

STUDI DELLA SOPRINTENDENZA ARCHEOLOGICA DI POMPEI

10



MINISTERO PER I BENI E LE ATTIVITÀ CULTURALI SOPRINTENDENZA ARCHEOLOGICA DI POMPEI

# NUOVE RICERCHE ARCHEOLOGICHE A POMPEI ED ERCOLANO

a cura di

PIETRO GIOVANNI GUZZO E MARIA PAOLA GUIDOBALDI

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Gli unici due contributi che non sono stati consegnati per la stampa sono i seguenti: Anna Paola Zaccaria Ruggiu, *Ricerche e indagini nelle insulae 7 e 14 della Regio VI di Pompei* (per il quale cfr. ora Ead., *Lo scavo dell'insula VI, 14*, in "Rivista di Studi Pompeiani" XIV, 2003, pp. 305-308) e Daniela Scagliarini Corlàita, *L'insula del Centenario a Pompei: acta et agenda*. In occasione del Convegno, presso la sede della British School at Rome furono inoltre allestiti alcuni poster predisposti da studiosi o gruppi di ricerca. Tutti quelli che sono stati consegnati in tempo utile per l'avvio del processo di stampa sono stati raccolti, e in gran parte impaginati dall'Editore in assenza di indicazioni di soluzioni grafiche, in una sorta di Appendice che segue la presentazione delle relazioni.

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# The Monetary Stock at Pompeii at the Turn of the Second and First Centuries BC: Pseudo-Ebusus and Pseudo-Massalia

*Clive Stannard*

<sup>1</sup> Attilio Stazio, 'Rapporti tra Pompei ed Ebusus nelle Baleari alla luce dei rinvenimenti monetali', *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* 2 (1955), pp. 33-57, cited here as *Rapporti*.

<sup>2</sup> 'Resta però da spiegare per quali motivi fra le monete correnti in quell'epoca nella regione iberica solo quelle di Ebusus giungessero frequentemente in Campania, mentre delle altre, pur numerose, emissioni degli altri centri della penisola nessun esemplare si sia finora rivenuto nella nostra zona'; *ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> *Las monedas de Ebusus* (Barcelona, 1976) (cited as *Ebusus*), updated by 'Las monedas de Ebusas', in *VII Jornadas de arqueología fenico-púnica*, Trabajos del Museo Arqueológico de Ibiza 31, pp. 147-71 (Ibiza, 1993) (cited as *Jornadas*), and 'Les Monedes de l'Eivissa Púnica', in *La Moneda a l'Eivissa Púnica* (Palma de Majorca, Spain, 1994) (cited as *Eivissa*). I thank Marta Campo for her generous assistance and advice, over a number of years.

<sup>4</sup> Some idea of the range of finds can be obtained from 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 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* (Patrol, Sweden, 1995), pp. 61-73 and pp. 148-152, and Giovanna Rita Bellini *et al.*, *Minturnae Antiquarium: Monete dal Garigliano, I: Guida alla mostra, Catalogo delle monete* (Rome and Milan, 1996). See also R. Martini, *Monetazione bronzea romana tardo-repubblicana. I* (Milan, 1988), pp. 96-7, on the material from the river Liri in commerce.

<sup>5</sup> This is the second largest number of coins from any single polity, after Neapolis, which accounts for 14.1%; the third is Massalia, with 8.2%; Spanish mints other than Ebusus account for 3.1%.

<sup>6</sup> Catalogued as Pseudo-Ebusus, Group VI, 1-7, in this paper.

## Introduction

In 1955, Attilio Stazio first drew attention to the enormous quantities of Ebusan minor bronze coins (most with an image of the god, Bes, on either side) that are found at Pompeii and in central Italy generally, and suggested that the phenomenon should be seen in the context of commercial ties between Campania and Spain in the second and first centuries BC<sup>1</sup>; but such ties cannot adequately explain why large numbers of low-value coinage, of little intrinsic value and presumably no exchange value outside Ebusus, should end in Italy. He also perspicaciously noted – but did not attempt to explain – the rarity of other Spanish coins in central Italy<sup>2</sup>. When Stazio wrote, there was no analytical typology of the Ebusan coinage, which limited the information he could draw from the material. Marta Campo's thorough studies<sup>3</sup> have since remedied this situation, and made possible a better understanding of Italian finds.

