ACTA NUMISMÀTICA ~ 25

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Sumari

Introducció: A la memòria del Dr. Miquel Tarradell
per L. Villaronga. 9

Memòria de les activitats de la Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics durant l'any 1994 (A.M.B.). 11

Món antic

VILLARONGA, L. *L'emissió emporitana amb cap de be i revers de creu puntejada de la segona meitat del segle V aC.* 17
GOZALBES, Manuel-ESCRIVÁ, Carlos.*El tesoro de Jalance.* 35
STANNARD, Clive.*Iconographic parallels between the local coinages of central Italy and Baetica in the first century BC.* 47

Medieval

GRIERSON, Philip. *An Acci triens of King Ervig (680-7).* 99
BALAGUER, Anna M.- PUIG I FERRETÉ, Ignasi M. *El fons de monedes medievals d'Aragó i Navarra de la dinastia aragonesa del Gabinet Numismàtic de Catalunya.* 101
BARRANDON, J.N. - CRUSAFONT I SABATER, M - JOUSSEMET, J. *Identificació amb anàlisi per mètodes nuclears d'alguns florins de Perpinyà. Altres qüestions referents als florins catalans.* 121

Iconographic parallels between the local coinages of central Italy and Baetica in the first century BC

CLIVE STANNARD

1 THE LIRI ASSEMBLAGE

The purpose of this note is to draw attention to a number of unequivocal iconographic parallels between certain unpublished coinages of the first century BC from central Italy and the so-called '*plomos monetiformes*' of Baetica, southern Spain.[1] It is a report on work in progress, and its purpose is to request Spanish numismatists to bring further specimens and related issues that they may know of to my attention.[2]

In publishing these central Italian pieces, I have drawn upon material that I gathered over the last ten years, for systematic publication in due course. I became aware of the existence and importance of the material, while studying 'foreign'—that is, non-Roman—coins reported to have come from the River Liri or Garigliano, at the Roman colony of Minturnae, published, in trade or in private collections. I have recorded a few thousand such pieces. Within this material, a few hundred unattributed or misattributed pieces stood out; many

1 The major published source is Antón Casariego, Gonzalo Cores y Francisco Pliego, *Catálogo de Plomos Monetiformes de la Hispania Antigua* (Madrid, 1987) = *Plomos*.

2 Preferably in the form of plaster casts, and, failing that, photographs, c/o *Acta Numismàtica*, Escola Pia, 85, 08201 Sabadell (Barcelona).

could be grouped together, by style, fabric,[3] type and legend. These I presume to be local issues, and describe as the 'central Italian' assemblage.[4] With a growing understanding of this material, I investigated the unattributed material in a number of museums, and identified a variety of further issues and many more specimens.[5]

Various overstrikes date the bulk of the assemblage to the 90s BC, or later. It includes both bronze and lead pieces, the latter—as in the case of the Baetican *plomos monetiformes*—struck rather than cast. Like the *plomos*, the Liri lead frequently has uncial values, which raises the most important question of whether they were used as a medium of exchange, and, if so, who issued them, and why. Some of the pieces are clearly unofficial, most obviously the rough copies of Republican *quadrantes* that are frequent in the Liri material.[6] The bulk of the assemblage, however, is not merely imitative: issuers are often identified;

3 In particular, many of the bronze issues share a dumpy, triangular fabric. Another characteristic of both lead and bronze is the very frequent use of wreathed borders.

4 For published material, see three articles in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (Bruce W. Frier and Anthony Parker, 'Roman coins from the River Liri', *NC* 7 10 (1970), pp. 89-109; W.E. Metcalf, 'Roman coins from the River Liri. II', *NC* 7 14 (1974), pp. 42-52; and W.E. Liane Houghtalin, 'Roman coins from the River Liri. III', *NC* 145 (1985), pp. 67-81). The same coins are covered in S. Dominic Ruegg, *Underwater investigations at Roman Minturnae, Liris-Garigliano River* (Partille, Sweden, 1995), pp. 61-73; lead material is described in chapter IX, pp. 148-152. See also R. Martini, *Monetazione bronzea romana tardo-repubblicana. I* (Milan, 1988), p. 96-7, on the material from the river Liri in commerce. Brother Dominic also kindly provided me with hand-lists of the coins catalogued in *Liri I* and *II*.

5 In recording material for my study, I impose an 'accession number' on each piece, which uniquely identifies it. An accession number is composed of two elements: a whole number, signifying the block of coins in which the piece was recorded, and a decimal number in three places, signifying the individual piece within that block. I shall cite specimens by accession number in this paper, so that they may be identified when my study is published. Coins with the accession block number, **0**, have no geographic provenance (and are mainly from public collections); **7** indicates Baetican issues mentioned in *Plomos* of which I have not recorded an actual specimen; **31** is Señor J.R. Cayón's important collection of Baetican lead; **33** is material shown me by Señor F. Pliego in Seville; other numbers usually indicate a Liri provenance. I thank Señor Cayón and Señor Pliego for their assistance.

6 Michael H. Crawford, 'Unofficial imitations and small change under the Roman Republic', *AIIN* 29 (1982), pp. 139-163, has published almost a corpus of these unprepossessing objects. 'I suspect the phenomenon is essentially of the first three-quarters of the first century [BC] ... I suspect that the imitations of small denominations [were] evoked by the need for small change'. He suggests that such imitations circulated in 'Italy and the Romanised provinces of Narbonensis and what later became Tarraconensis', and points out that 'the imitation of Republican bronzes is not for the most part a Roman phenomenon'. I would rather

groups of issues are sometimes co-ordinated by denomination in a way that does not smack of random copying; and there is a distinct and characteristic range of types, not closely linked to the Republican coinage, which it is the purpose of this paper to describe, when they are shared with the Baetican issues. On the other hand, other factors suggest that many of the issues are not regular state coinages: many are anepigraphic; none have legends explicitly identifying a place of issue; and the types of many seem 'anecdotal' (a common characteristic is full length figures on both faces)[7]. My working hypothesis is that a range of issuers and reasons for issue must be assumed. Some may be civic or emergency issues from the time of the social wars down to the civil wars; others may be issued by trading groups as local or 'company' coinage; and some may be struck by individuals for motives ranging from public service to fraud, in the context of a general lack of small change in the late Republic.[8]

attribute the bulk of the material to central Italy, while recognising that various groups of imitations—which do not concern me here—originated elsewhere, such as the Andalusian *semis* imitations discussed by Leandre Villaronga, 'Imitaciones de moneda romana republicana de bronce en la Península', *Gaceta Numismàtica* 79 (1985), pp. 33-40. One horde of these imitations, associated with coins of Carteia ending *c.* 70 BC, is published in Francisca Chavez, 'Hallazgo de un conjunto monetal a orillas del Guadalete (Cádiz)', in *Studia Paleohispanica et Indogermanica: J. Untermann ab amicis hispanicis oblata*', *Aurea Saecula* 10 (1993), pp. 117-129.

7 Issues often have what look like two 'reverse' types. However, the various couplings of dies across issues makes it clear that they were interchangeable; there is no way of telling which was set in the pile and which in the trussel; so that 'obverse' and 'reverse' have little meaning. I showed such die mobility in 'Two-headed and two-tailed *denarii* in the Roman Republic', *NC* 147 (1987), pp. 160-3, and 'Two-headed and two-tailed *denarii* again', *Annotazioni Numismatiche* 1,17 (March 1995), pp. 361-3.

8 The much larger numbers of foreign coins associated with the local material may also have been pressed into service to supply small change. A phenomenon of note is the frequent over-striking of foreign coins with imitative Republican types: I have recorded overstrikes of Cos (*SNG Dan* 677-82), the Volcae Arecomici (BMC Celtic Coins, III, 215-229), and Cyrenaica (*SNG Dan*, given to the Ptolemies, Cyprus, uncertain mints, 685-90; see fn. 23). I have also recorded overstrikes of central Italian issues by other central Italian issues, and Republican pieces overstruck with local types. (The last are difficult to explain as resulting from a lack of small change.) There are also various imitative pieces: Termessus, Pisidia (die-linked to imitative Republican *quadrantes*); Panormus, Sicily, with barbarous legends (*SNG Dan*, Panormus, 533-542 are examples); and, I suspect, Ebusus (as discussed below).

2 THE SPANISH MATERIAL

I shall not here describe the foreign material,[9] except to note briefly the Spanish coins it includes. Spanish mints other than Ebusus[10] account for 2.8 per cent of the foreign assemblage; Ebusus itself accounts for a further 5.7 per cent. This very high proportion of Ebusan coins in the Liri finds is particularly striking; Ebusus—with Marseille, Cyrenaica[11] and Naples—is amongst the commonest foreign mints, and I have no easy explanation for the phenomenon. The frequency with which Ebusan bronze is found in Italy has already been documented,[12] but the number of specimens in the Liri material shows the inadequacy of our understanding of this phenomenon.[13] There are other unusual elements in the Ebusan material: a number of yet unpublished varieties are included; and more than half of the coins are of Campo's group XVIII, 71,[14] which is far from common in Spain itself. I illustrate a characteristic specimen.[15]

9 oreign material includes a very wide range of non-Roman mints, from the fourth century BC to about the time of Christ. Dominique Gerin at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris is studying this material, while I am studying the local coinages, and we will publish jointly.

10 At least the following mints are present (references are to Leandre Villaronga, *Corpus Nummum Hispaniae ante Augusti Aetatem* (Madrid, 1994) = *CNHAA*, and Andrew Burnett, Michel Amandry and Pere Pau Ripollès, Roman Provincial Coinage, Volume 1 (London and Paris, 1992) = *RPC*: **Gadir**: *CNHAA* 40-41? (2 pieces); **Malaka**: *CNHAA* 21, *CNHAA* 4 (2 pieces); **Inciertas con escritura libio-fenice**: *CNHAA* 20; **Untikesken**: *CNHAA* 5 and 67-70; **Emporia**: *as CNHAA* ? (2 pieces); *CNHAA* 64? (2 pieces); **Kese**: *unit CNHAA* ?; *CNHAA* 86, *quarter CNHAA* ? *CNHAA* 48, *sixth CNHAA* ?; **Ilturo**: *CNHAA* 16; **Baitolo**: *CNHAA* 5; **Iltirkesken**: *CNHAA* 1; **Bolscan**: *CNHAA* 8; **Sekia**: *CNHAA* 3; **Kelse**: *CNHAA* 9? (2 pieces); **Bibilis**: *CNHAA* 1?; **Tanusia**: *CNHAA* 1; **Arse**: *CNHAA* 31-2; *CNHAA* 33?; **Ikalkusken**: *CNHAA* 6?; **Kastilo-Castulo**: *as CNHAA* ?, *CNHAA* 43; **Ilipense**: *CNHAA* 4; **Lastigi**: *CNHAA* 5; **Corduba**: *cf. CNHAA* 1-8 (2 pieces); **Cartagonova**: *CNHAA* 2; **Carteia:** CNHAA 71?; **Ilici**: *RPC* 192; **Imitaciones siglo I a.C**: *semis cf. CNHAA* p. 427, 1-3.

11 Overwhelmingly *SNG Dan*, given to the Ptolemies, Cyprus, uncertain mints, 685-90; see fn. 23.

12 With published finds from, for example, Aeclanum (Mirabella Eclano), Cosa, Ordona (Foggia), the Paestum area, Roma, San Felicita (Rocca San Felice), the Salerno area, Pompeii, Sarno and Velia.

13 Attilio Stazio, 'Rapporti tra Pompei ed Ebusus nelle Baleari alla luce dei rinvenimenti monetali', *AIIN* 2 (1955), pp. 33-57, suggested a link to the wine trade from Campania to Spain, but it is difficult to see how this could scatter Ebusan small change the length of Italy.

14 Marta Campo, *Las monedas de Ebusus* (Barcelona, 1976).

1 Æ 15 ↖ 1.9 **5.003**

The particular crudeness of the design sets it apart from other Ebusan issues. A feature worth noticing is that, on most of these pieces, the god Bes raises his left, rather than his right hand: I suspect this is due to very mechanical copying, and to the engraver failing to cut the die in a mirror-image of his model. I am inclined to regard the issue as imitative, and probably struck in northern Campania.[16] I date it, by association with the bulk of the local assemblage, to the 90s BC, or later. In support of such a date, I also illustrate a late anonymous *quadrans* struck over an Ebusan piece of Campo's group XVIII.[17]

2 Æ 15 ↙ 2.75 **16.010**

15 The information given when citing a piece, here and elsewhere, is: its sequential number, the metal, the diameter in mm., the die axes, the weight in grammes, and the accession number. PbS stands for struck lead.

16 In recent publications, Marta Campo has accepted this proposal: 'Recientemente C. Stannard nos hizo observar que una gran cantidad de los ejemplares procedentes de la Península Itálica, pertenecían a este tipo, además de ser frecuentes en los catálogos de subastas italianos. El tipo Grupo XVII-71 tiene unas características muy diferentes a los del resto de esta serie. La representación de Bes es extraordinariamente esquemática y junto al dios suele aparacer un signo parecido a una T, difícilmente asimilable a ninguna letra púnica ... Todo ello nos lleva también a reconsiderar el problema y en estar de acuerdo con la propuesta de C. Stannard sobre la posible acuñación en la Península Itálica, concretamente en la zona de Campania de estos ejemplares ... no hemos identificado ninguna moneda de este tipo hallado en la isla de Ibiza y en la Península Ibérica, sólo Empúries ha dado un ejemplar' ('Las monedas de Ebusus', in *Jornadas de arqueología fenico-púnica VII*, Trabajos del Museo Arqueológico de Ibiza 31, p. 156).

