier quart du II^e s. ou plus généralement avant 100. (Feugère and Py, 2011: 132).

On this basis — which is independent of the archaeological evidence from the Casa di Arianna — the Massaliot types, *Apollo* 1 and *bull* 2 (and TC-1, TC-2, TC-4 and TC-19), cannot be pushed back further than the 130's BC at the earliest. Moreover, it is not necessary to assume that the Massaliot prototypes were copied immediately after they began to be issued, and it is probably best to assume a start date for the Massaliot imitations in the 120's BC. No coins with the symbols on these two prototypes ΔI/O (*Apollo* 2) and ΔA (*bull* 2) were found in the Casa di Arianna excavations, but the obverse of coin no. 21 is of another Massaliot type (*Apollo* 3, in TC-10), and was found in a level of the last quarter of the 2nd century BC.

The internal sequence of the various issues of the pseudo-mint is uncertain (*Catalogue*, table 3). It is possible that the pseudo-mint began imitating *Ebusus* before *Massalia*, but the close interlinking of Massaliot, Ebusan and Roman types in group A suggests that this is not the case, and that they should be dated together. There are fewer coins of group A (mixed Ebusan, Massaliot, Roman and other

types) than of group C (TC-3, imitations of *Massalia* on small flans) and group D (TC-28 and TC-29 - TC-33, rudimentary Bes and associated types), but the number of types group A uses is far larger.

No coins of TC-3 (Massaliot types on small flans) were found in the 2004-2009 excavations, though they are found in levels from the 2011 excavations provisionally dated to *circa* 150-100 BC. It is salutary to draw the methodological conclusion: the sample of coins available is not adequate to draw inferences from the lack of a particular emission.

Ariadna no. 13 is of TC-28 (with the “rudimentary” *Bes 3* type), which, as noted above, appears in an early context. These crude and very common pieces may be amongst the first, and not the result of a late falling off from quality. One other index suggests that they may be early: the type, *Mercury* (TC-35 and TC-36), is copied from a Roman *sextans*, a denomination that gave way to the *quadrans*, as the most common small denomination in use, towards the end of the 1st century BC (Crawford, 1982: 140).

The evidence that we have reviewed may be summed up as follows:

	<i>Termini post quos</i>	Evidence
Arrival of the block of Ebusan coin	<i>circa</i> 130 BC	Presence in strata dated <i>circa</i> 160-140/130 BC
Pseudo-mint begins	<i>circa</i> 120 BC 120's BC	Coin no. 13, in a stratum dated <i>circa</i> 140-120 BC Massaliot prototype B dates to «avant 125 mais sans doute peu avant»

Table 3. Earliest possible dates

The very latest probable *terminus post quem* is given in each case, and it is likely that the real date was slightly earlier. On the other hand, the dating of the strata in question by ceramic evidence has some margin of uncertainty. The possibility that the initial block of Ebusan coins was acquired in the context of Metellus’ conquest of the Balearics in 123 BC cannot be wholly ruled out, but seems unlikely. On the balance of the evidence, it is most probable that the block arrived in the 140’s or 130’s BC, and that the pseudo-mint began striking in the 130’s or 120’s BC. Further stratigraphic evidence is required.

The questions of how long the pseudo-mint remained in function, and how long its coins circulated, are open. The purse-hoard (*RRCH*: 95, no. 245), which dates to after 91 BC, perhaps to the 80’s or 70’s BC, is composed for about 60% of the pseudo-mint’s coins, and for 9% of canonical Ebusan coin. The pseudo-mint was probably still striking at least as late as the 2nd quarter of the 1st century BC, and its products formed a substantial part of the monetary stock until the new Augustan *aes* coinages arrived. They are found in strata as late as the AD 60’s and 70’s (*Ariadna*, 195, nos. 48 and 49), almost certainly as residuals.

The monetary stock at Pompeii in the 3rd to 1st centuries BC

In order to understand the nature and function of the pseudo-mint, it is necessary to place its coins, and the block imported from *Ebusus*, in the context of the precious metal and fiduciary monetary stock at Pompeii. Precious metal coins are not very common in sporadic archaeological find. Bronze makes up the bulk of coinage found, and it is well to remember that precious metal and fiduciary issues functioned together, and that we recover an unrepresentative sample of the original monetary stock.

We need to start from the fact that Pompeii never struck coins in its own name, either before the issues of the pseudo-mint, nor with them. It had always to use coins of other polities. The reason why it did not put an ethnic on the coins of the pseudo-mint is uncertain. I am sceptic that this was the result of an embargo from Rome. I think it was more likely that the progressive closing of city mints in Campania in the 3rd and 2nd century BC gave rise to a *de facto* situation, where to have started a new named coinage would have been against an historical trend. The southern cities, *Paestum* and *Velia*, on the other hand, never closed their mints, and continued striking bronze with an ethnic down to the Principate.

A further reason may have been the apparently informal nature of this mint. Without an ethnic, it is possible that the city, as a polity, was not directly involved in the production of these coins, but nothing suggests that they were “forggeries”. This concept would imply coins made secretly and introduced by stealth into circulation, with the aim of tricking the recipient into thinking they were something they were not, and that this was punishable by the authorities. Nothing of this seems likely. It is more probable that the pseudo-mint supplied small change to the market, through money-changers, and it is very likely that the city received some *agio* from their activities.

At the time of its alliance with Rome, at the end of the fourth century BC, a number of mints were still active in Campania, with the largest, *Neapolis*, striking silver down to about 250 BC, and bronze down to about 225 BC (*HN Italy*: 71). For most of this period, Neapolitan coinage was probably the commonest at Pompeii, both silver, for large purchases and as a store of value, and bronze for small change. After *Neapolis* stopped coining, Roman coin of all metals would have become increasingly common, which we see reflected in prototypes E, F, G and L. We have no information as to how the various currencies were negotiated against each other at a practical level, nor if there were notional moneys of reference at any particular time.