The presence of Ebusan minor coinage at Pompeii in itself raises a number of important numismatic, historical and archaeological questions; but a further set of questions is raised by the fact – which was not until very recently recognized – that about half of the putative Ebusan material actually comprises central Italian imitations of Ebusan coins. I first came to this conclusion while assembling a database of 'foreign' (that is, non-Roman) coins that could be provenanced to the River Liri, or Garigliano, at Minturnae<sup>4</sup>. Ebusus and Pseudo-Ebusus together account for 8.4% of the foreign material from the Liri<sup>5</sup>. On the basis of the relatively large number of coins of *Ebusus* Group XVIII, 71 from the Liri<sup>6</sup> – which carry a very rudimentary image of Bes – I suggested to Marta Campo that these pieces were central Italian imitations, rather than true Ebusan coins; she accepted my suggestion in *Jornades*<sup>7</sup>, having checked the Ebusan material in Archaeological Museum of Ibiza, where the issue is not present.

With a growing understanding of the Liri material, I

was able to identify further Pseudo-Ebusan issues, which I described in a paper in the festschrift for Charles Hersh<sup>8</sup>; I was able to show that a large proportion of the Ebusan coins from central Italy are local imitations, and offered a typology of those I had already been able to identify; I dated these materials to the end of the second and the first part of the first centuries BC<sup>9</sup>.

I identify Pseudo-Ebusan issues by the following criteria: a central Italian provenance; the non-existence or rarity of the issues in the very copious material assembled in *Ebusus*, most of which is from Spanish museums and collections<sup>10</sup>; the frequency of die-linking, which suggests that the coins have not travelled far from their origins, and been diluted in the monetary mass; die-links to non-Ebusan materials; and questions of style, flan size and weight<sup>11</sup>.

At about this time, the British School at Rome was beginning its deep excavations at Pompeii, below the House of Amarantus, I.9.11-12; I suggested to Andrew Wallace-Hadrill that he might find Ebusan materials, and asked to be kept informed<sup>12</sup>. Sure enough, these were the commonest coins found; disregarding Roman Republican and Imperial pieces, Ebusan and Pseudo-Ebusan materials represent 42.3% of the 130 identifiable coins<sup>13</sup>; this suggested that these issues were even commoner at Pompeii than in the Liri. In order to investigate the question further, and to put the British School excavation coins in a wider context, I sought out materials from other excavations below the AD 79 destruction level, and with these and the Liri materials, can now provide a more cogent description of the phenomenon.

My Liri database<sup>14</sup> describes one of the largest groups of 'foreign' coins from any ancient site<sup>15</sup>; they are, with few exceptions, bronze, from most of the ancient world, and from the fourth century BC to about the time of Christ, but mainly from the latter part of this period<sup>16</sup>. I am trying to address two subjects: the incidence of foreign coins in central Italy in the Republican period, and the nature of the large number of local coinages that I

have been able to identify, but which I have not yet published systematically<sup>17</sup>. This material is difficult to characterise. All legends are Latin. It is clear that it is not state coinage: many issues are anepigraphic; none explicitly identify a place of issue; and the bronze pieces are frequently associated with struck lead (often with value-marks)<sup>18</sup>. While some of the local material is clearly sporadic, many issues fall into groups that have distinct character and structure; many share legends; and some include linked denominations.

I call these issues the central Italian assemblage. Many use a particular set of types, not used by Rome or other normal Italian mints; but there are unequivocal iconographic parallels between them and the strange lead issues of Baetica in the late second and first centuries BC<sup>19</sup>. These types are not found, or are only rarely found, elsewhere; they include a pair of strigils and an *aryballos* hanging from a carrying-ring<sup>20</sup>; a man with a 'shovel' on his shoulder, often carrying an *askos*, or the *askos* alone; a boy kneeling to tie a stooping man's sandals; Vulcan; and flies: I call these the Italo-Baetican types<sup>21</sup>. Spanish scholars have advanced the hypothesis that the Baetican lead issues were a 'company coinage', issued by a *Publica Societas* exploiting the Spanish mines and oil-production<sup>22</sup>. If this is the case – and I incline to agree – then there are important implications for the economic history of central Italy and Baetica in the late Republic.