17 The overtype is probably Cr. 339/4c (anonymous) of *c.* 91 BC. Even dated to the first quarter of the first century BC, it remains difficult to explain the phenomenon, or link the issue to an event in the island's history. One such event may be Sertorius' invasion of Ebusus and its recapture, though it is difficult to see just how this can explain imitative bronze issues in Campania: 'L'any 82 a.C., Sertori, que des dels territoris hispànics s'havia enfrontat a la dictadura de Sila, desembarca a Eivissa i derrota la guarnició romana de l'illa, comendada per Anni. Però, poc després, Anni retorna amb una gran flota i cinq mil infants. Sertori li planteja una batalla naval, però una forta tempesta dispersa les seves naus i l'obliga a fugir, amb grans dificultats, amb els vaixells supervivents (Plutarc: *Sertori*, VII, 1; Anni Floro: *Bellum Sertorianum*, II, 10)' (Benjamí Costa i Jordi H. Fernández, ''*YDSHM* (Eivissa). Història d'un centre púnic emissor de moneda', in *La Moneda a l'Eivissa Púnica* (Palma de Majorca, 1994), p. 29.

3 COMMON TYPES

3.1 Man with a 'shovel' and *askos*

One of the commonest types, in both the central Italian and the Baetican material, is a male figure, usually in a short tunic, that sometimes fails to conceal a large, flaccid phallus. In other cases, he appears naked, and is often exaggeratedly ithyphallic. He most frequently carries a 'shovel' on his shoulder, and an *askos* in his hand, or the *askos* alone; the *askos* also appears as an independent type. Both lead and bronze issues are known, and there are sometimes strikes of the same issue in the two metals, at different weights.

3.1.1 The central Italian material

GROUP 1

Obv.:Man striding left, a sack over his shoulder, and his right hand raised; D·ΓOR to left; border of dots.
Rev.:Man wearing tunic striding right, carrying an *askos* in his right hand; a 'shovel', on his shoulder; border of dots.

3 Æ 19 9 5.80 **0.497** Madrid (this coin)[18]

Obv.:Serpent-staff, club and *caduceus*; border of dots.

4 Æ 22 ← 5.48 **0.055** SNG Dan Romano-Sicilian 1064 (this coin)

Obv.:Victory right; border of dots.
The coin is overstruck. The obverse undertype is illegible. The reverse undertype is a crab; the claws can be seen at 6 o'clock, facing downwards.

5 Æ 15 ↓ 4.88 **0.056** SNG Dan Romano-Sicilian 1063 (this coin)

Obv.:Head of Apollo facing; D·ΓORCI to left and below; border of dots.
Rev.:Lyre; unclear symbol to left; border of dots.
Overstruck on a quadrans: the prow right and ⁝ can be seen at 2 o'clock on the reverse.

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

18 I illustrate a number of pieces from the Madrid cabinet as central Italian. Much of the Madrid collection is made up of coins acquired in Italy at the time of the Spanish dominance; I could find no evidence of Spanish provenance for these pieces.

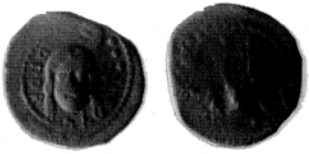
1

2

3

4

5



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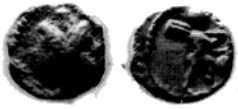

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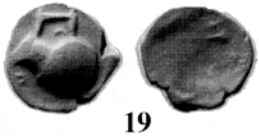

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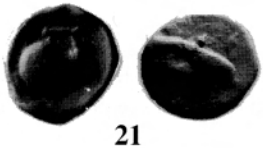


21

Obv.:Same, but no legend.

7 Æ 17 ↖ 2.95 **0.265** Copenhagen uncertain (this coin)

Bahrfeldt attributed no. 3 to Sicily in Roman times, from the one specimen he knew, in Berlin.[19] Nos. 4 and 5 were attributed to Sicily in *SNG Dan* because of their similarity to the material Bahrfeldt had published. The undertype of no. 6 provides a date, probably of the late second, or early first century BC.

GROUP 2

Obv.:Head of Janus; border of dots.
Rev.:Man wearing a tunic striding right, carrying askos in right hand; 'shovel' on his shoulder; Ꞑ to left; border of dots.

8 Æ 17 5 2.51 **0.146** Paris Z3151 (this coin) = Bahr. 1904 87

9 Æ 13 5 1.89 **0.330** Berlin Löbbecke (this coin)

Rev.:Same, but no monogram.

10 Æ 14 0 2.04 **0.329** Berlin Dressel = Bahr. 1904 87 (pp. 434-5 and pl. V, 101) (this coin)

The legend on no. 8, Ꞑ, is one of the commonest in the central Italian assemblage. Various members of the Annia family use it as it is, or in a number of expanded forms.[20]

No. 8 is struck on wider flans, and is heavier than nos. 9 and 10. I know of one piece like no. 8 struck on a *quadrans*, probably of the late second or early first century BC.[21]

19 M. Bahrfeldt, 'Die römisch-sicilischen Münzen aus der Zeit der Republik', *Revue suisse de numismatique* XII (1904); p. 435 and pl. 5, 103. Bahrfeldt attributed to Sicily a number of what I believe to be central Italian issues.

20 I shall not here cite issues with types that do not relate to those of the Spanish material. Legends include Ꞑ and **L·ꞐNI** (linked by type to **L·CAE** and **STATI TREBON**), ꞐꞐN, Γ·ꞐI and Γ·Ꞑ; and ꞐN/**SEX**. For some of these, see group 21, below.

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

GROUP 3

as *after c. 91 BC*

Obv.: Forepart of lion right.

Small dies on a large flan; the borders of dots are of 13 mm diameter. Struck over a Republican *semis*.

11 Æ 27 ↙ 10.42 **0.187** Paris Ailly 977 = *Rech.* pl. LVIII, 9 = Bahr. 1904, p. 435, g (this coin).

quadrans?

Rev.: Ram standing right.

11 mm diameter border of dots. Overstruck on Cyrenaica.

12 Æ 17 ↖ 1.61 **15.003**

All other known specimens of no. 11 appear to be struck over Republican *asses* of the *Lex Papiria* standard introduced in *c.* 91 BC.[22] I know three specimens of no. 12, all struck over Cyrenaica, on pieces probably acquired after 96 BC.[23]

GROUP 4

Obv.: Beardless male head right.

Rev.: Man striding right, on an exergual line, carrying an *askos*; **C·AVE** up behind; border of dots.

13 PbS 16 ↘ 2.46 **18.073**

Obv.: Bust of Hercules seen from behind, with head turned left, and a club on his right shoulder; border of dots.

Rev.: Man striding left with a 'shovel' on his shoulder; **C·AVE** to left.

14 Æ 21 ↙ 6.77 **0.499** Madrid (this coin)

The last two pieces are of interest because the same issuer strikes both lead and bronze—if the common legend, in fact, indicates a single issuer.[24]

22 The fact of overstriking standard Republican coinage is important; the use of current coins as flans suggests that the products must have had at least the value of the pieces sacrificed.

23 *Obv.*: Head of Zeus-Amon right; *Rev.*: Head-dress of Isis: this particular issue is one of the commonest foreign coins with a Liri provenance, accounting for *c.* 2.7 per cent of the foreign assemblage. It is also frequently overstruck with central Italian types. 'These are the coins which the Romans would have found in circulation at the time of their acquisition of Cyrenaica [in 96 BC]. So abundant were they that they continued to circulate into Imperial times'; T.V. Buttrey, 'Crete and Cyrenaica', in A.M. Burnett and M.H. Crawford, eds., *The Coinage of the Roman World in the Late Republic* (Oxford, 1987), p. 165.

24 Lead and bronze usually differ stylistically, in that lead is usually struck in much higher relief than bronze. No. 14 is a typical example of the triangular flan that characterises many of the bronze issues.

GROUP 5

*Obv.:*Head of Janus; ÆC to left; border of dots.
*Rev.:*Man in a short tunic, with large pendant phallus, advancing right, an *askos* in his left hand, a 'shovel' on his shoulder; border of dots.

15	PbS	21	←	7.35	**30.009**
16	Æ	14	↙	0.86	**11.001**

These are lead and bronze strikes from the same pair of dies, which were clearly prepared for the larger lead flans.[25]

GROUP 6

*Obv.:*Eagle with wings spread, right;[26] border of dots.
Rev.:Askos right.

17	Æ	14	↑	1.18	**0.231**	Copenhagen uncertain (this coin)

*Obv.:*Head of Hercules right; club on shoulder; border of dots.
*Rev.:*Club, *askos* and, probably, a third object to the left, but not struck up; border of dots.

18	Æ	17	↓	4.34	**0.254**	Copenhagen uncertain (this coin)

Obv.:Askos left.
*Rev.:*Blank, or obliterated.

19	Æ	15		2.03	**0.486**	Madrid (this coin)

*Obv.:*Head of Vulcan[27] wearing *pileus* right, tongs on shoulder; border of dots.

25 There is a wide spread of weights among pieces in most lead issues, and probably little precision in the standards. For what is worth, a statistical analysis of lead and bronze pieces in group 5, and in another group not listed here (because it does not share types with the Baetican series), gives the following results.

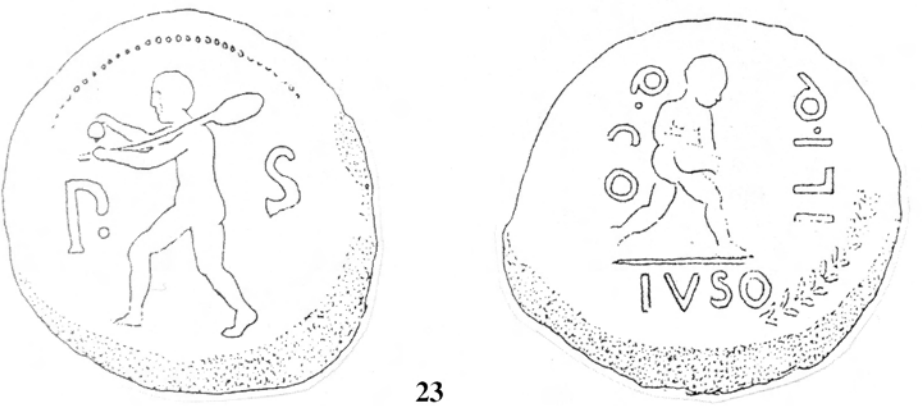
	N	x	s
PbS	14	7.88g	2.77g
Æ	3	0.85g	0.15g

From these figures, one may conjecture the relative values of Æ:Pb at about 1:9 or 1:10.

26 The eagle with its wings spread is itself used on a small group of pieces, which I do not list here, for lack of Spanish parallels.

27 The head of Vulcan is itself a common type, which I consider in section 3.3.

22



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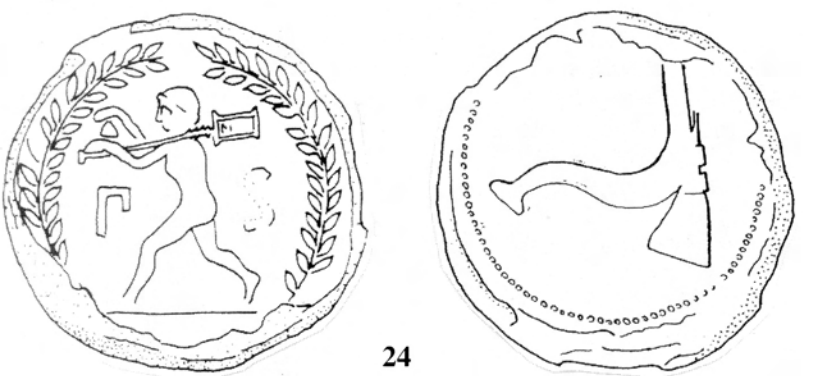

24

*Rev.:*Staff, *askos* and 'shovel' or rudder; border of dots.
20 Æ 16 ↗ 1.72 **0.245** Copenhagen uncertain (this coin)

Obv.:Askos right.
*Rev.:*Unreadable.
21 PbS 16 3.59 **28.006**

Nos. 17 to 21 are miscellaneous pieces, on which we have the *askos* without the man with the 'shovel'.