Pompeii remained loyal to Rome during the Second Punic War, and participated as an ally in Rome's wars of expansion in the second century BC, which brought huge wealth into Italy, to the benefit of local elites, including in Pompeii.

The removal of plaster from a statue base physically incorporated in the colonnade [of the temple of Apollo at Pompeii] reads in Oscan letters, right to left, L.MVMMIS.L.KASVL (Martelli, 2002). Lucius Mummius son of Lucius, the

sacker of Corinth in 146 BC, is Oscanised in his name form [...], but remains a recognisable Roman consul. The dedication provides confirmation of the implicit link between urban expansion in second-century Italy and the spoils of eastern war. Mummius' numerous dedications in the cities of Italy around Rome were an acknowledgement of the obligation of Rome to its allies; in this case, the enhancement of the temple of Apollo, the god of Corinth, implies a direct Pompeian involvement in that campaign. (Wallace-Hadrill, 2008: 132-133).

The silver coinage in use in Pompeii in the second century BC was the Roman denarius, issued in massive quantities, when no rival precious metal mint was active in Italy. Contemporary Roman bronze coin also arrived, but was clearly not the exclusive small change in use in the first half of the 2nd century BC, and we have no way of knowing if, and if so when, the Roman bronze currency units became the notional money of reference. A number of the pseudo-mint's coins carry pellets as marks of value (types *bull* 9; *horse's head* 2, 3 and 4; and *man with a palm-frond* 2). I earlier suggested that the unit may have been the *quadrans*, but this was based on an assumption that the relevant coins were struck at the turn of the 2nd and 3rd century BC. If on a Roman standard at a slightly earlier date, the unit may be the *uncia* or more probably the *sextans*.

Ariadna (203, plate 1, nos. 1-22) shows coins from excavations in the Casa di Arianna, in strata dated *circa* 160-100 BC: a few Roman *asses*, some stray Greek pieces, and large number of Ebusan coins and coins of the pseudo-mint. A similar mixture of coins is shown here in figure 8, which groups the coins from a number of excavations below the AD 79 level. It is a blunt instrument, because it is not possible to divide the material chronologically, by stratigraphic dating, and because genuine Ebusan and Massaliot coins have not been separated from their imitations, but the overall picture is clear, and bears out the pattern from the Casa di Arianna: *Ebusus* and the pseudo-mint's coins with Ebusan types, together with the coins of *Massalia* and their imitations, form the bulk of the finds.

The relatively small volume of Roman Republican coin is significant, even if we allow for the hiatus in Roman bronze coinage between the abandonment of Sulla's attempt to reintroduce a heavy copper *as* in 82 BC (*RRC*: 387, no. 368/1) and the sporadic issues of the civil wars following Caesar's death and Augustus' new *aes* coinage. Equally significant is the relatively low ratio of Imperial to Republican coin, despite the fact that the Imperial coin representing nearly a century, from the Augustan moneyers' issues to AD 79.

A key question in understanding the monetary stock at pre-imperial Pompeii is the date of the halved and quartered Republican *asses*. The large number of these pieces (in almost similar numbers to Imperial pieces) is very characteristic of the Pompeian assemblage. There are two examples from the Casa di Arianna, in strata of *circa* 80-*circa* 30 BC (*Ariadna*, 204; plate 2, nos. 36-37), and Richard Hobbs has informed me that the AAPP materials contain two specimens in strata provisionally

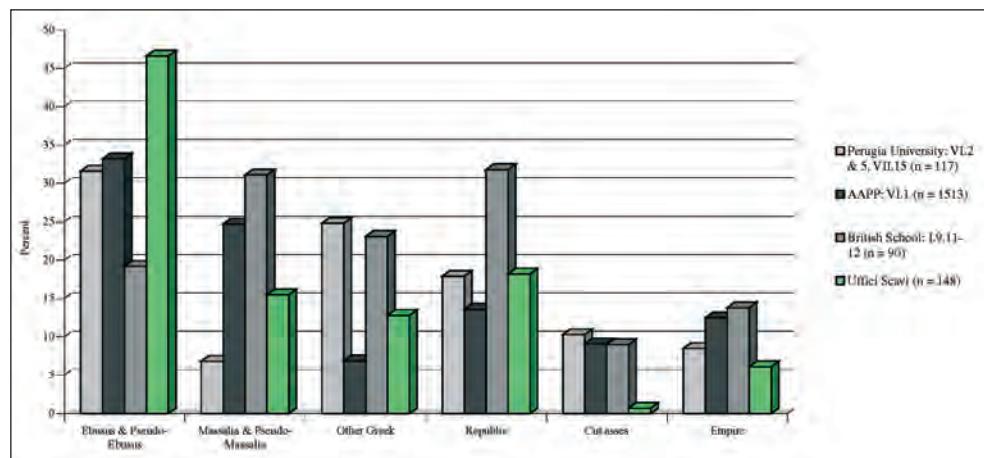


Figure 8. Coins from excavations below the ad 79 destruction level¹³

dated to before 89 BC. Was the cutting of at least some of these pieces a local phenomenon at Pompeii, or were they brought in from elsewhere already cut?