There is also a shipwreck at Isla Pedrosa, off Estartit in Catalonia, from which a small purse-hoard was recovered, containing Italo-Baetican, Neapolitan, Massaliot (?), Roman, and Narbonne-Beziers area (KAION–TOΛOY BAΣIA) materials; the wreck probably dates to c. 140 BC or later<sup>23</sup> (*Figure 1*).

My initial interest in the Pseudo-Ebusan material – which occurs in quantity alongside the Italo-Baetican types at Minturnae<sup>24</sup> – arose partly from a desire to understand if, and if so how, they relate. In both cases, the relative paucity of ordinary Spanish coins in central Italian finds, including at Minturnae, must be brought into the equation<sup>25</sup>.

### Materials studied (*Figures 2 and 3*)

#### *The House of Amarantus (Pompeii, I.9.11-12)*

Between 1995 and 1999, the British School dug below the AD 79 level in a pair of houses at the southeast

of Region I, Insula 9, at Pompeii. There is 'a bar on the corner (door 11) with a somewhat dismal garden area behind it, and alongside it and interconnected at several points a house (door 12) of simple atrium/peristyle layout ... The atrium (room 2) of house 12 was excavated to the foundations, and below that to natural. ... On the base of pottery dating alone, a picture emerged of habitation in the area in structures that respected the AD 79 alignment of streets stretching from the sixth century BC to the building of the house in its present form in the first century BC. ... These results confirmed the indications of a trench in room 3, opening on the atrium..., where the first cocciopesto floor included fine-wall wares typical of the first century... A similar situation emerged in the garden behind the bar. The AD 79 garden surface evidently buried the lower level of the colonnade immured in the west and south walls. This had been deliberately raised by the importation of earth, including much pottery of the mid-first century AD. A very clear surface emerged associated with the original peristyle phase. But lifting this lid revealed an exceptionally complex situation in the form of dozens of intercutting pits, evidently made to recover the pozzolana below for building purposes, and backfilled with richly informative rubbish. The pottery pointed to dates ranging over the first century BC down to the Augustan period, though with substantial quantities of residual material of the third and second centuries'<sup>26</sup>.

There are 130 identifiable coins, of which the Republic accounts for 40.8% (15 of the 53 pieces are very worn halved *asses*), the Empire 13.8%, Ebusus 10%, Pseudo-Ebusus 9.2%, Massalia 3.1%, and other Greek 23.1%. Strip away the Republican and Imperial pieces, and the Ebusan and Pseudo-Ebusan material represents 42.3% of the total.

#### *The Uffici Scavi at Pompeii*

There are two informative groups of coins in the Uffici Scavi at Pompeii: sporadic finds, and coins from the excavations undertaken in the forum area by Paul Arthur in preparation for the installation of electric lighting<sup>27</sup>. There are 150 identifiable coins in all; disregarding Roman Republican and Imperial pieces, the Ebusan and Pseudo-Ebusan material represents 57.5% of the total. The Republic accounts for 18.7%, the Em-

<sup>7</sup> P. 156.

<sup>8</sup> 'Overstrikes and imitative coinages in central Italy in the late Republic', in Andrew Burnett, Ute Wartenberg and Richard B. Witschonke (eds.), *Coins of Macedonia and Rome. Essays in honour of Charles Hersb* (London, 1998), cited here as *Imitations*.

<sup>9</sup> I also identified a large group of Pseudo-Panormitan pieces of central Italian origin, as well as a small group imitating Termessos, Pisidia, and die-linked to imitations of Roman and local issues.

<sup>10</sup> For example, in *Imitations*, I showed that the pieces I list below as my Group VI, 1-7 (*Ebusus* Group XVIII, 71) are about 60 times more frequent in the Liri than in the *Ebusus* corpus (calculated from the table on p. 229 of *Imitations*); moreover, of the 12 pieces cited in *Ebusus*, only one has a certain, and another a probable, Spanish origin.

<sup>11</sup> Most of the Pseudo-Ebusan issues are on smaller flans than the canonical Ebusan pieces.

<sup>12</sup> I thank him for having invited me to study the excavation coins, and for his continual encouragement. I owe him the map of find-sites in Pompeii; I owe the other maps and much more to my daughter, Phoebe.

<sup>13</sup> The Republic accounts for 40.8% (15 of the 53 pieces are very worn halved *asses*), the Empire 13.8%, Ebusus 10%, Pseudo-Ebusus 9.2%, Massalia 3.1%, and other Greek 23.1%.