3.1.2 The Baetican material

GROUP 7

*Obv.:*Naked man walking left, a 'shovel' inscribed Γ RUM over his left shoulder, holding out a bell in his right hand; **Γ· S** on either side; all in a laurel-wreath tied below.
*Rev.:*Naked man, half kneeling right, his left leg forwards, pouring liquid from an *askos*; a phallus decorated with fillets downwards to right; **Q·CO· ILI·Q·** around; **LVSO** in linear tablet in exergue; all in a laurel-wreath with berries, tied below.
22 PbS 53 ↓ 123.39 **0.503** *Plomos* p. 26, 1; Carmen Alfaro Asins, Numismàtica y Medallística, fig. 31 = Madrid (this piece)

*Obv.:*Same, but 'shovel' uninscribed, and border of dots, instead of a wreath.
*Rev.:*Same, but no decorated phallus, and no tablet in exergue.
23 PbS 52 113.0 **7.002** *Plomos* p. 26, no. 2

*Obv.:*Same as no. 22.
*Rev.:*Axe, with handle left.
24 PbS 47 149.4 **7.003** *Plomos* p. 26, no. 3

*Obv.:*Naked man, with large erect phallus, striding right, a 'shovel' on his left shoulder. **NONI IO MINVS** around; **SJ** between legs.
Rev.:[28]**AAT LAN** in two lines; border of dots.
25 PbS 51 ↘ **31.010** *Plomos* p. 27, no. 4; Cayón (this piece)

*Rev.:*Pentagram; border of dots.
26 PbS 45 **31.008** *Plomos* p. 27, no. 5; Cayón (this piece)

28 This reverse is also used on a piece with *Obv.*: Cock(?) left (*Plomos* p. 27, no. 6).

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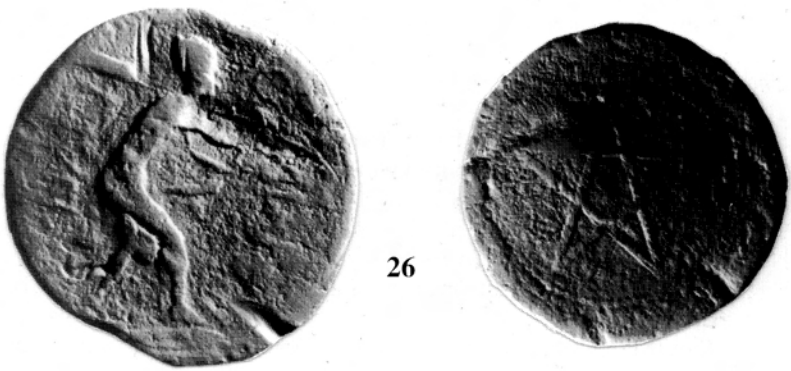

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I know of the use of the pentagram on one central Italian piece. The pentagram is sufficiently ubiquitous for the parallel to be tenuous.

Obv.:Head of Selinus right; border of dots.
Rev.:Pentagram; unreadable legend around; border of dots.

27 PbS 14 3.23 **23.066**

GROUP 8

Obv.:Bearded head of Vulcan wearing *pileus* right, tongs on shoulder; **S** before; all in wreath tied below.
Rev.:Naked man striding right, a 'shovel' on his shoulder; behind, a second, smaller figure striding right;**N** before; all in wreath tied below.

28 PbS 46 ↘ **31.010**
Plomos p. 30, no. 17; Cayón (this piece)

quadrans[29]
*Obv.:*Beardless head of Vulcan(?) wearing *pileus*(?) right.
Rev.: Naked man striding right, a 'shovel' over his left shoulder; ••• above.

29 PbS 36 68.6 **7.007** *Plomos* p. 31, no. 24

Obv.:Beardless head of Vulcan left.
Rev.:Same; no value-mark visible.

30 PbS 32 40.7 **7.008** *Plomos* p. 31, no. 23

quadrans
*Obv.:*Head of Vulcan, wearing *pileus* right, tongs on shoulder; border of dots.
*Rev.:*Man with 'shovel' on his shoulder striding right; ⁝ to right; border of dots.

31 Æ 18 3.83 **0.033** *CHNAA* p. 426; Lindgren European Mints 625 (this coin).

*Obv.:*Beardless male head right; naked(?) man striding right, a 'shovel' over his shoulder; **L·HERENI·C** before.
*Rev.:*Beardless male head right; **...ARCI·C** around.

32 PbS 39-45 57.1-140.3 **7.009** *Plomos* p. 32, no. 25

*Obv.:*Naked man striding right, a 'shovel' over his shoulder; ring, from which are suspended two strigils and an *aryballos* to right.[30]

29 We may attempt another method of estimating the relative values of bronze and lead. If no. 29 is intended to stand for a semi-uncial bronze *quadrans* of *c.* 3.8g, then the Æ:Pb ratio is about 1:20; in the case of no. 30, the ratio is about 1:12.

30 I thank Señor Francisco de Paula Pérez Sindreu for showing me the piece. M. Paz García-Bellido analyses it in 'Nuevos Documentos sobre Mineria y Agricultura Romanas en

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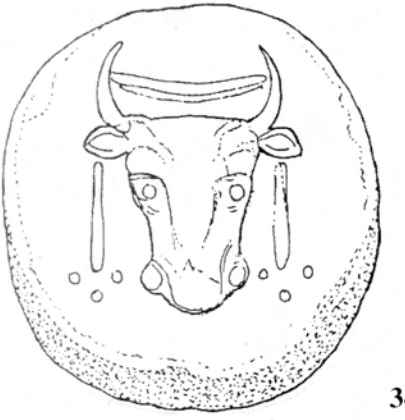

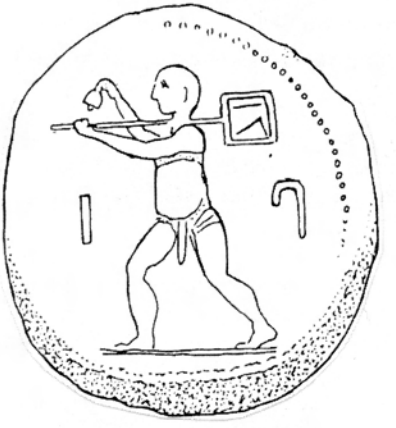

34

Rev.: **CELTE**; *askos*(?) below; wreath(?) above.

33 PbS 26 ✓ 8.69 **0.576** Colección Gago 138, Sevilla = *Plomos* p. 8 (Celti), no. 2 (this piece)

This is an important piece, because it links the man-with-a-'shovel' group to the strigils-and-*aryballos* group (which I describe in section 3.2). I do not know another piece in either the Baetican or central Italian assemblages that makes this link.

GROUP 9

Obv.: Filleted bull's head, facing.[31]
Rev.: Naked man with large pendant phallus striding left, a 'shovel' over his shoulder; I ꟻ on either side; border of dots.

34 PbS 47-56 147.7-239.7 **7.012** *Plomos* p. 27, no. 7 (this piece)

GROUP 10

Obv.: Man wearing a short tunic striding left, carrying an *askos*, a 'shovel' over his shoulder; border of dots.
Rev.: Blank.

35 PbS 19 4.49 **33.001** Pliego (this coin)

3.1.3 Discussion

The man with the 'shovel' is an icon, with a fixed representation and standard attributes, not merely a casual image. In the Italian material, his attributes are as follows: he invariably wears a short tunic; a large, pendant phallus can sometimes be seen; he is always represented walking; and he carries either his 'shovel' on his shoulder, or an *askos*, or both. I first took him—not noticing the phallus—for Ulysses, with the oar over his shoulder,[32] because a short tunic, like he wears, is used for Ulysses on the Republican *denarius serratus*

Hispania', *Archivo Español de Archeología* 59, nos. 153 and 154 (1986), p. 15. On balance, I doubt the attribution to Celti (Peñaflor, Sevilla).

31 This piece is part of a large group with the bull's head type, which I do not describe here, because there are no central Italian parallels (*Plomos* 28-9, nos. 8-15; the reverse type is a boar right); on *plomos* 15 is probably the decorated phallus of my no. 22. The following legends appear in the group: **Γ·S/M·LE**, **Ā/M·LE**, **Ā** and **Ā**.

32 Carrying the oar inland in expiation of his sins against Poseidon, until he meets a man who is so ignorant of the sea that he takes it for a winnowing-fan, as Teiresias instructs him on his visit to the underworld.

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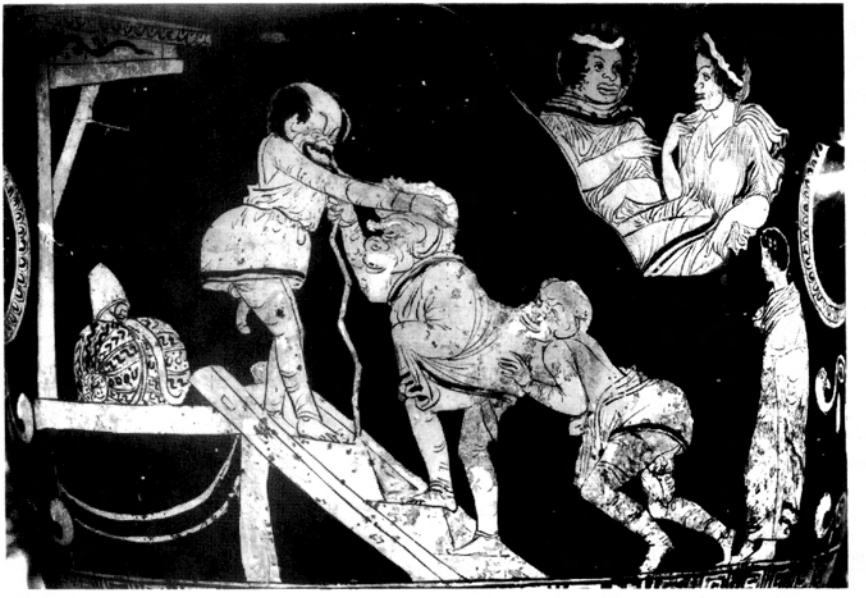

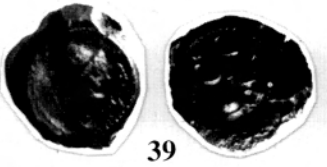

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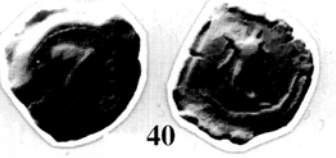

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of **C·MAMILIVS LIMENTANVS,** Cr. 362/1, of *c.* 82 BC. The shepherd, Faustulus,[33] wears the same tunic on another *denarius*, Cr. 235/1, **SEX·POM·FOSTLVS**, of *c.* 137 BC. Moreover, a similarly dressed figure appears on other central Italian issues:

Obv.: Wolf suckling twins right; border of dots.
Rev.: Ulysses (or Faustulus) leaning on a staff, left; **C IL** around; border of dots.

36	Æ	20	↘	4.25	**0.145**	Paris Z3150 (this coin)

Obv.: Same, but *ficus Ruminalis* behind.
Rev.: Same, but figure right, and no legend.

37	Æ	18	↘	3.31	**26.012**	*Cf.* Garrucci, pl. LXXX, 21: 'È nella collezione mia che il rinvenni negli scavi di Vigna Velluti in Palestrina'.

But the Baetican material adds attributes that make this identification unlikely. These are: apparent nakedness; frequent ithyphallicism; and, on a number of pieces, the figure is ringing a bell.[34]

Is the man with the 'shovel' and *askos* a miner, in support of which one may cite the heavy exploitation by Rome of the Baetican mines? I see no direct evidence of such an identification,[35] and, in a number of cases, in both materials, the object the figure carries on his shoulder is clearly not a miner's shovel.[36]

In interpreting the type, we need to explain both the strange 'shovel', and the phallus.[37] I suggest that the man with the 'shovel' encompasses two separate types, the one being a representation of the other: firstly a farmer going to work, with an *askos* to water his plants,[38] and a shovel or winnowing-fan on his

33 Ulysses/Faustulus also wears a *pileus* and carries a staff; on Cr. 362/1, he wears a cloak as well: none of these attributes occur with the central Italian man-with-a-'shovel' type.

34 M. Paz García-Bellido, 'Nuevos Documentos...', p. 28, describes the man with the bell as follows: 'Un capataz que con pala ancha al hombro va tocando la campanilla para indicar que el comienzo o el fin del trabajo ha llegado'.

35 As I discuss in section 3.3.3, I do not believe that the other type cited as referring to mining, Vulcan, certainly does so.

36 On the central Italian issue, no. 15, it seems to be composed of a oval central blade, with a 'horn' on either side. On the Baetican piece, no. 22, the instrument is inscribed, and could be interpreted as a standard of some sort.

37 Ithyphallic figures are not part of the numismatic iconography of the Roman Republic, or of the Italian peninsula generally, in this period.

38 The *askos* looks very similar on all pieces—except no. 33, where the mouth is so wide

shoulder, and secondly a comic actor, playing such a person in the theatre, sometimes with a stylised inscribed 'shovel'.[39] The comic actor can be identified by the phallus shown on some of these issues: his costume 'consisted of a pair of loose-fitting drawers, grotesquely padded and hung with an oversized phallus. The latter was scarcely concealed by the inadequate length of an ill-fitting tunic worn on the upper part of the body';[40] the figure on no. 15 clearly meets this description.[41] Support comes also from the fact that the central Italian lead issues include a number with theatrical themes (masks and actors declaiming).[42] An example is the following piece, which appears to show a theatre scene, with an actor wearing such a costume; note the *askos* lying on the ground.