We have one piece of “hoard” evidence for the coins in circulation at Pompeii in the first or second quarter of the 1st century BC¹⁴, the purse from the sewers of a Republican period bathhouse at *Insula VIII.5.36*, probably constructed *circa* 90-80 BC (Fagan, 1999: 59-60). Table 4 lists the coins in it, with the issues of the pseudo-mint catalogued into groups according to *Catalogue*, table 3, of this paper. It shows that the monetary stock at this period consisted of a mixture of mints, with a particularly heavy contingent of canonical Ebusan coin, coins of the pseudo-mint with Ebusan and Massaliot types, as well as Roman coins, three of which are really imitations: two *semisses* and a *triens*. As this raised the possibility that the pseudo-mint was also copying Rome, I recently reviewed large numbers of Republican coins from Pompeii, but found no evidence for this¹⁵, though a

13. This is figure 2 of Stannard and Frey-Kupper, 2008: 367, with the information for the University of Perugia and AAPP excavations updated. I thank Samuele Ranucci and Richard Hobbs for this.

14. First published by Laura Breglia, in a note to Maiuri, 1950: 127 (with the pseudo-mint’s Ebusan imitations interpreted as of an unidentified Gallic mint); by Stazio, 1954: 160-161 (before the identification of the Ebusan types); again in Stazio, 1955 (with the identification of the Ebusan types); by Crawford in *RRCH*: 95, no. 245, dated to 91-79 BC; and republished summarily by me in Frey-Kupper and Stannard, 2010: 132, table 3, from which I draw Table 1. I hope to publish the purse-hoard in detail in due course.

15. In the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples, for which I thank Teresa Giove, Keeper of the Coin-cabinet, and in the Uffici Scavi at Pompeii, for which I thank Giuseppe Proietti, Soprintendente ad interim per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei, and Grete Stefani, Director, Antiquarium di Boscoreale a Pompei.

quadrans from the Casa di Arianna is probably an imitation (*Ariadna*, 204, plate 2, no. 35). Imitations of Roman coin, particularly *quadrantes*, are common at *Minturnae*, a Roman colony, and the coin may not have been imitated in Pompeii, but have been brought in from elsewhere.

Rome and imitations of Rome: 24 (1 plated denarius, 2 asses, 4 semisses, 9 trientes, 7 quadrantes, 1 uncia)	
Naples: 2 ¹⁶	
Katane: 1 ¹⁷	
Ebusus, group XVIII: 8	
Pseudo-mint: 41, of which:	
Ebusan types	
Group A: 3	(illustrated in <i>Catalogue</i> , figure 1, nos. 9 and 22, and figure 2, no. 26)
Group B: 2	(illustrated in <i>Catalogue</i> , figure 2, no. 27.2)
Group D: 34	(«rudimentary» Bes / Bes): cf. <i>Catalogue</i> , figure 2, nos. 28.1-4)
Group E: 2	(illustrated in <i>Catalogue</i> , figure 2, nos. 28.5 and 28.6)
Massaliot types	
Group C: 14	(illustrated in <i>Catalogue</i> , figure 1, nos. 3.3 and 3.6)

Table 4. Contents of a purse from Insula VIII.5.36

The few Greek coins that the purse contained show the long persistence of old coin in the monetary stock: the Neapolitan coins date to *circa* 250-225 BC, and the Katanean coin to the Second Punic War, or later in the early 2nd century BC¹⁸. Some of the prototypes used by the pseudo-mint also testify to this: the Roman prototypes date to the mid or late 3rd century BC (L, *circa* 265-252 BC; E and F, 241-235 BC; G, 211-208 BC), as do the possible Italian prototypes (J and K, *circa* 211/210-200 BC).

To understand the persistence of old coin in the monetary stock, we need to take into account a number of factors. First, Pompeii appears to have been without adequate access to Roman coin, and, with *Velia* and *Paestum* — the only other cities still striking in its immediate vicinity in the 3rd century BC —, had perforce to use

16. Head of Apollo right / caduceus, lyre and omphalos (*HN Italy*: 71, no. 592) and head of Apollo left / man-headed bull right, crowned by a flying Victory (*HN Italy*: 71, no. 600), both of between 250 and 225 BC.

17. Conjoined heads of Serapis and Isis right / two ears of corn (Gàbrici, 1927: 125, nos. 51-52; SNG *Cop.*, Sicily, no. 188). Crawford, 1987: 46-47, dates the type to the Second Punic War, on the basis of a find from Nocera Umbra; for the type and a similar dating, cf. Manganaro, 1996: 315, no. 6, and Casabona, 1999: 16, no. 2.

18. I do not take the dating of the Ebusan coins into consideration, because, as I argue above, these arrived in Pompeii in a single block in the last quarter of the 2nd century BC. Their issue date is therefore not pertinent.

foreign coin of many types and dates, or make its own. Suzanne Frey-Kupper and I have recently argued (Frey-Kupper and Stannard, 2008: 382-384) that an increasingly monetised market economy in *Latium* and *Campania* at this period resulted in many foreign coins and old coins being assimilated into the monetary stock. Second, there is no evidence at Rome, or in central Italy generally, for the withdrawal or demonetisation of successive issues of bronze fiduciary coinage that was characteristic of many Greek cities in the Hellenistic period, and generated revenue for the city treasury. In any case, in a city without a formal mint, such as Pompeii, there were no such fiscal manipulations to drive coin from circulation. Third, to understand the survival of precious metal coins beyond the life of the denominational system in which they were issued (such as the Roman prototypes E and G), we need to de-couple two factors: the issue standard, and the precious metal content.

Precious metal coins, in addition to their exchange value (that is, their position in an articulated denominational system) are stores of intrinsic value, and, as such, can be negotiated against current coin, on a case-by-case basis. Moreover, it would not have been necessary for the Roman coins to remain in active daily use, to serve as prototypes. An example of how long a coin could remain available — if not used in daily commerce — so that its types could be accurately copied, is Trajan's restitution *denarius* (figure 9), which reproduces the types of an early *quadrigatus* some 330 years later.