<sup>14</sup> Coins in my database are identified by an 'accession number', which 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. (Coins in the block, 0, have no geographic provenance, and are mainly from public collections.)

<sup>15</sup> I early decided – which I now regret – not to try and record the large numbers of standard Republican and Imperial coins that are part of the same finds.

<sup>16</sup> The date of issue of a coin, of course, need not correlate closely with its deposit in the river. Coins often seem to have remained available well after their issue.

<sup>17</sup> A number of such pieces are, however, described and illustrated in my paper, 'Iconographic parallels between the local coinages of central Italy and Baetica in the first century BC', *Acta Numismatica* 25 (1995) – cited here as *Parallels* – and in *Imitations*.

<sup>18</sup> Many of the coins M. Bahrfeldt attributed to Roman Sicily – Group III in particular – in 'Die römisch-sicilischen Münzen aus der Zeit der Republik', *Revue suisse de numismatique* XII (1904), are central Italian issues.

<sup>19</sup> Collected in Antón Casariego, Gonzalo Cores y Francisco Pliego, *Catálogo de Plomos*

*Monetiformes de la Hispania Antigua* (Madrid, 1987).

<sup>20</sup> The only incidence outside the Italo-Baetican material of this image is the rare Republican *quadrans*, RRC 234/3, TL.VETVR, of 137 BC; but pieces that I have seen often have a characteristic Andalusian patina, and may well originate there.

<sup>21</sup> See *Parallels*; some of the types – when struck over, or used as flans, for Republican pieces – are also published in *Imitations*.

<sup>22</sup> A common legend in Baetica, though not in central Italy, is PS: M. Paz García-Bellido, 'Nuevos Documentos sobre Minería y Agricultura Romanas en Hispania', *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 59, nos. 153 and 154 (1986), pp. 29 f., expands this as *Publica Societas*; Genaro Chic García, 'Diffusores olearii y tesserae de plomo', *Revista de estudios locales* 5 (1994), ties various of these pieces to the oil-trade by the coincidence of their inscriptions with amphora-stamps from Monte Testaccio in Rome.

<sup>23</sup> 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, which I republished in *Parallels*, pp. 88-92.

<sup>24</sup> Ebusus and Pseudo-Ebusus account for 8.4%. This is the second largest number of coins from any single polity, after Neapolis, which accounts for 14.1%; the third is Massalia, with 8.2%.

<sup>25</sup> Spanish mints other than Ebusus account for 3.1% of the foreign material from the Liri.

<sup>26</sup> Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, 'Small change, wide horizons: coin finds from the House of Amaranthus at Pompeii (I.9.11-12)', unpublished paper for a conference at Villa Vergiliana, 27 May 2000.

<sup>27</sup> I thank Pietro Giovanni Guzzo, Soprintendente Archeologico at Pompeii, for permission to study this material, as well as Antonio D'Ambrosio, Director of the Uffici Scavi at Pompeii.

<sup>28</sup> 'La sepoltura relativa alla columella n. 2 della tomba 7 OS della necropoli di Porta Nocera era una deposizione intatta. All'interno del cinerario, una semplice pentola fittile di datazione vaga, si rinvennero, oltre alla moneta, due unguentari fittili di datazione piuttosto ampia che non ci possono dare alcuna precisazione cronologica. La tomba 7 OS, detta tomba dei Flavii, è un monumento piuttosto particolare della necropoli di Porta Nocera, datato secondo alcuni in epoca cesariana, ma non ho controllato tutta la bibliografia sull'argomento'; note from Grete Stefani, at the Uffici Scavi, whom I thank for her assistance. I also thank Franco Mosca for various kindnesses.

<sup>29</sup> These coins have a 'P' registration number. I thank Teresa Giove, Keeper of Coins at the Museum, for permission to study the coins in Naples.

pire 6%, Ebusus 31.3%, Pseudo-Ebusus 14.7%, Massalia 3.1%, and other Greek 23.1%; I identified a single Pseudo-Massaliot piece. There is also an important new Pseudo-Ebusan piece (Group II, 2, no. 30) from the tomb, 7 OS Columella 2, in the Porta Nocera necropolis<sup>28</sup>.