Obv.: Head of Vulcan right, wearing a *pileus*; tongs on shoulder; border of dots.
Rev.: Man in short tunic, a phallus hanging between his thighs, advancing right, holding a spear(?) before him; *askos* before; border of dots.

38 PbS 20 ↓ 3.53 **23.041**

In the case of the Baetican issues, the figure often appears naked, and generously ithyphallic. It is probable that this is a local variant of the actor's costume, and that he is not naked, but wearing a padded costume with the phallus attached, without the tunic.[43]

that the vessel looks almost like a cup—a wide-mouthed, probably metal, vessel with a handle on one side, to facilitate pouring.

39 If it seems unlikely that there are two separate types, then I suggest that all the images are of an actor playing a farmer.

40 Ian Jenkins, *Greek and Roman Life*, (London, 1986), p. 54. I illustrate a scene from an Apulian *bell-krater* of *c.* 380 BC, showing such costumes (*BM Cat. Vases* F151). I thank the British Museum for Permission.

41 'From about 50 BC a form of farce known as *mimus* had gained great popularity, particularly among the lower classes living in towns. The Roman "mime" differed from Greek comedy in that actors did not wear masks ...' (*ibid.* p. 55); our type appears not to be masked.

42 Including the nos. 109-111 of this article, where the obverse type is a theatre-mask.

43 Nos. 25 and 26 are ithyphallic: note the enormous comic testicles hanging to below the knees; two dies are involved, which shows that this is not a casual die-break. It is probable that the figure on no. 22 is wearing a costume with padded hips, and the phallus can, in any case, be seen hanging below his buttocks. No. 34 shows a pair of drawers, with a flaccid phallus attached, worn without the tunic. The small figure on no. 32 is wearing the tunic, without a phallus visible.

The 'shovel' and *askos* are obviously linked attributes (not only when carried by the figure, but *per se*, as on no. 20). In a theatrical context, I suspect that the figure may be parading with a stylised, inscribed spade as a banner, to announce a performance (which would explain the characteristic walking pose); the bell would have served to draw public attention.

Why was this type used, particularly on issues that appear to have had a monetary function?[44] It seems to have been of considerable cultural importance. Could the mime have had a ritual value in promoting fertility (as with the earlier Greek comedies)? The *askos*—with its independent role as a type; see nos. 17-21—may have had some ritual function in this context.[45]

It is likely that issue no. 32 shows the portraits of the public men who sponsored a mime; the secondary[46] image of the man with the 'shovel' records their munificence. No. 13 seems to be a similar piece from central Italy,[47] with a portrait on the obverse, and the man-with-the-shovel type in full on the reverse.

This does not explain the use of the type on the anonymous issues. For reasons I discuss in section 4, I believe many of these issues (particularly those with value-marks) had a monetary function, and were not merely tickets (giving entry, for example, to the theatre). The type clearly had a strong, independent importance, and was probably understood as referring to the issuing authority. The context is agriculture, almost certainly oil-production.

Chic has argued that the *plomos* are linked to the oil-trade from Baetica to Rome, by comparing the legends on the *plomos* with the stamps and *tituli picti* on the amphora shards of Monte Testaccio in Rome. He goes further to suggest that the figure pouring from the *askos* on the reverse of no. 22 is a canting type for a *diffusor* of olive oil.[48] I find this unconvincing: the vessel on no. 22 is

44 Note the quadrantal value-marks on nos. 29 and 31, and that bronze nos. 11 and 12 appear to form linked *as and quadrans* denominations, the *as* being, in addition, struck on circulating coin. The lead *asses (?)* nos. 22-26 and 28, and *quadrans nos.* 29 and 30 are also linked denominations; further linked issues are described in *Plomos*. This argues against them being mere tickets, or tokens, as I discuss in section 4.

45 On no. 22 it appears as if the figure is watering a decorated phallus; this may be fertility symbolism, or be part of the play.

46 That there were two donors, each requiring a portrait, probably squeezed it into this position.

47 The two issues are stylistically very similar.

48 Genaro Chic García, 'Diffusores olearii y tesserae de plomo', *Revista de estudios locales 5* (1994), pp. 7-12. '... en el reverso [las] fichas muestran la imagen de un hombre desnudo ... que, con el cuerpo ligeramente flexionado hacia delante, vierte el contenido de un ánfora, en una actitud que no se ha sabido hasta el momento interpretar y que sin embargo

clearly an *askos* with a handle, not an oil-amphora, as he suggests; and this puts too much emphasis on the one case in the material that shows the act of pouring.[49] The oil-trade is more likely to be at the origin of the *aryballos*-and-strigils type, which I cover in the next section; the association of the *aryballos*-and-strigils with the man-with-the-'shovel' on no. 33 should be noted.

3.2 Split-ring, *aryballos* and strigils

An important type in both the central Italian and Baetican materials is a set of athlete's toilet instruments, consisting of a split carrying-ring, from which hang an *aryballos* of oil for anointing the body, and two strigils for scraping it off, arranged symmetrically around it.[50] In the central Italian material, both bronze and lead are struck; in the Baetican, lead only. I know of no use of this object elsewhere as a coin type.

3.2.1 The central Italian material

GROUP 11

Obv.:Bearded head of Vulcan in wreathed *pileus* right; tongs behind; **Γ·CAIO** before; border of dots.
Rev.:Ring, from which are suspended two strigils and an *aryballos*; *caduceus* to left; **F** to right; border of dots.

39 Æ 19 ↙ 4.07 **4.189**

Rev.:*Cornucopia*; border of dots.

40 Æ 19 ↓ **32.005**

These pieces are relatively common in the Liri material; I have recorded over twenty (both types included).

creemos que es fácil hacerlo a la luz de cuanto hemos venido exponiendo: se trata de un acto de **diffusio** y por tanto las fichas en cuestión hay que verlas en el marco de actividad de los **diffusores**' (p. 8).

49 I am also worried by the date assigned to the Baetican material by Chic, that is, the first two centuries AD: all the numismatic evidence from the central Italian assemblage points to the first century BC; to accept the later date for the Baetican material would imply delinking the two assemblages, which seems unlikely.

50 A number of examples have survived; I illustrate a specimen in the British Museum, of the first or second century BC (*BM Cat. Bronzes* 2455). I thank the British Museum for permission. Martin Price first identified this type for me.

GROUP 12

Obv.:Bearded, long-haired male figure standing left, leaning on a staff in his left hand, and holding a *patera* in his outstretched right hand.
Rev.:Dog standing right, carrying a ring in mouth, from which are suspended two strigils and an *aryballos*.
Small dies on large flans: 15 mm diameter border of dots.

41 Æ 28 ↖ 6.64 **8.003** *SNG Dan*, uncertain of Etruria 44-45.

Rev.:Same, but dog springing right.
Overstruck: the overtypes are *SNG Dan*. uncertain of Sicily 1075-6: *Obv.*: Helmeted head of Minerva right; border of dots. *Rev.*: Eagle's head right; border of dots.

42 Æ 23 7.51 **0.192** Paris Z3148 (this coin).

Obv.:Panther standing right, its left fore-paw raised to hold a *thyrsus* over its shoulder;[51] border of dots.
Rev.:Same, but dog standing right.

43 Æ 14 → 2.64 **0.080** BM uncertain SP pl. 2872 3/7 (this coin)

quadrans

Obv.:Male figure, wearing *pileus*, and holding long-handled spear(?) forwards, advancing right; **TI** to left, Γ·CAΓ to left; border of dots.
Rev.:Dog, wearing a collar, advancing right, carrying a ring with two strigils and an *aryballos* suspended from it in its jaws; ••• above.

44 PbS 15 ↖ **32.020**

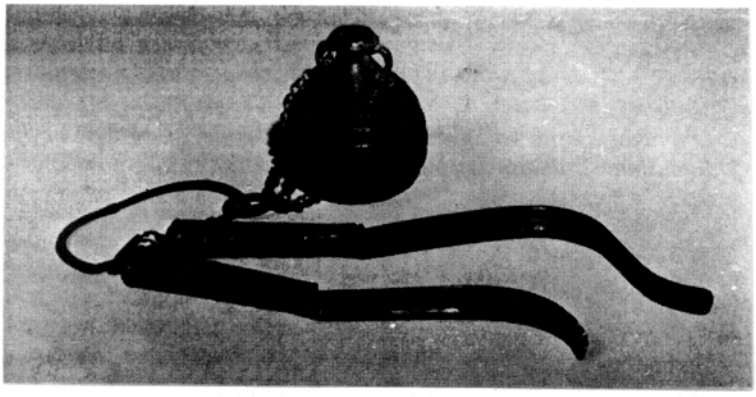
Obv.:Naked male figure standing three-quarters left, a cloak on his left arm, holding an *aryballos* and two strigils suspended from a carrying-ring; **AIS· ...** to right; border of dots.
Rev.:Unidentified shape;[52] border of dots.

45 PbS 15 3.08 **6.066**

These pieces, with the exception of no. 45, all show a dog carrying the *aryballos* and strigils. If no. 43 is, as it seems, a fraction of nos. 41 and (perhaps an *as* and *quadrans*), this too is evidence for the monetary function of these

51 This is the reverse type of the commonest bronze pieces in the central Italian assemblage; I have catalogued over 200 specimens. The obverse has an ivy-crowned head of Dionysus right. (For specimens, see *SNG Dan* Capua?, nos. 342-350.)

52 I have not been able to interpret this type, although it is perfectly clear.



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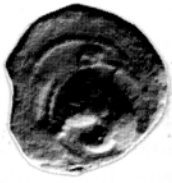

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pieces; so is the quadrantal value mark on no. 44. Nos. 41 and 42 are occasionally overstruck with other types of the central Italian assemblage, none datable.[53]

GROUP 13

Obv.:Ring, from which are suspended two strigils and an *aryballos*.
Rev.:Purse, or skin-bag stretched on a frame(?)[54]

46 PbS 17 ↘ **23.014**

Rev.:Same, but T·ΓONΓ**A** below.

47 PbS 12 ↖ **23.017**

Obv.:Head of Vulcan wearing *pileus* right.
Rev.:Same, but no legend.

48 PbS 10 → 1.62 **23.064**

GROUP 14

Obv.:Hercules standing right, a club in his right hand, placing something on an altar to right; macaronic legend between.
Rev.:Ring, from which are suspended two strigils and an *aryballos*; macaronic legend (**...**AИЯVT) around.
Struck on an unusually large flan for this issue.

49 PbS 33 ↖ 34.16 **27.001**

3.2.2 The Baetican material

GROUP 15

*Obv.:*Horseman prancing right, spearing a boar running right.[55]
*Rev.:*Foot left; ring from which hang two strigils left; border of dots.

50 PbS 23-26 10.9-19.1 **7.028** *Plomos* p. 23, no. 6

53 For no. 42, see the description of the overstriking in the text. I know a specimen of no. 41, overstruck by an unpublished issue: *Obv.*: Laureate head of Apollo right; *Rev.*: *Cista* with two *thyrsi* and two panthers' skins arranged symmetrically over it.

54 If a purse, it may link to the type, Mercury-holding-a-purse, which is also used in the central Italian issues; two are cited here as nos. 66 and 67.

55 The horseman type links this group to the Athena-head group of *Plomos*, p. 22, 1 to p. 23, 5. *Plomos* p. 23, 8, combines the horseman type with the mule's-head type used on no. 51*ff*.

*Obv.:*Mule's head right; star before; **L·HER** below; border of dots.
*Rev.:*Foot right, wearing sandal, with tie-strings at mid-calf; ring, from which are suspended two strigils to right; **P·C·AN M·C** around; border of dots.

51 PbS 18-29 8.5-16.8 **7.030** *Cf. Plomos* p. 24, no. 9

*Obv.:*Same, but star and crescent before.

52 PbS 17 ↗ **31.004** *Plomos* p. 2, no. 9´´; Cayón (this piece)

triens

*Obv.:*Same but **NL** below, **DE L** below; ⁝ before.

53 PbS 23 ↘ **31.006** *Cf. Plomos* p. 24, no. 9´; Cayón (this piece)

*Obv.:*Foot right, wearing sandal.
*Rev.:*Split ring, from which are suspended two strigils and an amphora-shaped *aryballos*; star to left; border of dots.

54 PbS 18 ↙ **31.003** *Plomos* p. 25, no. 12; Cayón (this piece)

*Rev.:*Same, but wheel (not star) to right; border of dots.

55 Pbs 22 ↑ 10.35 **23.048**

I know of no example of the foot type on central Italian material; although no. 55 has a central Italian provenance, I believe it is a rare case of Baetican material found in Italy.

GROUP 16

*Obv.:*Head of Vulcan wearing *pileus* right.
Rev.:Split ring, from which are suspended two strigils and an amphora-shaped *aryballos*; star to left; border of dots.

56 PbS 21 6.5-10.5 **7.038** *Plomos* p. 25, no. 13

GROUP 17

Obv.:Askos right; border of dots.
*Rev.:*Same, but no symbol, and elliptical *aryballos*.

57 PbS 23 ↖ 8.63 **100.056** Aureo 15 Dec. 1994, no. 2309 (this piece)

This piece combines the *aryballos*-and-strigils and *askos* types, which are not found together elsewhere in either the central Italian or the Baetican material.