The issue dates of individual coins in the Pompeian finds cannot therefore be extrapolated to circulation dates. Only the stratigraphy of coins finds — which has not so far been investigated in detail — can show which coins were present at any time, and because of frequent residuosity, in the monetary stock as well as in the soil, it is wisest to regard individual coins as providing only *termini post quos* for a stratum, not absolute dates. The fact that the Greek coins present include earlier material (for example, coins of Syracuse, Carthage, Naples, Irnthii and Alfaterna Nuceria) cannot be used to separate the monetary stock into different periods, without great caution.



Figure 9. Trajan's restitution denarius with quadrigatus types, AD 112 (-113?) (Woytek, 2010, MIR 801, plate 128)

However, the relatively huge numbers of coin made by the pseudo-mint suggest that the coins under the destruction level reflect primarily the monetary stock from the mid-2nd to the mid-1st century BC, in which context, first the coins from *Ebusus* were imported, and then the pseudo-mint struck to meet the demand for small change, when the supply of Roman and residual Greek coin was inadequate. Everything points to the late 2nd and early 1st century BC as the period of the greatest monetary ferment.

Do the issues of the pseudo-mint testify to sustained contacts between *Ebusus* and Pompeii?

None of the numismatic evidence that I have reviewed here requires sustained contact between Pompeii and *Ebusus*. Some of it — in particular, the complete lack of coins of the pseudo-mint in Ibiza — positively argues against such sustained contact. Moreover, the variety of the pseudo-mint's prototypes within a single, integrated, imitative coinage shows that the phenomenon was wider than the copying of *Ebusus* alone.

The ceramic evidence shows that Ebusan wares are not common at Pompeii. The abundant wares of Punic North Africa, on the other hand, testify to commercial contacts with Carthage itself (*Ariadna*, 203).

For a better understanding of the historical reality, it is important to break the analysis of the numismatic materials into two questions: first, how such huge numbers of Ebusan small change reached Pompeii in the first place; and second, how and why the pseudo-mint came into action. I argue that the answer to the first is a one-time transfer of a massive block of coin from *Ebusus* to Pompeii, probably in the 140's or 130's BC. The answer to the second must be sought in the economic and political history of Pompeii itself.

My investigations are perhaps an admonition against jumping to conclusions in interpreting numismatic and archaeological evidence, but the clearing away of one set of fallacious hypotheses opens a number of even more fascinating fields of research. The documentation of massive transfers of fiduciary small change across polities in the late Hellenistic period is new, and the implications are not yet clear (for a fuller discussion, Frey-Kupper and Stannard forthcoming). The identification of the pseudo-mint has already allowed us to begin to look at currency areas in central Italy at this period, and in the western Mediterranean more generally, and at coin flows between them (Stannard and Frey-Kupper, 2008 and Frey-Kupper and Stannard, 2010). As the archaeological and numismatic evidence becomes progressively richer, so will the opportunities and the challenges.

The analysis of stratified excavation material from Pompeii still needs to address a number of important questions. What were the coins in circulation at Pompeii

at various dates? When, more precisely, did the pseudo-mint begin striking? This question bears directly on the possibility that the importation of the block of Ebusan coin is in some way linked to Roman military actions in the Balearics in 123 BC. When did the pseudo-mint stop striking, and how long did its issues remain in circulation? Can the Pseudo-mint's issues be put into chronological order? A particular question of interest for the monetary history of Pompeii, and more generally, is when and where the cutting of Roman *asses* — and other coins — began, and how it developed.

Postscript, June 2013

Since preparing this article, the following coin (published in Stannard, C, and Pardini, G. (2011). A new coin of the Pompeian Pseudo-mint muling *Ebusus* and Athens. *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* 57: 53-65) has provided a further type and a further type-combination:

- *Obv.* Bes standing facing, his right hand raised, probably holding a hammer, and a serpent twined round his left arm; border of dots (= *Bes 6*).

Rev. A

Θ E; *plemochoe*; an ear of corn passed through each handle (= new type, *plemochoe*).

TC-44. AE 12 mm 1.39 g 300°

The prototype is one of a number of Athenian bronze coins, showing the *plemochoe* ritual vase of the Eleusinian mysteries, probably Kroll 1993¹: 62, nos. 73, 74 or 75.

- Prototype M = Kroll 1993: 62, no. 73, Athens (Attica), 223/3-198 BC.

Obv. Head of Demeter right, wearing corn-wreath; border of dots.

Rev. A Θ

E; *plemochoe*; an ear of corn passed through each handle; *aplustre* at right.