#### *Naples: material from old excavations at Pompeii*

The National Archaeological Museum in Naples has about 1,300 unprovenanced bronze coins – mainly of Imperial times – from old excavations at Pompeii<sup>29</sup>. I found 60 Ebusan and Pseudo-Ebusan pieces amongst these, in about equal numbers: these are the commonest 'Greek' coins present. There were two types not found in the other materials: Group II, 3, no. 31, and Group V, 5, nos. 43 and 44. There were also 22 Massaliot and Pseudo-Massaliot coins.

#### *Naples: purse-board from the sewers of a bathhouse at Pompeii (VIII.5.36)*

Also in the Naples Museum, and of particular importance, is the purse-board from the sewers of a bathhouse (VIII.5.36) at Pompeii, which was first reported by Amedeo Maiuri in 1950<sup>30</sup>: 'Nel lavoro di ripulimento di uno dei pozzetti della cunetta delle acque di scarico della terme . . . , insieme con molte tracce di ossido di ferro e di bronzo, si raccolse un gruzzolo di monete di bronzo di medio e piccolo modulo, concrezionate le più dall'ossido, le quali, dopo un accurato lavoro di distacco e di ripulimento, risultarono del numero di 90 monete'. The hoard contains a large number of Ebusan and Pseudo-Ebusan coins, which Laura Breglia misattributed to an uncertain Gallic mint<sup>31</sup>. The position of the find and its homogeneous composition convinced Maiuri that it was a purse-board that had been carried into the sewers by running waters: 'La ragione di un così copioso e inconsueto deposito di monete in un pozzetto di scarico delle acque di spurgo della terma, non è agevole a ricercare: data l'ubicazione del pozzetto, quelle monete, è ovvio supporre, provennero dal canale di scarico che, correndo in superficie sul pavimento . . . , immetteva direttamente le acque di lavaggio in quel pozzetto. E poiché il gruzzoletto delle monete galliche, inconsueto nella circolazione mone-

tale di Pompei, non fa pensare a monete cadute isolatamente dalla borsa del cliente o schiavo disattento, mentre l'acqua di lavaggio fluiva rapidamente lungo il piano inclinato della cunetta, abbia lasciato cadere inavvertitamente quel suo copioso seppur non prezioso peculio'<sup>32</sup>. He dated the bathhouse itself to 'l'ultima età del comune italico di Pompei o [la] prima età della colonia romana'<sup>33</sup>, that is, to the first quarter of the first century BC.

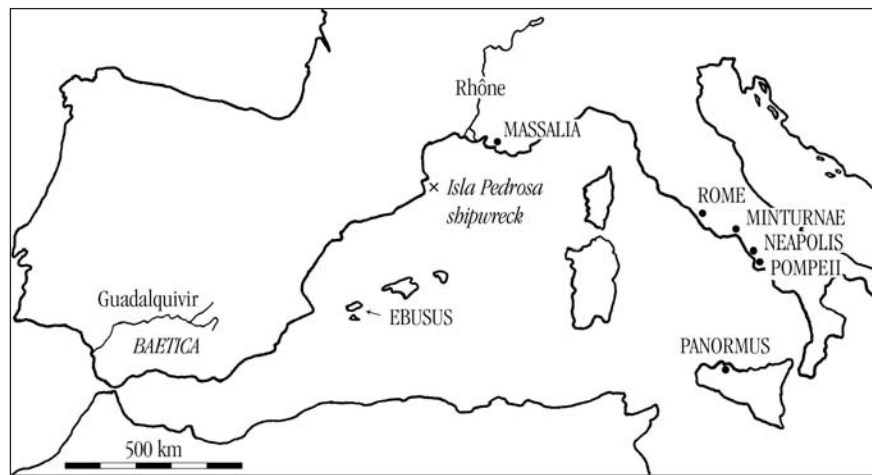
Stazio recognized that the coins in question were Ebusan and that the presence of semi-uncial Roman bronze in the find provided a *terminus ante quem* of 91 BC; 'Tale cronologia è confermata e precisata dal fatto che monete simili sono state rinvenute in Provenza, a St. Rhémy, St. Blaise, etc., . . . in strati del II-I secolo a.C.'<sup>34</sup>. The presence of Pseudo-Ebusan and Pseudo-Massaliot coins was, of course, not yet recognised.