GROUP 18

quadrans

Obv.: Amphora; **Q·PACCI** up to left; unidentifiable object to right; border of dots.
Rev.: Same, but ball-shaped aryballos; ⁝ to left; border of dots.

58 PbS 27 ← 19.03 **33.004** Pliego (this coin)

Obv.: Same, but only amphora visible.
Rev.: Same, but amphora-shaped aryballos, and no value-mark visible; border of dots.

59 PbS 13 ↗ 1.95 **100.058** Aureo 15 Dec. 1994, no. 2303 9 (this piece)

3.2.3 Discussion

The significance of the *aryballos*-and-strigils type is not obvious. One possibility is that the reference is to athletics, which might suggest that these are gymnasium tokens: it is, however, difficult to explain the variety of types as all being gymnasium tokens.[56] The repeated and charming conceit of the dog carrying the *aryballos* and strigils in its mouth may have some special significance, but what I cannot say. I believe it is more likely that these types refer to the olive-oil industry, that is, that the sense lies in the contents of the *aryballos*. This is supported by the amphora that appears on the obverse of nos. 58 and 59, and by the amphora-shaped *aryballos* on nos. 49, 54-56, and 59.

On the same hypothesis, that the vessel stands for its contents, a further reference to the oil-trade may lie in the following pieces, with the oil-lamp and amphora.

quadrans

Obv.: Oil-lamp right; ••• above; **CN·CORNIILI·Γ·S** below.
Rev.: Amphora, with a rope(?) draped over the top; **CN·CORNIILI·Γ·S** around; border of dots.

60 PbS 17 ↘ 3.23 **27.070**

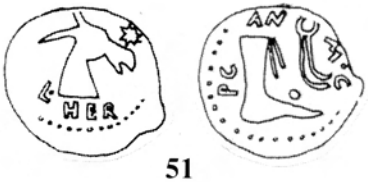
Obv.: Blank.

61 PbS 12 1.28 **23.035**

Obv.: Oil-lamp with mouth right.
Rev.: Unclear.

62 PbS 15 ↗ 2.14 **23.072**

56 Note, too, the quadrantal value of nos. 44 and 58, and the triental value of no, 53, which suggests that these pieces had a monetary function.



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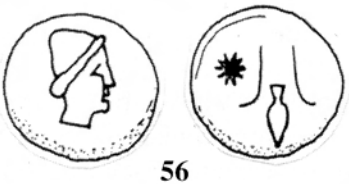

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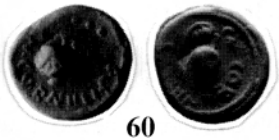

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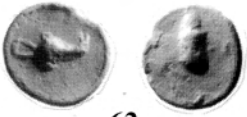

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Obv.:Helmeted head of Minerva right; border of dots.
Rev.:Oil-lamp right; border of dots.
63 Æ 14 ↑ 1.64 **30.002**

These pieces are all of central Italian provenance.[57] Brother Dominic Ruegg notes that '[an] important family registered once on the inscriptions [at Minturnae] is that of *Cornelii Lentuli*. The Lentuli stamp occurs on amphorae throughout the Mediterranean and gives evidence of a vast commerce in wine, which very probably originated in the area of Minturnae'.[58] Whether or not the Lentuli of the amphorae are related to our issuer, these pieces could refer to oil-production in central Italy.

I am at a loss to explain the link between the *aryballos* and strigils and the sandalled foot[59] (and other types) in the Baetican material, if there are indeed semantic links.

3.3 Vulcan

A head of Vulcan, bearded or beardless, is one of the commonest types in both the central Italian and Baetican assemblages. A number of issues with Vulcan types are cited elsewhere, under the other type they carry; I shall not list them again here.[60]

3.3.1 The central Italian material

GROUP 19

Obv.:Head of Vulcan, wearing *pileus*, right; tongs on shoulder; *N̆* before; all in wreath tying below.
Rev.:Winged Victory standing right, and holding out wreath; all in laurel-wreath, tying below.[61]
64 Æ 17 ↙ 2.21 **0.054** BM uncertain, 1866.12-1.4344 (this coin)

57 Nos. 60 to 63 are relatively common in the Liri material: I know of over 20 specimens, including those published by Ruegg, 'Underwater Investigations...', nos. 9.36 and 9.38.

58 *Ibid.*, p. 76.

59 García-Bellido, 'Nuevos Documentos...', p. 27: 'Es posible que estos trientes deban relacionarse con los servicios de reparación y compra de calzado, que sabemos por las Leyes de Vipasca ... que eran obligatorios en las minas con régimen de monopolio...'

60 Nos. 20, 28-31, 38, 39 and 40, 56 and 108.

61 This is the fraction of a larger piece (not illustrated here) with the same reverse types, and *Obv.*: Mercury, wearing tunic, *petasus* and cloak, striding right,

GROUP 20

Obv.: Same but anepigraphic, and border of dots.
Rev.: Winged head of Medusa facing; **ΓALACINV**; border of dots.
Overstruck; undertypes illegible.
65 Æ 17 ↓ 4.65 **0.423** *SNG Milan* Pallanum 22 (this coin)

Sambon gives the issue to Pallanum, Frentani[62] (with a second issue that I do not illustrate, because it is not a shared type);[63] I doubt the attribution, and regard these, and a third issue with the same legend,[64] as parts of the central Italian assemblage.

GROUP 21

Group 21 is of a variety of issues, all bronze, by members of the Annia family, (usually with legends that include the ligate letters, ₦),[65] and associated issuers; some pieces are anepigraphic. The whole group is from central Italy.

Obv.: Same.
Rev.: Mercury standing, holding out a purse to left in his right hand, and a *caduceus* on his left arm; ₦ to right; border of dots.
66 Æ 13 ↘ 2.07 **0.003**

Obv.: Vulcan standing left, wearing *pileus*, a cloak over his left arm and a hammer in his right hand; ₦ behind; border of dots.

holding a long *caduceus* in one hand, and a purse in the other.
Æ 22 ↖ 7.95 **0.051**
BM uncertain, SP pl. 2873 5/2 (this coin).

62 Arthur Sambon, *Les Monnaies antiques de l'Italie* (Paris, 1903), p. 120, no. 196.

63 *Obv.:* Helmeted female head right; the bowl of the helmet is a winged griffin, the visor a winged dragon; border of dots.
Rev.: **ΓAL** in an oak-wreath tied right.
Æ 17 ↑ 6.28 **0.142** Paris Z3147 (this coin); Sambon p. 120, no. 195.

64 *Obv.:* Head of Janus, border of dots.
Rev.: Victory crowning trophy right; **ΓAL** in exergue; border of dots.
Æ 18 ↙ 5.40 **0.161** Paris Ailly 1331 = Bahr. 1904 86/1 (this coin), given to Palermus, Sicily:

65 See fn. 20.

67 Æ 16 ↙ 1.76 **0.326** Berlin Löbbecke (this coin)

Nos. 66 and 67 are parts of a much larger group of linked types: Mercury-standing-with-a-purse is also used in combination with Hercules-standing-with-a-club; this then links to a soldier-advancing-with-sword-and-shield, a hand, and a butterfly; the last links to a fan-shell type.

*Obv.:*Bearded head of Janus.
*Rev.:*Head of Vulcan right, tongs over shoulder.[66]
68 Æ 19 → 5.80 **0.416** Milan M.986.14.103 (this coin)

*Obv.:*Head of Vulcan wearing *pileus* right; border of dots.
*Rev.:*Head of Mercury wearing *petasus* right; border of dots.
69 Æ 16 → 2.23 **0.420** Milan M.986.14.122 (this coin)

*Rev.:*Bearded head of Hercules right.
70 Æ 15 ↑ 1.11 **0.246** Copenhagen uncertain (this coin); Bahr. 1904 104

*Rev.:*Head of young Hercules wearing lion's skin right; border of dots.
71 Æ 15 ↙ 1.27 **0.348** Berlin Ross (this coin)

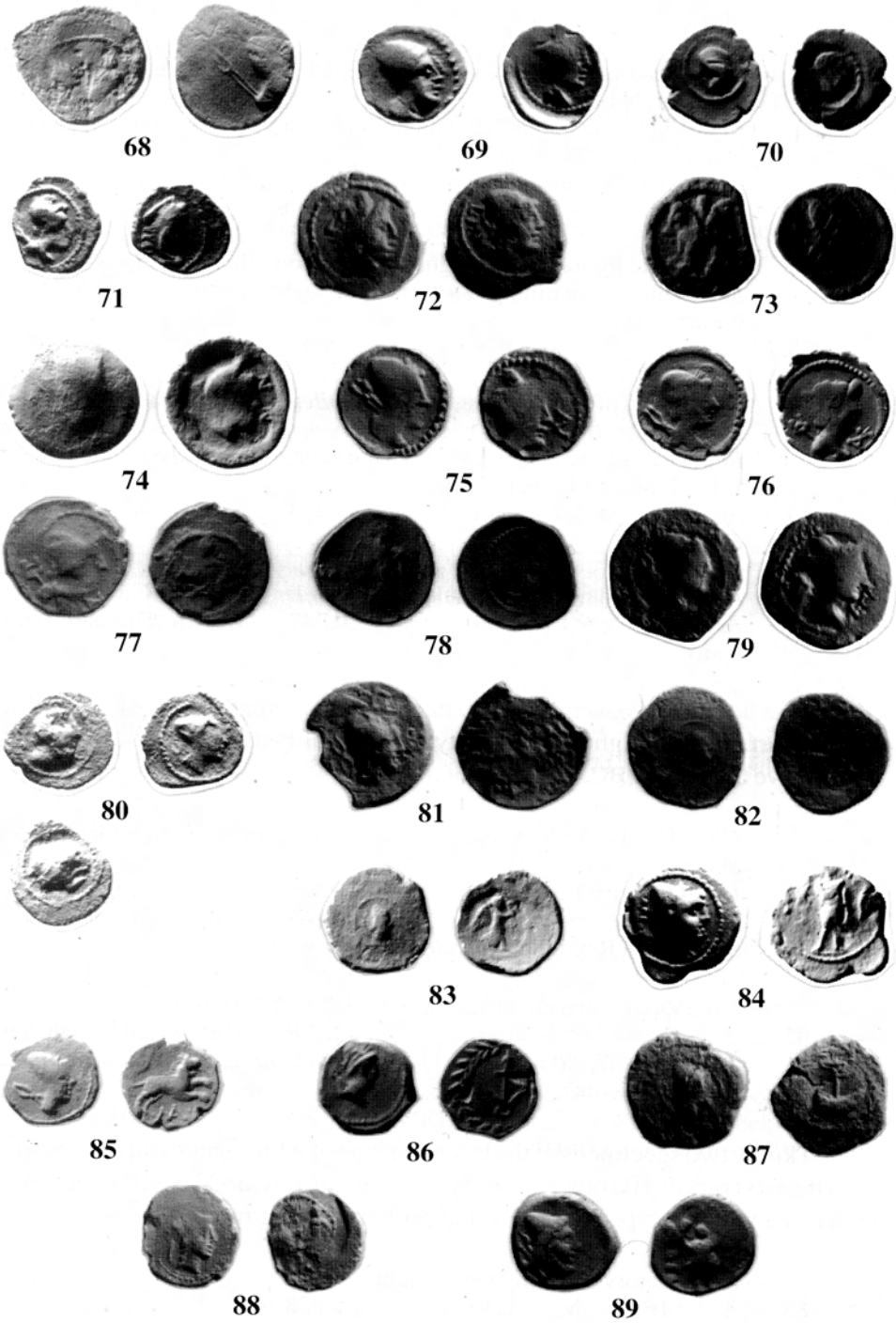
*Obv.:*Bearded head of Janus; border of dots.
*Rev.:*Head of Vulcan, wearing pileus, right, tongs on shoulder; **L·ꟻNI** behind; border of dots.
72 Æ 18 ↗ 3.90 **14.002**

*Rev.:*Same, but anonymous.
73 Æ 17 ↗ 3.47 **0.481**

*Obv.:*Head of Vulcan wearing *pileus* right, tongs on shoulder.
*Rev.:*Laureate(?) male head right, **...ANNI** around.
74 Æ 19 → 2.79 **0.273** Copenhagen uncertain (this coin)

*Rev.:*Head of Mercury wearing *petasus* right; ꟻ before; border of dots.
75 Æ 16 ↖ 2.58 **0.152** Paris F4127 = Bahr. 1904 68,2 (this coin)

66 I know of one specimen of this issue overstruck by the common central Italian issue (see fn. 51): *Obv.*: Dionysus right; *Rev.*: Panther right, with *thyrsus* on its shoulder.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76 Æ 17 ↙ 2.13 **0.419** Milan, M.986.14.120 (this coin)

Obv.: Head of Mercury, wearing winged *petasus*, right, *caduceus* on shoulder; ₦ below.
Rev.: Vulcan, kneeling left, and holding a large pair of tongs at ground level; border of dots.
Overstruck; the undertypes are not recognisable.

77 Æ 18 ↖ 2.00 **16.006**

Obv.: Male figure striding right, carrying something over his shoulder.
Rev.: Vulcan, wearing *pileus*, kneeling right, hammer over shoulder; border of dots.