Provisional catalogue of the coins of the Pompeian pseudo-mint

Table 1: Types used

Type		Coins illustrated
Bes		
1	Standing, wearing a tunic, a hammer in his raised right hand, a snake on his left arm; usually, no border. This type is stylistically close to the Ebusan prototype (particularly <i>Ebusus</i> group XII), solid and squat, often with a wide gap between the legs. On some examples, his tunic appears almost to be a pair of shorts (<i>cf.</i> 27.1).	2, 5, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 25, 39, 42
2	Like no. 1, but a symbol to left; border of dots. There are a number of symbols, mostly unknown at <i>Ebusus</i> . Not all are illustrated here.	27.1-27.5
3	Standing, of a linear and rudimentary style; he most often raises an empty left hand, and, in this case, the snake is on his right arm; most often, there is a «T» symbol (probably a stylised cornucopia) to right; very rarely, an additional symbol to left (<i>cf.</i> no. 28.2); linear border.	28.1-28.4, 29
4	Standing, leaning on a long staff in his right hand: an «Italianised» Bes, very different from the Ebusan prototype; the snake on his right arm is misunderstood as the staff.	26
5	A different «Italianised» Bes, standing, with his left hand raised, and with the snake misunderstood as a cornucopia (?); border of dots.	34, 35, 36
6	A variety of very simplified and often linear styles; small flans.	28.5, 28.6
7	Neo-Punic <i>mem</i> (?) to left.	37
Apollo		
1	Laureate head right; no legend.	3.1-3.5, 9, 31, 35
2	Like no. 1, but [A] to left and O to right; border of dots. This is a faithful copy of Massaliot prototype C (figure 3).	1, 4
3	Like no. 1, but head left; border of dots.	3.6, 10, 11
Bull		
1	Butting right, no legend. Massaliot style (thin, prominent horns, front right leg strongly bent).	6, 24, 38, 40
2	Like no. 1, but MA (?) above; ΔA in exergue; linear border. This is a faithful copy of Massaliot prototype D (figure 3).	1, 2, 19
3	Bounding right, with two legs forward; no legend; volute in exergue; border of dots (?). On one die, there appears to be a wing on the shoulder, but this is a die-break.	7, 8
4	Like no. 1, but ΜΑΣΣΑ above, sometimes rather disjointed. I segregate this type from bull 6, because ΜΑΣΣΑ in that type is one of a set of legends, in a coherent group of small imitations of <i>Massalia</i> .	18
5	Like no. 1, but MA above; border of dots.	20
6	Like no. 1, but without a legend, or with a variety of legends above (including ΜΑΣΣΑ, ΑΜΣΣ, ΑΟΜΣ, ΜΟΣΣ, ΟΑΣΣ, ΑΟΣΣ).	3.1-3.6
7	Small, bounding right; no legend.	12, 13
8	Butting left; no legend; linear border. Ebusan style (solid, muscled, horns not very prominent).	14, 15

Table 1: Types used (cont.)

Type		Coins illustrated
Bull (cont.)		
9	Like no. 8, but • below.	16
10	Like no. 8, but facing right.	17
Horse's head		
1	Bridled, right; border of dots.	4, 5, 6, 7, 14
2	Like no. 1, but • below.	10
3	Like no. 1, but facing left; • below.	12
4	Like no 1; •• to left; border of dots.	30
Mars		
1	Beardless head right; border of dots.	19, 21, 23, 40, 41
2	Like no. 1, but bearded; border of dots.	20
3	Like no. 1, but bearded, and ↓X below left; border of dots ¹⁹ .	22
Turtle		
	Seen from above.	22
Frog		
	Seen from above.	23, 24, 25, 26
Man holding a palm-frond		
1	Without a value-mark.	29, 31, 32
2	•• to right; border of dots.	30
Mercury		
	Head wearing a petasus, right.	32, 33
Dolphin		
	Right, on a rudder.	33
Artemis		
	Bust right; bow and quiver on shoulder; border of dots.	34
Bearded man		
	Head right; border of dots.	36
Horse		
	Walking right.	37
Eagle		
1	Standing right, on exergual line, with wings open.	38
2	Like no. 1, but on thunderbolt.	39
3	Flying (?) left.	41
Uncertain object		
	A central «spear», and flanking «leaves»; three poor specimens known.	42, 43

19. *Mars 2* is uncertain: the die of no. 20 may be the same as no. 22, with the symbols off the flan.

Table 2: type-combinations

No.	Types					
1	Apollo 2 / Bull 2	Æ 13 mm	240°	1.43 g	Liri 27.158	
2	Bes 1 / Bull 2	Æ 13 mm	210°	1.95 g	Liri 14.070	
3	Apollo 1 / Bull 6 (nos. 3.1-3.5) or Apollo 3 / Bull 6 (no. 3.6). These coins (group C) are very consistent in style and flan-size					
3.1	Rev. No legend, or legend off flan	Æ 13 mm	330°	1.02 g	Naples, old excavations at Pompeii	
3.2	Rev. ΑΟΜΣ	Æ 13 mm	60°	1.06 g	Liri 4.194	
3.3	Rev. ΟΑΣΣ	Æ 11 mm	180°	0.81 g	Naples, purse hoard P10735	
3.4	Rev. No legend, or legend off flan	Æ 12 mm	90°	0.89 g	Liri 45.407	
3.5	Rev. ΜΑΣΣΑ	Æ 13 mm	0°	1.54 g	Liri 45.408	
3.6	Obv. Head left / Rev. ΜΟΣΣ	Æ 13 mm	0°	1.00 g	Naples, purse hoard P9030	
4	Apollo 2 / Horse's head 1	Æ 15 mm	270°	2.37 g	Pompeii, Uffici Scavi; from a cinerary urn in tomb 7 OS Columella 2	
5	Bes 1 / Horse's head 1	Æ 13 mm	90°	1.71 g	Pompeii, Forum 59155	
6	Bull 1 / Horse's head 1	Æ 14 mm		1.70 g	AAPP 140,155#330	
7	Horse's head 1 / Bull 3	Æ 15 mm		1.44 g	AAPP 140,147#219	
8	Bes 1 / Bull 3	Æ 15 mm	150°	2.31 g	Liri 27.051	
9	Apollo 1 / Bes 1	Æ 13 mm	330°	1.30 g	Naples, purse hoard P9043	
10	Apollo 3 / Horse's head 2	Æ 16 mm	0°	2.80 g	AAPP 137,7#57	
11	Apollo 3 / Bes 1	Æ 16 mm	30°	2.05 g	Ebusus, p. 125, no. 21 = Berlin	
12	Horse's head 3 / Bull 7	Æ 14 mm	90°	1.72 g	Ranucci 2008b, pl. I, 11	
13	Bes 1 / Bull 7	Æ 13 mm	30°	1.48 g	SNG BM Spain 323	
14	Horse's head 1 / Bull 8	Æ 14 mm		2.00 g	AAPP 617,97#83	
15	Bes 1 / Bull 8	Æ 14 mm	0°	1.34 g	Naples, old excavations at Pompeii	
16	Bes 1 / Bull 9	Æ 17 mm	0°	2.28 g	AAPP 140,147#224	
17	Bes 1 / Bull 10	Æ 16 mm	180°		Liri 100.095	
18	Bes 1 / Bull 4	Æ 13 mm		1.41 g	AAPP 319,90#675	
19	Mars 1 / Bull 2	Æ 13 mm		1.20 g	AAPP 600,26#199	
20	Mars 2 / Bull 5	Æ 12 mm		1.48 g	AAPP 120,18#173	
21	Mars 1 / Bes 1	Æ 15 mm	330°	1.63 g	AAPP 320,61#320	
22	Mars 3 / Turtle	Æ 12 mm	300°	1.90 g	AAPP 502,29#3	
23	Mars 1 / Frog	Æ 15 mm	30°	2.40 g	Naples, purse hoard P9041	
24	Bull 1 / Frog	Æ 15 mm		1.40 g	AAPP 32,7#212	
25	Bes 1 / Frog	Æ 14 mm	90°	1.55 g	AAPP 320,61#335	
26	Bes 4 / Frog	Æ 11 mm	120°	1.35 g	Naples, purse hoard P9042	
27	Bes 2 / Bes 2					
27.1	Obv. Dolphin; Rev. Caduceus	Æ 14 mm	300°	1.45 g	AAPP 320,61#329	
27.2	Obv. and Rev. Cornucopia	Æ 14 mm	270°	1.32 g	Naples, purse hoard P9044	
27.3	Obv. and Rev. Four-petalled flower	Æ 13 mm	210°	1.59 g	Berlin 1906 Löbbecke	