The hoard is a sample of the circulating medium at Pompeii, probably from the early 80s BC; almost half of the coins are Pseudo-Ebusan; it contains three new Pseudo-Ebusan groups (Group II, 4, no. 32; Group IV, 1, no. 35; and Group IV, 2, no. 36), as well as a series of pieces, which – because of their close die-linking and anomalous legends – can be identified as Pseudo-Massaliot, making possible their re-attribution, from Gallic imitations of Massalia, to central Italy. The Roman Republic accounts for 26.7% of the hoard, Ebusus 11.1%, Pseudo-Ebusus 43.3%, Massalia 6.7%, Pseudo-Massalia at least 8.9% and probably 12.2%, and other Greek 3.3%.

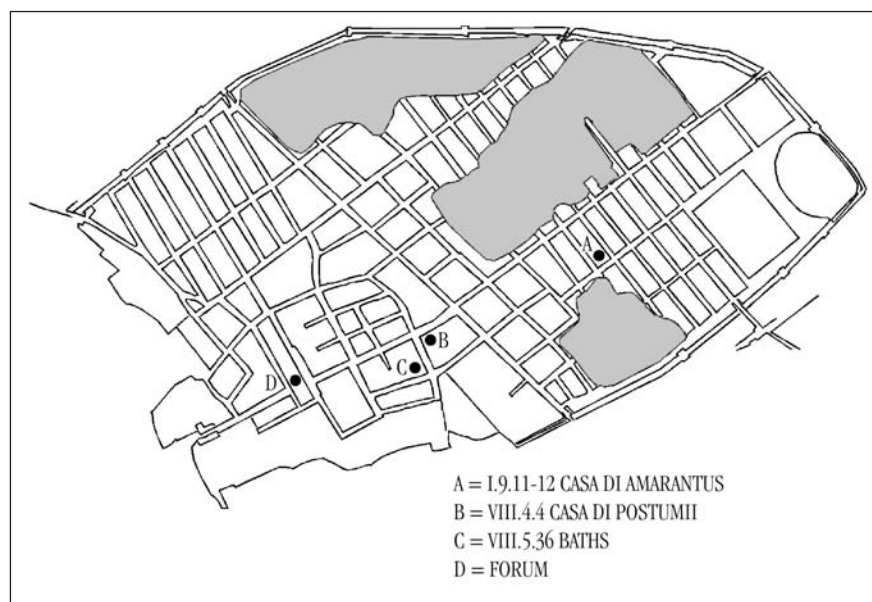
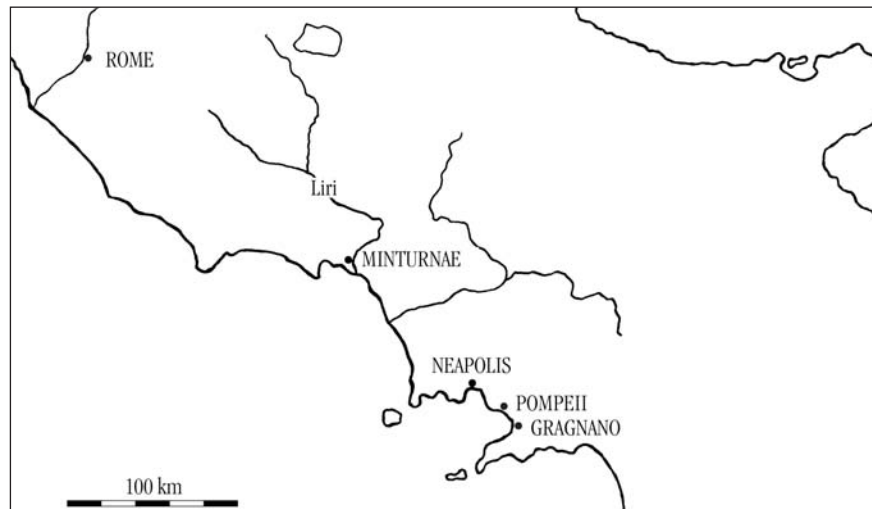
#### *The votive well at Gragnano*

In the course of excavations, by P. Miniero and A. D'Ambrosio in 1984, of a Campanian sanctuary at Gragnano (Privati di Stabiae), at the foot of the Sorrentine peninsula south of Pompeii, a votive well was found, containing over 600 mainly bronze coins, with a sharp cut-off date in the early first century BC. A preliminary report has been published by Renata Cantilena: 'Il materiale numismatico si distribuisce in un arco cronologico che va dalla seconda metà del secolo IV a.C. agli inizi del secolo I a.C., ma l'intero periodo non appare documentato con pari ampiezza: maggiori quantitativi di moneta sono attestati tra la fine del IV e il primo trentennio del III a.C., anni in cui è predominante la moneta napoletana, e dalla fine del secolo III a.C.,