78 Æ 17 ↖ 2.25 **16.020**

Obv.: Head of Vulcan right, wearing a *pileus*; tongs on shoulder; border of dots.
Rev.: Head of Mercury, wearing a winged *petasus*; *caduceus* on shoulder; **L·CAE** before; border of dots.

79 Æ 20 ↖ 3.48 **0.213** *SNG Dan* 1058 (this coin)

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

80 Æ 15 ↙ 1.09 **0.347** Berlin Dressel (this coin)

The last piece is overstruck: on the obverse, facing 12 o'clock, is visible the forepart of a lion, right. The undertype is probably the same as no. 12. This would give a date 90s BC, or later.

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

81 Æ 19 → 3.43 **0.165** Paris, no reference. Struck on a Republican *quadrans*; broken.

Rev.: Victory driving quadriga right; **STATI TREBO**.

82 Æ 15 ↙ 1.76 **0.178** Paris AF.144 = Babelon, Vol. II, p. 467, "Statia" = M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas,* p. 52 (III 7) (this coin).

I know two specimens of the last issue, one of which shares an obverse die with the next piece. The other is struck over a *quadrans*, and is itself overstruck by a piece with the types of no. 81, but probably anonymous.

Rev.: Victory carrying wreath right.

83 Æ 16 ↘ 2.46 **6.058**

quadrans
Obv.: Same; ⁝ behind.
Rev.: Facing figure; border of dots.
84 Æ 18 ↗ 3.79 **0.359** Berlin Rauch (this coin).

GROUP 22

The following are miscellaneous issues with Vulcan obverses.

Obv.: Same, but no value-mark.
Rev.: Lion running right; M below; linear border.
85 Æ 14 ↗ 1.63 **6.036**

Rev.: Anchor in wreath tying above.
86 Æ 14 ↗ 1.46 **6.050**

Rev.: Different form of anchor; wreath ties below.
87 Æ 17 ↑ 1.39 **14.007**

Obv.: Same, but *cornucopia*(?) behind.
Rev.: Male figure seated left on rocks; border of dots.
88 Æ 15 ↙ 1.46 **14.018** .

Obv.: Bearded head of Vulcan, wearing *pileus*, right; tongs on shoulder.
Rev.: Soldier standing facing, right arm raised, holding a trumpet(?); standard to left.
89 PbS 15 ↗ 3.01 **18.074**

3.3.2 The Baetican material

GROUP 23

Obv.: Beardless head of Vulcan wearing *pileus* right.
Rev.: Boar(?)[67] right.
90 PbS 39 **7.021** *Plomos* p. 29, no. 16

Obv.: Same; **S** before; all in wreath tied below.
Rev.: Vulcan wearing *pileus* seated left, holding out some object in his right hand; **AES** to left; **CED** to right; all in wreath tied below.
91 PbS 47 ↑ **31.011** *Plomos* p. 30, no. 18; Cayón (this piece)

67 The piece forms part of a group of issues not listed here with the boar type (*plomos* 28-9, nos. 8-15); these link to the filleted-bull's-head and man-with-the-'shovel' types (see fn. 31).

Obv.: Same, but beardless, no **S**, and wreath tied above.
Rev.: Axe, with handle left, in wreath tied right.

92 PbS 48 ↙ 116 **100.085** Aureo 28 Sept. 1993, no. 303 (this piece)[68]

Obv.: Same, but bearded; **HISPA...** before
Rev.: Bundle of five arrows.
93 PbS 46 101 **7.042** *Plomos* p. 31, no 20

The last piece is important for the relationship between the central Italian and Baetican assemblages, because of the legend's specific reference to Spain, whether or not we agree with García-Bellido's suggestion that the legend may be interpreted as an epithet of Vulcan.[69]

Obv.: Same; possibly a legend around; border of dots.
Rev.: Figure seated left; **ARI**(?) behind; border of dots.
94 PbS 26 14 **7.043** *Plomos* p. 31, no 21

Obv.: Same, but beardless; tongs and **NT** before; border of dots.
Rev.: Stag leaping right; **M·C** behind; **...ERVIO** in exergue.
95 PbS 21 9.1 **7.044** *Plomos* p. 24, no. 14

Obv.: Same, but legend uncertain.
Rev.: Same, but no exergue, bird below and •• above.
96 PbS 20 ↖ 6.58 **100.057** *Plomos* p. 25, no. 15

GROUP 24

97 *Obv.:* Same.
Rev.: Bull right, [illegible] below.
Æ 26 ↘ 5.39 **0.417** Milan, M.986.14.118 (this coin)

This specimen has a Liri provenance. It is overstruck—like most known specimens—on Ebusus.[70] The issue is important, as the only one in the Baetican assemblage to carry a legend in a language other than Latin.

68 This seems to be the same specimen—said to have been found in Catalonia—that was published as unique in Leandre Villaronga, 'Plomos monetiformes de la Citior de época romano-republicana', *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica e Scienze Affini* XCV (1993), p. 318, no. 19.

69 'Sobre el Culto de Volcanvs y Svcellvs en Hispania: Testimonies', in J. Acre and F. Burkhalter, *Bronces y Religión, Actas del XI Congreso Internacional de Bronces Antiguos, Madrid, Mayo-Junio 1990*, pp. 164; '¿Se trata del cognomen de la divinidad representada?'.

70 Group XIX, now dated by Campo to *c.* 91-27 BC: *Obv.*: Bes; *rev.*: [illegible]—**ƆHH**; (*Ebusus* p. 51 and pl. XVII, no. XIX-C, shows a specimen of this overtype, struck on the same

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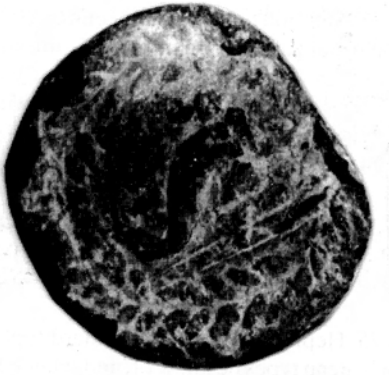

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GROUP 25

Obv.: Same.
Rev.: Two figures facing each other, on an exergual line.

98	PbS	17	✓	9.44	**33.009**	Pliego (this coin)

3.3.3 Discussion

Does Vulcan unequivocally denote mining, and is this the reason for his appearance in the central Italian and Baetican assemblages? As we have seen, the man with a 'shovel' probably does not, which removes one support for such an interpretation.

Vulcan is not a common type on Greek or Roman coinage. In Italy, Vulcan is used in Populonia and Vetulonia, Etruria;[71] Populonia alone;[72] Ariminum, Umbria;[73] Aesernia, Samnium;[74] Lipara;[75] and Rome. Of these, only the Etruscan issues assuredly refer to metal-working, and because Etruria was a mining centre, we gain little from speculating whether the reference is restricted to manufacturing, or also encompasses mining. The reference in

undertype; so does *CNHAA* p. 115, 3). These later pieces of Ebusus have not, to the best of my knowledge, been found in the river Liri, which is remarkable, given the large number of specimens of earlier issues found.

71 Italo Vecchi, 'The Coinage of the *Rasna*, part IV', *Swiss Numismatic Revue* 72 (1993), pp. 63-73, nos. 1 and 2, *sextans* of *c.* 215-211 BC.
Obv.: Head of Sethlans [Vulcan] right, wearing laurel-wreathed *pileus*; ⁝ and ship's prow to left; border of dots.
Rev.: VJAtƎJ AMVJ8V1 A↓ around hammer and tongs; ⁝ in centre.

72 *Ibid.*, nos. 41 to 44, *10 decimae-triens* of after 200 BC.
Obv.: Head of Sethlans [Vulcan] right, wearing laurel-wreathed *pileus*; ⁝ **X** and **A** to either side; border of dots
Rev.: Hammer and tongs on either side of ⁝; AMVJ1V1 below; border of dots.

73 Sambon no. 155, third century BC, *uncia*; the identification of Vulcan is conjectural, as the usual attribute of the tongs is missing:
Obv.: Bearded head of Vulcan(?) wearing *pileus* left.
Rev.: Gaulish warrior with shield ands spear advancing left; **ARIM** below.

74 Sambon 184-9, third century BC, *litra*:
Obv.: Head of Vulcan in wreathed *pileus*, to left or right; **VOLCANOS** in a variety of styles before; border of dots.
Rev. Jupiter in a biga right, hurling a thunderbolt, the horses sometimes crowned by Victory; **AESERNINO** in a variety of styles in exergue.

75 Hephaistos was the standard type of Lipara. Grant therefore assigned all the issues with Vulcan types he knew of, and related issues, to Lipara, as a military mint under Octavian,

Lipara is clearly to vulcanism, not mining, and Head argues that, in the case of Aesernia, 'the head of Vulcan is appropriate in a country where earthquakes are of frequent occurrence, supposing that the connexion between seismic and volcanic phenomena was recognised in the third century BC'.[76] Whether or not we accept this suggestion, there is no evidence that Vulcan at Aesernia reflects mining. Because of its geographical proximity, Vulcan at Aesernia is the most likely model—if a model is needed—for Vulcan in the central Italian assemblage,[77] and, if so, may be the model for the Baetican Vulcan as well.

Vulcan appears sporadically on the coins of the Roman Republic. His bust, wearing a *pileus*, with tongs over his shoulder, was the standard obverse type of the unusual *dodrans* denomination, which was struck twice only: Cr. 263/2, **M·METELLVS M·F**, of 127 BC, and Cr. 266/2, **C·CASSI**, of 126 BC. His bust also appears on a *denarius serratus*, Cr. 314/1, **L·COT**, of 105 BC, where the 'type recalls the standard obverse type of the coinage of Lipara, captured by C. Aurelius Cotta, Cos. 252',[78] and, in miniature, above the Lares Praestites seated facing, a dog between them, on a *denarius* of **L·CAESI**, Cr. 298/1, of 112 or 111 BC.[79] His attributes (*pileus*, tongs, hammer and anvil) appear on the reverse of the *denarius*, Cr. 464, **T·CARISIVS IIIVIR**, of 46 BC, in association with the obverse type of Juno Moneta, to represent the moneyer's art. They occur again (tongs, anvil and hammer) on the three of the four sides of the *Puteal Scribonianum* shown on two *denarii* of 62 BC, Cr 416/1a, b and c, **LIBO**, and Cr. 417/1a and b, **PAVLLVS LEPIDVS, LIBO**; the 'symbols of Vulcan ... recall the fact that the *Puteal* occupied the spot where it did because this had been struck by a thunderbolt'.[80] In none of these types is Vulcan associated with

in 37 and 36 BC, and glossed the various issuers' names accordingly (*FITA*, p. 52). However, the Liri provenances; the use of lead (unattested in Lipara); the total lack of sure Liparan pieces in the 'foreign' Liri material; and the dating implied by overstrikings, of *c.* 90 BC, make the attribution unlikely.

76 Barclay V. Head, *Historia Numorum* (London, 1911), p.27. But, to the Greeks at least, Poseidon not Hephaistos was the 'earth-shaker'.

77 Aesernia was the last capital of the rebels in the Social War (91-87 BC). Because of the similarities of date, I have sometimes wondered if part of the central Italian assemblage did not arise from the Social War.

78 *RRC* p.322.

79 As Crawford comments, 'The significance of the bust of Vulcan is not apparent', *ibid.*, p. 312.

80 *Ibid*, p. 442.

mining: his primary aspect is fire, and, by extension, artifice—particularly metal-working—and the thunderbolt; his ability to find wells suggests secondary agricultural functions.

In Spain, apart from the lead and bronze pieces listed above, one mint habitually uses a Vulcan obverse type: Malaka. García-Bellido has argued that the figure is, in fact, the Phœnician god, Chusor-Phath,[81] assimilated to a local god, Sucellus, who was later also assimilated to the Greco-Roman iconography used for Vulcan on the Baetican issues I have listed.[82] But the frequent use of the Vulcan type in central Italy, in issues obviously associated with the Baetican material, weakens the argument, and suggests a simpler adoption, in Spain, of ready-made Greco-Roman concepts and icons.[83] The Italian parallels suggest that the primary references of the type need not be to mining.

Amongst the Baetican types are two more that may refer to mining (discounting the man with the 'shovel'); neither is certain. García-Bellido interprets the object on the reverse of no. 33 as an ingot cast with a carrying

81 'Este culto púnico Chusor en la Península lo conocíamos además gracias a la descripción polibiana de la Carthagonova barcída donde ... se veneraba una divinidad minera que Polibio llama Hefaistos', '... Vulcanvs y Svcellvs ...', p. 162.

82 'Creo pues, que estas piezas monetales mineras no aluden a Volcanus, sino a un divinidad indígena, cuya primera *interpretatio* fue la de Chusor, puesto que sabemos que los púnicos explotaron tempranamente el mineral de Villaricos, Carthagonova y Cástulo ... y es muy posible que en esta primera *interpretatio* el dios indígena de la minería recibiera ya una iconografía helénica, la de Hefaistos' (*ibid.*, p. 165).