Table 2: type-combinations (cont.)

No.	Types					
27.4	Obv. and Rev. Caduceus	Æ 14 mm	210°	1.78 g	Naples, old excavations at Pompeii P5671	
27.5	Obv. Four-petaled flower; Rev. <i>Ayin</i> to right; <i>beth</i> ? (or <i>kof</i> ?) left	Æ 13 mm	180°	2.55 g	Liri 0.652	
28	Bes 3 / Bes 3 (nos. 28.1-4) or Bes 6 / Bes 6 (nos. 28.5-6); left hand raised and «T» to right, unless otherwise noted					
28.1		Æ 15 mm	300°	1.97 g	Liri 5.003	
28.2	Rev. Also wreath to left	Æ 16 mm	180°	1.88 g	Berlin 7902	
28.3	Obv. Right hand raised; «T» to right; Rev. Left hand rised; «T» to right	Æ 15 mm	270°	1.70 g	Liri 27.125	
28.4		Æ 11 mm	180°	0.79 g	Liri 9.001	
28.5	No «T»	Æ 11 mm	0°	1.66 g	Naples, purse hoard P9048	
28.6	No «T»	Æ 11 mm	180°	1.15 g	Naples, purse hoard P9050	
29	Bes 3 / Man with palm-frond 1	Æ 13 mm	0°		Liri 48.079	
30	Horse's head 4 / Man with palm-frond 2	Æ 21 mm	90°	5.19 g	Liri 48.024	
31	Apollo 1 / Man with palm-frond 1	Æ 15 mm	330°	1.67 g	Liri 45.440	
32	Mercury / Man with palm-frond 1	Æ 15 mm	240°	1.38 g	Liri 15.001	
33	Mercury / Dolphin	Æ 15 mm	120°		Liri 32.022	
34	Artemis / Bes 5	Æ 14 mm	30°	1.69 g	Paris, BnF MMA Muret/Chabouillet, 1969 = Luynes G.548 = La Tour, pl. IV, no. 1969; Frey-Kupper and Stannard, 2010: 139-141	
35	Apollo 1 / Bes 5	Æ 12 mm	60°	1.53 g	Entella Inv. E 3873	
36	Bearded man / Bes 5	Æ 12 mm	90°	0.92 g	Ebusus, p. 125, no 23 = Berlin	
37	Bes 7 / Horse	Æ 11 mm	135°	0.76 g	Berlin 1878/1323 (DS 1838); = Ebusus, p. 116, group X, no. 12. One other known (same dies), from a tomb at Lilybaion (Marsala)	
38	Eagle 1/Bull 1	Æ 13 mm	330°	1.01 g	Entella Inv. E 3876. One other known (same dies), Liri 53.005	
39	Bes 1 / Eagle 2	Æ 12 mm	210°	1.00 g	Pompeii, Via degli Augustali VII.4.28, 8028-13 (2011)	
40	Mars 1 / Bull 1	Æ 15 mm		1.78 g	Pompeii, Uffici Scavi, sporadic 43351	
41	Mars 1 / Eagle 3	Æ 13mm		1.49 g	AAPP 310,82#608	
42	Bes 1 / Uncertain object	Æ 10 mm			Pompeii, Perugia University	
43	Illegible / Uncertain object	Æ 15mm		1.17 g	PARP (2009), 28013-10	