1. Baetica, Ebusus and central Italy
2. Origins of the materials studied
3. Find-spots in Pompeii



<sup>30</sup> Amedeo Maiuri, 'Pompei - Scoperta di un edificio termale nella Regio VIII, Insula 5, nr. 36.', *Notizia Scavi* (1950), pp. 116-136; p. 127.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, in a substantive footnote, p. 126.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130.

<sup>34</sup> *Rapporti*, p. 43.

<sup>35</sup> Renata Cantilena, 'Le Monete', in P. Miniero *et alii*, 'Gragnano: Il Santuario Campano', *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani* 8 (1997), pp. 39-50; p. 39f.

<sup>36</sup> My attributions.

<sup>37</sup> I thank Mario Pagano, Director of Excavations at Stabia, for this, and for many valuable suggestions.

<sup>38</sup> Inventory numbers 6891, 7099, 7130 and 7355.

<sup>39</sup> On the assumption that the Pseudo-Ebusan pieces originated to the north of Gragnano.

<sup>40</sup> I thank Felix Pirson and Silvana Oliviero.

<sup>41</sup> The statistical comparisons that follow are based on the material from the Liri, the House of Amarantus, the Uffici Scavi at Pompeii, the Naples purse-hoard, and the votive well at Gragnano, unless otherwise noted.

<sup>42</sup> Which I have recorded since *Imitations*.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Cantilena, *loc. cit.*, p. 45: 'A partire dalla fine del III a.C. giunsero nella valle del Sarno, in penisola sorrentina e sul litorale salernitano, in grande quantità, monetine di *Ebusus* (serie del II periodo CAMPO)'.

quando prevale quella romana insieme con le emissioni dell'isola di Ibiza nelle Baleari (*Ebusus*)<sup>35</sup>. She lists 572+ coins; the Roman Republic accounts for 9.1%, *Ebusus* 9.1%, Pseudo-*Ebusus* c. 1.6%<sup>36</sup>, and other Greek 61.4%; she notes that there are a few Massaliot pieces, 'of the type found in the forum excavations at Pompeii'. I examined the Ebusan and Pseudo-Ebusan material<sup>37</sup>; but as I had not yet realised the existence of Pseudo-Massaliot issues, I did not examine the Massaliot material in detail; my notes show four Massaliot pieces<sup>38</sup>.

The well is relatively poor in Pseudo-Ebusan, in proportion to canonical Ebusan, coins, when compared to the other materials: 5:52, or about 9% of the total of the two.

Liri	Amarantus Pompeii	Bathhouse Gragnano
49%	48%	32%
		80%
		9%

Two possible explanations come to mind: that coins from areas to the north<sup>39</sup> did not commonly reach Gragnano, or that the well closed before the Pseudo-Ebusan issues had reached their apogee; given the spread of mints in the well, there is no good reason to believe that material from the north arrived at a slower rate, and the second explanation is more likely. The date of the well's closure – which the excavators associate with Sulla's campaigns in the area in 89 BC, when Pompeii fell to the Romans and Stabiae was razed to the ground – may therefore help date the Pseudo-Ebusan issues; in this context, it should be noted that there are no post-*Lex Papiria* Roman coins – that is, coins later than 91 BC – in the well, which would give a *terminus ante quem* to the closure of the well. On balance, I am inclined to think that the well effectively closed before 91 BC, and consequently before the Pseudo-Ebusan issues reached their apogee in the late 90s and early 80s BC.

#### *The House of the Postumii (Pompeii, VIII, 4, 4)*

I have some information on the German School excavations under the AD 79 levels in the House of the Postumii, where 104 coins are reported to have been found, 23 of which are reported to be Ebusan or Pseudo-Ebusan, and the latter to have included the following pieces<sup>40</sup>, which I cite according to the attributions in this paper.