83 Francisca Chavez Tristán and Maria Cruz Marín Ceballos suggest that elements of Phœnician iconography gradually reappeared in the representation of Chusor at Malaka: 'Le type de Héphaïstos de la IIe période répond clairement à l'iconographie classique pour les dieux de la métallurgie. Initialement donc, lorsque la ville a voulu représenter le dieu métallurgique local sur ses monnaies, elle a adopté cette forme bien connue de tout marchand méditerranéen et, évidement, romain ... Nous arrivons à la troisième période et l'iconographie change. Maintenant, au lieu du type classique pour *Héphaïstos-Vulcanus*, nous trouvons une tête imberbe coiffée d'une tiara cylindrique typiquement punique. Mais elle est toujours accompagnée des tenailles. Il est donc évident qu'il s'agit du même dieu, mais l'iconographie en est phénico-punique. À notre avis, il est du plus grand intérêt, du point de vue historique, d'observer cette réapparition de l'élément punique à Malaca ('L'influence phénico-punique sur l'iconographie des frappes locales de la péninsule ibérique', in Tony Hackens and Ghislaine Mouchatre (eds), *Numismatique et histoire économique phéniciennes et puniques (Actes du Colloque tenu à Louvain-la-Neuve, 13-16 Mai 1987)*, *Studia Phoenicia* IX (1992), pp. 188-9).

handle;[84] but I think this is a jug of some sort. On the reverse of no. 24 is an instrument that she interprets either as a miner's pick, or a farmer's hoe;[85] from the shape of the blade, it appears to be an axe.

The reasons behind the use of the Vulcan type in the two assemblages remain unclear. I am inclined to agree with García-Bellido that the Baetican issues may reflect intensive agricultural production by a *Publica Societas*, or perhaps a monopoly over both mineral and agricultural exploitation.[86] The main question, to which I shall return below, is how such a phenomenon may have occasioned parallel issues in central Italy and Baetica.

3.4 Flies

There are a number of Baetican issues that use the fly—as main type or ancillary type—that deserve to be drawn together, although I have no suggestion why the type is used.

3.4.1 Material with a both central Italian and Baetican provenances

The fly as the main type occurs on the following issue, for which we have both central Italian and Baetican provenances.

84 She notes, however, that 'Si la interpretación como lingote es acertada nos mostraría un objeto del que non han quedado testimonios reales in Hispania...' ('Nuevos documentos...', p. 15).

85 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

86 M. Paz García-Bellido, 'Nuevos Documentos...', has rightly pointed to the importance of agriculture in relation to the *plomos*: 'Mi gran sorpresa al estudiar estas monedas es que también debió haber, incluso en época republicana, sociedades similares agrarias cuyo arrendamiento o propiedad pudo plegarse a las mismas vicisitudes que las mineras. Las téseras con P.S. *¿(P(ublica) S(ocietas)*' [that is, no. 22 of this article = *Plomos* p. 28, no. 8, to which may be linked many other pieces] 'cuya grave ya como republicana, y cuyo nombre corresponde a un *quaestor* como él opinaba, encajan muy bien en el ambiente post-silano preimperial siempre que se la considere una excepción, y de ahí su nombre. Quizás sea esta misma sociedad, aunque ello no es seguro, la que vemos exportando aceite desde Catria en época imperial con el sello *Portus P.S.*, cuyas siglas tienen una grafía similar a la del precinto, pero desde luego distinta a la usada en las téseras citadas' (p.42).

GROUP 27A: CENTRAL ITALY

*Obv.:*Fly, seen from above.
*Rev.:*Blank.

99	PbS	19	2.68	**28.005**	

GROUP 27B: BAETICA

100	PbS	16	4.20	**31.001**	Cayón (this piece)

I know of at least eight pieces with central Italian provenances[87], and two with Baetican[88]. It appears from the pieces illustrated here—and from the pieces not illustrated—that there may be stylistic differences between the central Italian and Baetican specimens (which would suggest separate strikings in the two areas) but larger samples would be needed to be able to affirm this with reasonable confidence. Even if one assumes separate strikings, it is unlikely that mere imitation is at work, and a common issuing authority must be postulated.

3.4.2 The fly as a Baetican ancillary type

GROUP 27

*Obv.:*Mule's head right.[89]
*Rev.:*Figure seated right on a three-legged stool; fly and lizard before; **L·ANI** behind.

101	PbS	19-27	3.9-14.7	**7.032**	*Cf. Plomos* p. 24, no. 10

*Rev.:*Same but no legend, or lizard.[90]

102	PbS	18-19	3.9-5.6	**7.033**	*Cf. Plomos* p. 24, no. 10´

*Obv.:*Lion, or horse, right.
*Rev.:*Man seated on a pillar(?) right; **...R** behind; fly to right.

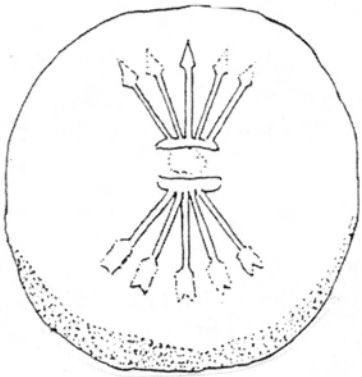
103	PbS	20 ↑	4.10	**100.059**	*Plomos* p.24, no. 11; Aureo 15 Dec. 1994, no 2302 (this piece)

87 Counting two pieces from the underwater explorations of the Liri at Minturnae published in Brother D. Ruegg, *Underwater investigations*, 9/36 and 9/37.

88 Both in J.R. Cayón's collection.

89 The mule is also found on nos. 51-53.

90 The 'fly' on these pieces—going only by the line illustrations in *Plomos*—looks very like the decorated phallus again.



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3.5 Minerva / hand

The following two pieces, one each from central Italy and Baetica, use the same types. It is impossible to tell if they both originate in one area, or whether they are parallel issues from the two areas.

GROUP 28 A: CENTRAL ITALY

Obv.: Helmeted head of Minerva right.
Rev.: Hand right, holding some object between thumb and fore-finger; **C CORC...** above.

104	PbS	14	↑		**23.027**

GROUP 28 B: BAETICA

Obv.: Same, but Minerva left.
Rev.: Same, but hand left, and no object or legend visible.

105	PbS	19	↖	5.09	**33.003**	Pliego (this coin)

I cannot suggest what the hand is holding, or what the type may mean.

3.6 The Isla Pedrosa shipwreck

The coins from a shipwreck off Isla Pedrosa, near Estartit, in Catalonia,[91] are of considerable importance for the relationship between the central Italian assemblage and Baetica.

The Isla Pedrosa shipwreck lead, although found in Spanish waters, contains types that are only otherwise known from central Italy: boy-kneeling-to-lace-or-unlace-a-standing-man's-sandals; and mouse-and-lamp.

3.6.1 Boy lacing a man's sandals

GROUP 29 A: CENTRAL ITALY

quadrans
Obv.: Head of Apollo right; • behind.
Rev.: Boy facing left, tying the shoe, or washing the foot, of a stooping man, facing right; the man's left knee is lifted, and his left hand is on the boy's head; • to right.

106	PbS	17	→	4.22	**18.064**

91 J.-C. Richard and L. Villaronga, 'Las monedas', in 'El yacimiento Arqueológico submarino ante Isla Pedrosa (Gerona)', *Inmersión y Ciencia*, Nos. 8-9 (June 1975), pp. 73-78.

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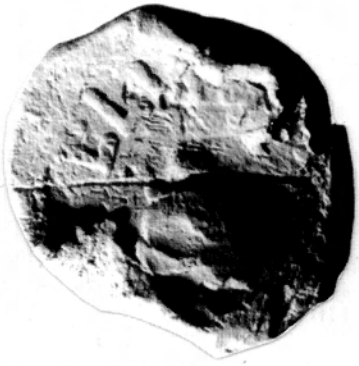

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Rev.: The • to right is larger, and a second, smaller • has been added on the man's right knee.

107 PbS 17 ↘ 4.86 **18.066**

This a modified version of the reverse die used for no. 106.

GROUP 29 B: ISLA PEDROSA

quadrans

Obv.: Head of Vulcan wearing pileus right; tongs on shoulder; **ZVR**(?) behind.

Rev.: Same, but ⁝ to right; • in field above value-mark.

Described in *Isla Pedrosa* as Æ, but certainly PbS.

108 PbS 20 ↗ 4.80 **0.506** *Isla Pedrosa* 12 (this coin)

I know of at least twelve specimens of no. 106 and 107. The Isla Pedrosa shipwreck contained two specimens of 108.

3.6.2 Mouse and lamp

GROUP 30 A: CENTRAL ITALY

Obv.: Bearded long-haired theatre mask right; linear border.

Rev.: Oil-lamp, nozzle right; a mouse to right, standing up, left, with its fore-paws on the lamp.

109 PbS 15 ↖ 1.98 **27.064**

Rev.: Same, but a handle has been cut through the oil-lamp, to make it into an axe; the mouse is largely off the flan.

110 PbS 15 → 2.80 **29.019**

GROUP 30 B: ISLA PEDROSA

Described in *Isla Pedrosa* as Æ, but certainly PbS.

111 PbS 16 ↖ 2.59 **0.508** *Isla Pedrosa* 14 (this coin)

I know two examples of no. 109 (which share an obverse die), and the one of no. 110. No. 111 probably shares its obverse die with no. 109. The reverse die is probably the same for all pieces, modified for no. 110; why the lamp should have been turned into an axe is unclear, perhaps because the part of the die with the mouse on it had been damaged.

3.6.3 Discussion

I have not been able to see the actual coins, but L. Villaronga kindly provided me with photographs made at the time of the original publication, and from these I reclassified the material as follows: lead, 9 pieces;[92] Gaul, Narbonne-Béziers region in the first half of the first century BC, ΚΑΙΟΝΤΟΛΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛ, 2 pieces;[93] Naples, 4 pieces;[94] Marseille?, 2 pieces;[95] and a Republican *as* of the 2nd century BC.

The wreck is direct evidence of the trade that must underlie the iconographic parallels between the two areas. That the types on these pieces are only otherwise known from central Italy; the lack of normal Spanish issues in the wreck; and the large presence of Naples, suggests that the origin of the material lies in central Italy, and that the ship was running between central Italy and Baetica. Richard and Villaronga remark on the lack of Ebusan coins and draw the conclusion that the ship's route was coastal, rather than by way of the Balearic islands. The ΚΑΙΟΝΤΟΛΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛ coins presumably reflect a visit to southern Gaul, and are without apparent significance for contacts between Spain and Italy; I know of no specimens of this issue with a central Italian provenance.

The Isla Pedrosa boy-lacing-a-man's-sandals issue is not identical to the central Italian issue: on the former, the obverse type is Vulcan; on the latter, Apollo. Moreover, on the Isla Pedrosa pieces, the view is from the side, the man is bending over and has his hands down to his sandals, and the boy is relatively upright; on the central Italian pieces, the view is from a three-quarters angle, the man is nearly upright and has put his hand on the boy's head or shoulder, and the boy has crouched right over.

This graceful and unusual type is not found elsewhere, and is too particular to occur by chance in both central Italy and Baetica; it further underlines the very close ties between the two assemblages. I can, however, suggest no reason behind the iconography. The very sculptural quality suggests that it may render some statue group.

92 *Isla Pedrosa* 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 and a further piece not published in *Isla Pedrosa*. These pieces, though listed as bronze, are, I am certain, struck lead.

93 *Isla Pedrosa* 1, 2; *CNHAA, Caudillos Galos del Est*e del Herault, p. 436, 1.

94 *Isla Pedrosa* 5 (*cf.* Sambon 651-92), 6 (as last), 8 (*cf.* Sambon 742-50), 10 (*cf.* Sambon 698); the first three are mistakenly given to Marseille.

95 *Isla Pedrosa* 3, 4 (cited as de la Tour, pl. VI); the coins are very worn, and the photographs imperfect; they may well be further Neapolitan coins with the androcephalic-bull-and-Victory reverse.

The mouse-and-lamp type appears to be a single issue; as we lack any specimens from Baetica, I assume that it was struck in central Italy. Again, I can suggest no reason behind the iconography.

3.7 Baetican material from central Italy

I know of only two Baetican lead pieces with central Italian provenances: no. 55, and the following piece.[96]

GROUP 31 A: CENTRAL ITALY

Obv.: Mercury seated on rock(?) left, his right hand extended; **MERCVR**... before.
Rev.: Frog seen from above; **L·LVCIL·F**. above.

112 PbS 49 ↓ 136.56 **24.056**

The following single specimen has been published from Spain:[97] '...una Tessera de plomo inédita y preciosa hallada en el año 1837 entre los pueblos de Enova y Manuel, junto al cráneo del cadáver contenido en un antiguo sepulcro, la cual fué regalada a la Biblioteca de [la] Universidad [de Valencia] donde cuidadosamente se conserva'.[98] Pere Pau Ripollès kindly looked for and found the piece for me.

GROUP 31 B: BAETICA

113 PbS 49 134.00 **100.084** Biblioteca de la Universidad de Valencia (this piece)

4 CONCLUSIONS

There are extensive parallels between the central Italy and Baetican assemblages. Coincidence, or unsystematic borrowing, cannot explain them because the types involved are so many, and unique to the two assemblages: we must postulate a common issuing authority, which must have been Roman, as

96 The *gran plomo* module—of which there is no evidence in the central Italian material—as well of the provenance of no. 113, suggests that the issue is Baetican, although we know only three pieces, two from Spain and one from central Italy.