Table 3: Provisional classification into groups

A	Mixed Massaliot, Ebusan, Roman and other types	nos. 1-2, 4-26, 37, 39, 42-43
	The interlinked type-combinations, and frequent die-links, testify to the homogeneity of this group. Despite the many dies used, group A is less common than other groups, particularly C and D. No. 26 may not belong to group A, despite the frog that it shares with nos. 23 to 25. No. 18 may also be out of style. Group A may be the earliest, because the imitations are closest to the prototypes, because some dies are of good style (cf. nos. 1 and 4), and the wide variety of types suggests a period of experimentation, before the pseudo-mint gets into its stride, but further evidence is needed.	
B	Bes / Bes. Probable imitations of <i>Ebusus</i> , group XVIII, but without symbols, or with symbols not attested in canonical <i>Ebusus</i>	nos. 27.1-27.5
	This may be an arbitrary group, rather than of pieces struck together. These are the most difficult pieces to identify as imitations, rather than canonical Ebusan coins. Flans are usually shorter than with the canonical coins. The left-hand Bes in the illustration of no. 27.1 is very close to some Bes of group A (nos. 11, 13 and 15-17), and this coin might better be placed there. The Punic letter on the «reverse» of no. 27.5 is unsure, perhaps <i>beth</i> or <i>kof</i> , but may be a «pseudo-letter».	
C	Small imitations of Massalia (Apollo / butting bull)	nos. 3.1-3.6
	These are the commonest imitations of Massalia, with a variety of legends, including ΜΑΣΣΑ itself. The group is very consistent: small heads of Apollo, with hair in a small bun; and a thin bull, with a sharply bent-back right foreleg, as on the Massaliot prototype. Although the legends may seem macaronic, they are of well-formed letters, and used on a number of dies, which may indicate that they carry a deliberate meaning. Stratigraphic evidence suggests that group C may be quite early.	
D	«Rudimentary» Bes / Bes, and Bes / man with a palm-frond and associated types	nos. 28.1-28.3, 29-33
	The rudimentary, linear style of Bes in this group is very characteristic. Despite much variation in detail, the group is very consistent: for variants, see Stannard, 2005 (b): 71-74, groups VIII, IX and X, 1 and 2. These are the commonest of the imitations of <i>Ebusus</i> . The sub-group around the man with a palm frond type, is linked to the «rudimentary» Bes / Bes sub-group by no. 29. The excavation evidence from the Casa di Arianna shows that this group was present early in the life of the pseudo-mint.	
E	Small Bes /Bes pieces, often of crude style	nos. 28.4-6
	There are a number of pieces on small flans, with Bes in a variety of crude styles on both faces: for variants, see Stannard 2005b: 74-75, group XI. No. 28.4 is of the «rudimentary» style of group D. This is an arbitrary grouping, and does not imply that the coins were struck together. Though common, they are less so than coins of groups C et D.	
F	Small heads or busts / Bes	nos. 34-36
	This group currently comprises three unique coins, none of which is known to have been found in Italy. No. 34 is from <i>Glanum</i> (Saint-Rémy), in Provence, and is discussed in Frey-Kupper and Stannard, 2010: 36-38. No. 35 is from excavations in 1987 at Entella (Rocca di Entella), in western Sicily. No. 36, in Berlin, has no provenance. All show a similar, degenerate «Italianate» Bes, and share a similar style. They are difficult to date, but with their thick, sharp-edged flans, would fit in the second quarter of the 1 st century BC.	
G	Miscellaneous	nos. 38 and 41