97 I know of a second piece, shown to me by Señor Pliego.

98 *Memoria de los Trabajos Llevados a Cabo por la Sociedad Arqueológica Valenciana durante el Año 1879*, Valencia, 1880, p. 10, and illustration; *Cf. Plomos*, p. 87.

there are no other cultural references in either the central Italian or Baetican material.

By the beginning of the first century BC, a fairly uniform culture had grown up in central Italy;[99] it is useless trying to untangle Roman and non-Roman elements in the types of the issues found there, but it is significant that in the entire central Italian assemblage (including issues not discussed here) there is no use of scripts other than Latin. More significant is that there are no signs of Hispanic culture in the types used in the Baetican issues I have discussed:[100] the deities are Italo-Greek; the cultural references—such as the theatre and the gymnasium—are drawn from Italy, not Spain; and on only one issue (no. 97) is a non-Latin script found. None of this is surprising, given the importance of immigration from Italy to minerally and agriculturally rich Baetica in the late Republic,[101] but the implication is that these issues were used primarily amongst the Latin colonists, or, at least, that those who issued them saw no point in using types that referred to Hispanic culture.

Where, then, were these issues struck? The first challenge is to decide if the two assemblages form separate and discrete bodies of material: this is not easy, firstly because our knowledge of the material is limited; many of the central Italian issues (including all the lead) have not been published before, and, until recently, there has been little systematic work on the Baetican lead.[102] I have so far concentrated on the similarities between the two assemblages, which might suggest a single geographical origin;[103] there are, however, also a number of significant differences. Most of the central Italian material is bronze, while there are very few bronze issues from Baetica; the central Italian bronze includes

99 One need only look at the coinages of the rebels in the Social War, to see how similar their iconography is to the Roman, which is hardly surprising, considering that they were fighting for, and obtained, Roman citizenship.

100 Except, it might be objected, for the inscription, **HISPA...**, on no. 93; but such a legend is perfectly usable by a Roman community in Spain; we have the example of the legend, **HISPAN**, on the *Denarius serratus*, Cr. 372/2, **A·POST A·F S·N ALBIN** of 81 BC.

101 Ma. Amalia Marín Díaz, 'La emigración itálica a Hispania en el siglo II A. C.', Studia Historica IV-V (1986-87).

102 The unhappy rule of numismatics is that what is unattributed and unpublished is seldom considered. I should like to pay homage to the pioneering work of M. Paz García-Bellido, and Antón Casariego, Gonzalo Cores and Francisco Pliego, without which I should never have been led into comparing the central Italian and Baetican materials. I hope the publication of this note will draw forth any interesting Baetican material in the hands of Spanish collectors.

103 On the evidence the inscription, **HISPA...**, on no. 93, and of the Punic script on no. 97, this would probably be Baetica.

many overstrikes on Republican pieces, and on a variety of foreign mints (none Spanish), more likely to have travelled to Italy than to Spain; the common types are associated, in the central Italian assemblage, with a range of other types that are not common to both countries (which I have not covered here); there appear to be no issuers common to both assemblages; the central Italian lead is of relatively small diameter, whereas many of the Baetican lead issues are often on characteristically huge flans;[104] and, finally, there are very few cases where specimens of an issue can with certainty be provenanced to both areas. This is sufficient evidence, I feel, to suggest that the two materials were struck separately, in Baetica and central Italy.

Who, then, could have needed to strike these co-ordinated issues? There is no evidence in the iconography that they are linked to military activities; the types are refreshingly pacific for the late Republic. It seems unlikely that the phenomenon of Italic settlement in Baetica, *per se*, should have caused the issues in central Italy, as well. The most likely candidate is a *Publica Societas*[105] exploiting both the Baetican and north Campanian olive-oil industries and, in the case of Baetica, perhaps the mining sector as well. If we were dealing only with production in Baetica, for consumption in Rome, then there would be no necessary contact with central Italy, and the issues there would be impossible to explain. Moreover, if these pieces found their use in the shipping and diffusion of the products,[106] then specimens would presumably have been recovered

104 The so-called '*grandes plomos*'.

105 Many of the Baetican *grandes plomos* are inscribed **P·S** (including our nos.22-24). García-Bellido suggests that 'Una posible interpretación sin base suficiente para ser defendida, sería la lectura de *P(ublica) S(ocietas)* ... , y se trataría por su nombre de una única sociedad pública frente a otros muchas privadas, lo cual parece bien atestiguado para España a partir de Sila, fechas que probablemente las antiguas explotaciones arrendadas por los equites se venden a particulares. Es comprensibile que el estado, o el municipio más cercano, se hubiese reservado la explotación de alguna mina o tierra de labranza, y se permitiese marcar, por su excepcionalidad, sus monedas, téseras y precintos como pertenencientes a la *res publica*. Pues bien, si estuviésemos en lo cierto al interpretar asi las siglas, tendríamos que pensar entonces en fechas post-silanas preimperiales'. 'Nuevos Documentos...', pp. 29f. It is possible that the legend on the central Italian issue, nos. 60 and 61, **CN·CORNIILI·Γ·S**, contains a reference to the same entity, if the identification is correct, but this single occurrence, as part of a personal legend, is insufficient to build on.

106 A very large part of the lead issues from central Italy can be provenanced to the river Liri at Minturnae, an important river port; it is therefore conceivable that they played some specific role in the Baetican trade (such as loading tallies), and were all brought by sea from there (as the presence of lead issues in the Isla Pedrosa shipwreck might suggest.) However, much of the copious central Italian bronze material in northern European collections, acquired by travellers in the nineteenth century, is of dry-land provenance. On balance, I believe this hypothesis may be discounted.

from Ostia, or Rome itself, which is not the case.[107]

Did they have a monetary function? The value-marks that appear in both areas, on both bronze[108] and lead, suggest that they did.[109] The phenomenon of uncial value-marks on lead[110] is significant. They differ in this from the lead tesserae of the imperial period, which do not have value-marks, even when they served as tokens that gave the holder the right to a fixed amount of goods (such as grain), or specific services (such as entry to a function). In theory, the

107 There are none in M. Rostowzew, *Tesserarum Urbis Romae et Suburbi Plumbearum Sylloge* (St. Petersburg, 1903), nor examples of normal tesserae with the types we are considering (Roman tesserae are normally cast, whereas our issues are invariably struck).

108 Value-marks on bronze cause little surprise, because bronze is accepted as a 'normal' coinage metal, and one with a recognisable value, defined in relation to silver, within the Republican monetary system.

109 By 'monetary function' I mean that the issues were put into circulation by some authority, as a medium of exchange, at least within the group that that authority controlled. I therefore exclude the large numbers of central Italian pieces imitating Republican *quadrantes*, considered by Crawford in 'Unofficial imitations and small change ...', but it must be realised that these were part of a monetary phenomenon in its own right, of importance in understanding the economy of central Italy in the late Republic, in the context of which the production of our issues must probably be placed. (The question may also be complicated by 'unofficial' copying of the 'monetary' issues, and by the emission, by the issuing authority, of tokens and tickets that were never intended to have value, but that used similar types. The fly issue (nos. 99 and 100) is probably an example.) Chavez, in considering the parallel phenomenon of Andalusian *semis* imitations (which she dates to *c.* 85-65 BC) suggests that they are semi-official issues, arising from a dearth of small change. 'Las ciudades y núcleos de asentamiento del Sur peninsular recibirían en distinto grado, según la ventajas que en ellas obtuvieran, la presencia de inmigrantes procedentes de Italia. Ellos se encontrarían con establecimientos indígenas que conocían y usaban la moneda produciéndola, si no habitualmente, sí para servicios concretos. La falta de fluidez y abastecimiento de bronces romanos oficiales se acentuó en el primer tercio del s. 1 a.C.. Ello pudo provocar que dentro de la organización de sus negocios, necesitasen moneda fraccionaria para el pago de algunos servicios concretos de poca monta, pero tal y como ya estaban acostumbrados a hacer parte de los indígenas. De esa manera, uno o varios grupos pudieron acordar, como medio paliativo de tal carencia, realizar unas emisiones menores que no pretendían sustituir ni hacer competencia a la amonedación oficial romana, ni mucho menos restarle nada a su principio de autoridad, pero que, evidentemente, no tenían derecho a llevar un nombre de ciudad porque no pertenecían a ninguna como tal', 'Hallazgo de un conjunto monetal a orillas del Guadalete (Cádiz)', p. 124.

110 The Baetican lead issues discussed are a specific, and small, sub-group of the much wider phenomenon of struck lead, including pieces that Chic ('Diffusores olearii y tesserae de plomo') ties to the oil-trade by the coincidence of their inscriptions with amphora stamps. Señor Pliego, in January 1996, showed me several hundred more small, struck lead pieces that are most unlikely ever to have had a monetary role. I am not convinced that lead copies of Republican coins, or Hispanic issues, can usefully be grouped with the 'plomos monetiformes', and they are clearly unrelated to the central Italian material.

underlying use-value could have been identified, and described in monetary units, which would have allowed the pieces to circulate, that is, to be exchanged at value for something other than the goods or services from which they derived this value.[111] There is no evidence that imperial tesserae served in this way.

To the evidence of the value-marks on lead must be added the evidence of co-ordinated denominations, which is a further indication of a monetary function. One such denominational set appears to consist of the *grandes plomos* with the man-with-a-'shovel' type,[112] and associated *quadrantes*.[113] The evidence is very thin, the argument hazardous, and the calculations risky, but it is possible that, in this set, there were real metal-value relationships between the denominations,[114] and that the denominations were tariffed at metal-value.[115] Other Baetican lead issues were self-evidently fiduciary. No. 53, for example, is a *triens* with reported weights of 6.6-10.7g. The central Italian lead *quadrantes* weigh less than 3g.[116]

There is one value-marked bronze issue apiece from the two areas. The few figures they provide concord well with the theoretical *Lex Papiria quadrans* standard of about 3.9g,[117] which suggests that they were issued on a par with circulating currency. There is also an interesting pair of issues—probably *quadrantes*, though unmarked—with the same types, but different modules and

111 In Italy in the 1970s and 1980s, for example, telephone jetons were regularly used in commerce at the value of a telephone-call (though this was not inscribed on them).

112 Nos. 22-26, 28, 32 and 34 of this article; further linked issues are described in *Plomos*.

113 Nos. 25 and 29.

114 The reported weights of the *grandes plomos* vary widely, between about 110 and 240g; the *quadrantes* weigh 68.6g (no. 29) and 40.7g (30), extrapolating to *as* standards of about 275g and 160g respectively.

115 In fn. 25 and 29, we earlier derived hypothetical Æ:Pb ratios of 1:9 or 1:10, 1:12 and 1:20: using these ratios, a bronze *as* of the semi-uncial *Lex Papiria* standard of about 13.55g would translate to lead *as* standards of about 120g, 135g, 165g and 270g respectively.

116

		N	x	s
No. **44**	Pbs	2	2.61g	0.56g
No. **60**	Pbs	13	2.96g	0.91g

117

		N	x	s
No. **31**	Æ	1	3.83g	Baetican
No. **84**	Æ	3	3.65g	0.38g central Italian

weight standards. The evidence is again scanty, but if it bears the argument, the issues were probably struck on either side of the *Lex Papiria* reform, and date to the 90s and 80s BC.[118]

A further interesting phenomenon is the overstriking of circulating coin (*asses* and *quadrantes*), apparently at the same nominal value as the pieces sacrificed. This implies that the motive for striking cannot have been simply to provide small change in a time of dearth, because the practice did not add to the volume of useful money in circulation.[119] It also raises the question of how these issues derived their value. We have the evidence that the bronze, and at least some of the lead, probably circulated at metal-value, but metal alone does not ensure that a piece is accepted as money: the authority of the issuer is also required, made evident by types that recognisably belong to him.[120] We have also seen that some of the issues were fiduciary coinage. Did they entail a promise of redemption against standard coin? Or did the value derive from the ability to use them in certain circumstances (company shops, for example), or exchange them for specific goods or services? How were they put into circulation? Were they used by the issuer to pay for labour, services, or the supply of commodities? Or were they 'sold' to the user against current, probably larger denomination money?

Many questions remain. These odd and interesting pieces and the many associated pieces that I have not described—still have much to tell us about the organisation of Roman commerce and trade, as well as the economy of the late Republic.

118

		N	x	s
No. **36**	Æ	3	4.34g	0.50g
No. **37**	Æ	2	3.41g	0.14g

119 I have no doubt, however, that the provision of small change was one important factor behind the mass of imitative pieces (often overstriking foreign pieces) in the larger Liri assemblage. It is also probable that small foreign coins (such as the foreign material from the Liri) may also have been pressed into service by size or weight. This argues not simply for a dearth of money in the late Republic, but for a healthy and increasingly monetary economy, because demand for coinage is a function not only of coin supply, but also of its speed of circulation.

120 If these issues were, indeed, struck by a *Publica Societas*, they suggest that it possessed a strong corporate authority and organisation. This is even more the case if its writ ran in both central Italy and Baetica.