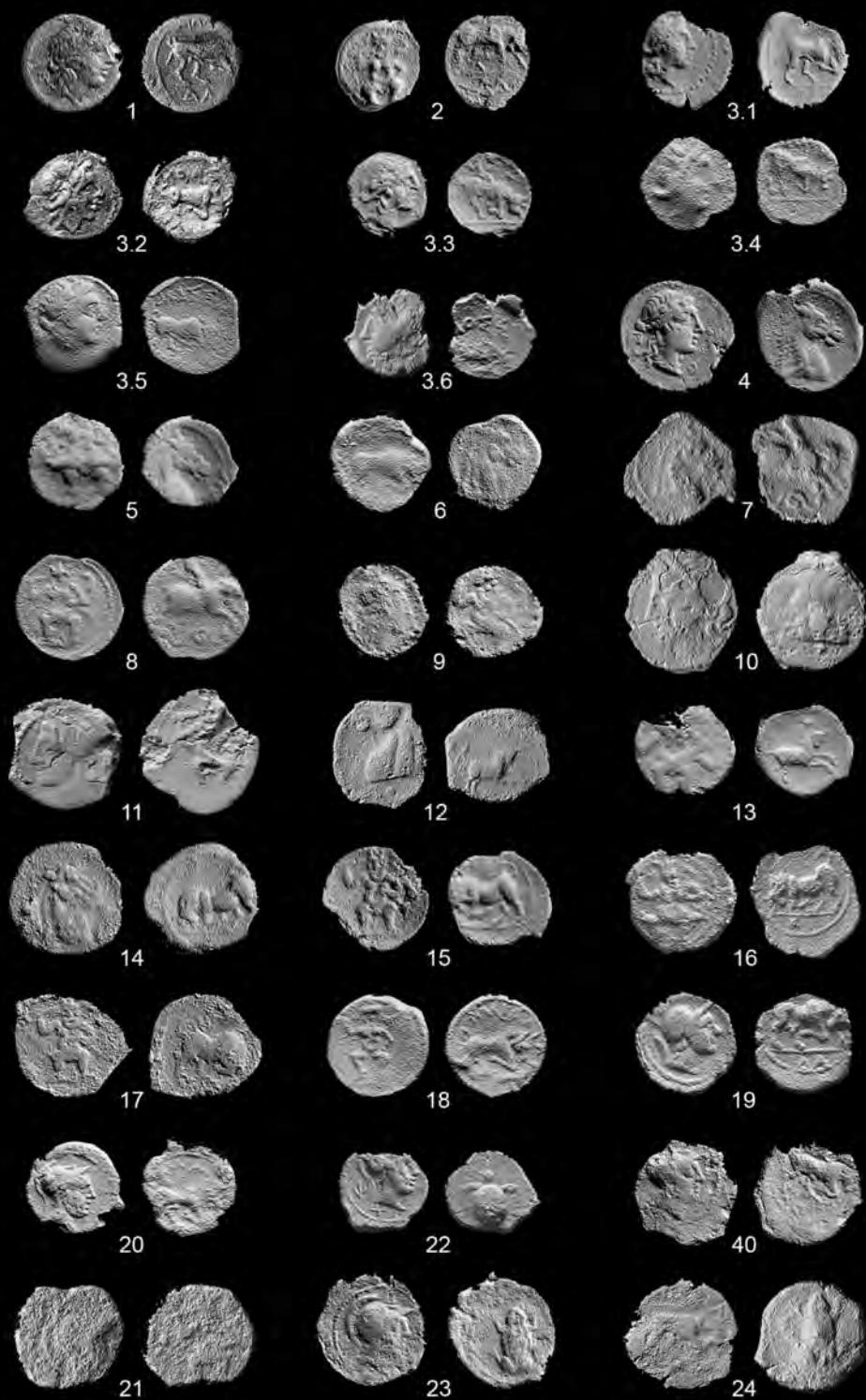


Figure 10. Type-combinations (I)

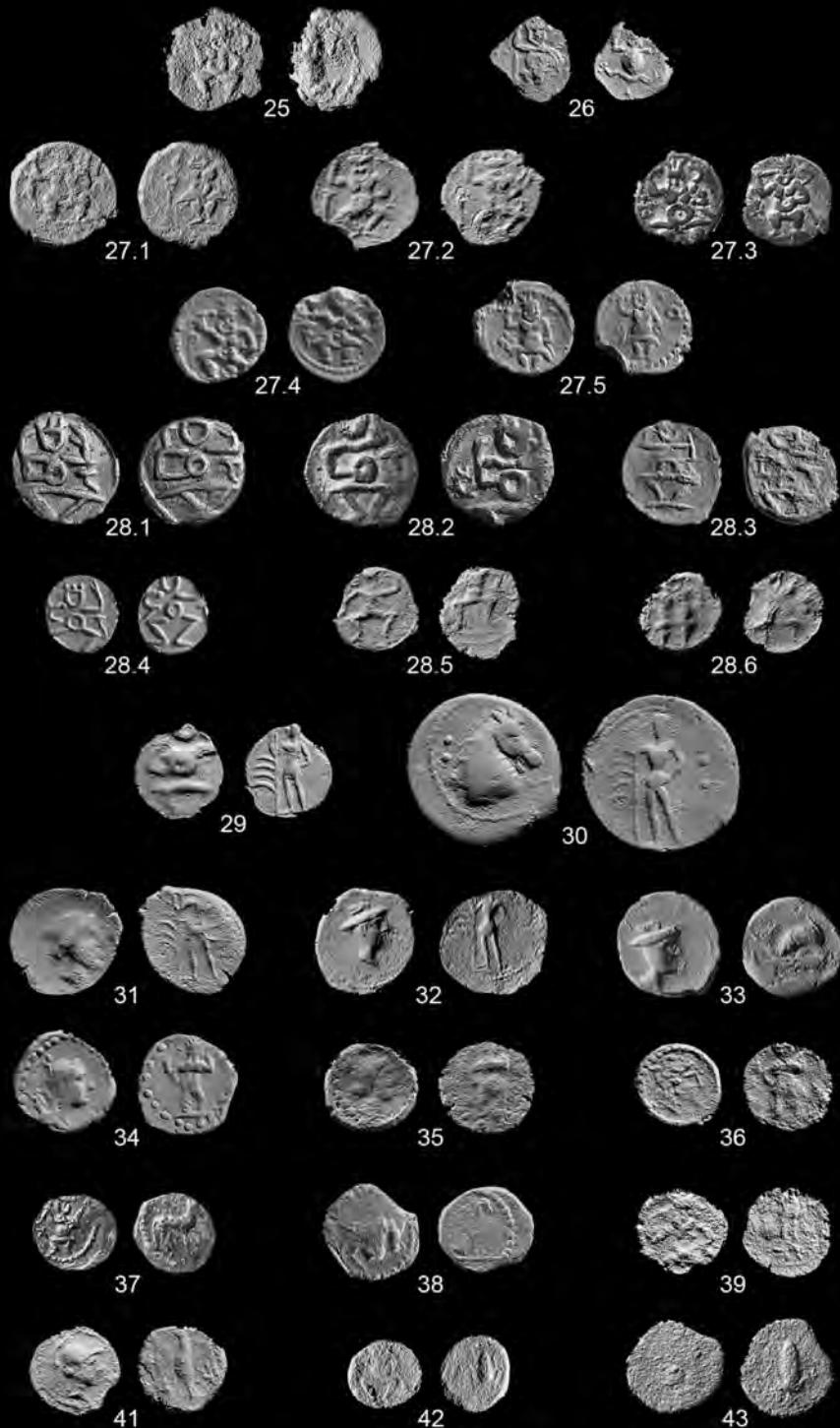


Figure 11. Type-combinations (2)

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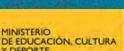
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Questa monografia contiene i contributi presentati in occasione di un incontro scientifico internazionale finalizzato ad analizzare le monete ebusitane e le loro imitazioni nel contesto archeologico di Pompei, tenutosi a Roma presso la Scuola Spagnola di Storia e Archeologia nel novembre 2010. L'evento si è svolto nell'ambito di un accordo di collaborazione e ricerca tra le università di Cadice e di Ca' Foscari Venezia, con la collaborazione della Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

Esta monografía recoge las contribuciones de una Reunión Científica internacional destinada a analizar las monedas ebusitanas, sus imitaciones y el contexto arqueológico de los hallazgos en Pompeya, la cual se celebró en la Escuela Española de Historia y Arqueología en Roma en noviembre del año 2010. Es fruto del Convenio de Colaboración e Investigación entre las universidades de Cádiz y Ca' Foscari de Venezia, con la colaboración de la Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



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