	No.
<b>Group II, 1</b>	
<i>Imitations</i> O2, <i>Ebusus</i> XVI, 22, unit	Bes, wearing a tunic, a hammer in a raised right hand, a snake in the left / Horse-head right 1
<b>Group II, 5</b>	
<i>Imitations</i> O1, <i>Ebusus</i> XVI, 21, unit	Laureate head of Apollo left / Bes, wearing a tunic, a hammer in a raised right hand, a snake in the left 1
<b>Group III</b>	
<i>Imitations</i> O3, <i>Ebusus</i> XVI, 23, half?	Bearded and diademed head right / Same, but left hand raised 1
<b>Group VI, 7</b>	
<i>Imitations</i> M, <i>Ebusus</i> XVIII, 71, unit	Bes standing facing, naked, his left hand merely raised, and a snake in his left hand; T to right / Same as obverse 5

#### **Ebusan and Pseudo-Ebusan issues found in central Italy**

##### *Canonical Ebusan coins with central Italian provenance (Figure 4)*

I now list the Canonical Ebusan issues that I know to have been found in central Italy, as well as the Pseudo-Ebusan and Pseudo-Massaliot issues that I believe originate there, and illustrate representative specimens, with special attention to instances of die-linking, which I indicate directly in the illustrations; I also list the numbers of coins of each issue in the materials studied and average weights<sup>41</sup>.

The canonical Ebusan material present in central Italy does not appear to contain many pieces from the third century BC; with the caveat that the poor quality of much of the material may have resulted in my attributing to *Ebusus* Group XVIII, 50-60 and 62-70 a few coins of earlier periods with Bes / Bes types, only 11 of a total of 168 canonical Ebusan coins (6.55%) are datable to before c. 200 BC, and only one of these<sup>42</sup> is of *Ebusus* Group II; most are of *Ebusus* Group VIII, 8. The largest number of coins – 87.5% – are of Group XVIII 50-60 and 62-72, dated to c. 200-100 BC. This distribution does not bear out earlier reports of the presence of large numbers of early pieces<sup>43</sup>: clearly, the bulk of coins left Ebusus during the second century BC, though precisely when is not clear. The paucity of specimens of *Ebusus*

		Liri	Amarantus	Pompeii	Bathhouse	Gragnano	Number of weighed coins	Average weight
<i>Ebusus</i> II, Imitations -, before c. 300-214 BC, unit	Bes, nude, a hammer in his raised right hand, a serpent in his left / Bull walking right on exergual line	1					–	–
<i>Ebusus</i> VIII, 8 = <i>Eivissa</i> 78, Imitations B, before c. 214 BC, unit	Bes, nude, a hammer in his raised right hand, a snake in the left / Same as obverse	4		4		2	10	1.96g
<i>Ebusus</i> VIII var. = <i>Eivissa</i> 65-7, Imitations C, before c. 214 BC, unit	Same; <i>ayin</i> , left / Same as obverse	1					1	2.16g
<i>Ebusus</i> XI, Imitations D, before c. 214 BC, half	Same, but Bes wears a tunic / Same as obverse	3					3	0.99g
<i>Ebusus</i> XII, 14-17, Imitations E, c. 214-200 BC, unit	Same / Bull butting left	2		1		2	5	2.86g
<i>Ebusus</i> XVIII, 50-60, 62-70, Imitations H, c. 200-100 BC, unit	Same; 51-60 and 62-70 with symbol left / Same as obverse	36	13	42	8	48	147	2.19g
<i>Ebusus</i> XIX, Imitations P, c. 91-c. 27 BC, semis	Bes, nude, a hammer in a raised right hand, a snake in the left / <i>ybsbm</i> in Neo-Punic and numeral '50'	2					2	6.37g <sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Not an average, but the standard for these series given in *Eivissa*, p. 48: 'Aquest pes correspon al dels semis del sistema metrològic semi-uncial, establert a Roma per la *Lex Papiria* l'any 91/90 a.C., per la qual cosa l'inici d'aquestes emissions es degué realitzar poc després d'aquesta data'.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *Rapporti*, p. 51, fn. 2.

<sup>46</sup> And does not, I feel, argue strongly that the model was the earlier, small-flan Group VII, 7, of which I know no specimens from Italy.

Group XIX, (dated, by their weight, to later than the *Lex Papiria* of c. 91 BC) – which, contrary to earlier reports<sup>45</sup>, are present in central Italy, though in very small numbers – shows that Ebusan coin was no longer flowing towards Italy in quantity after this date.

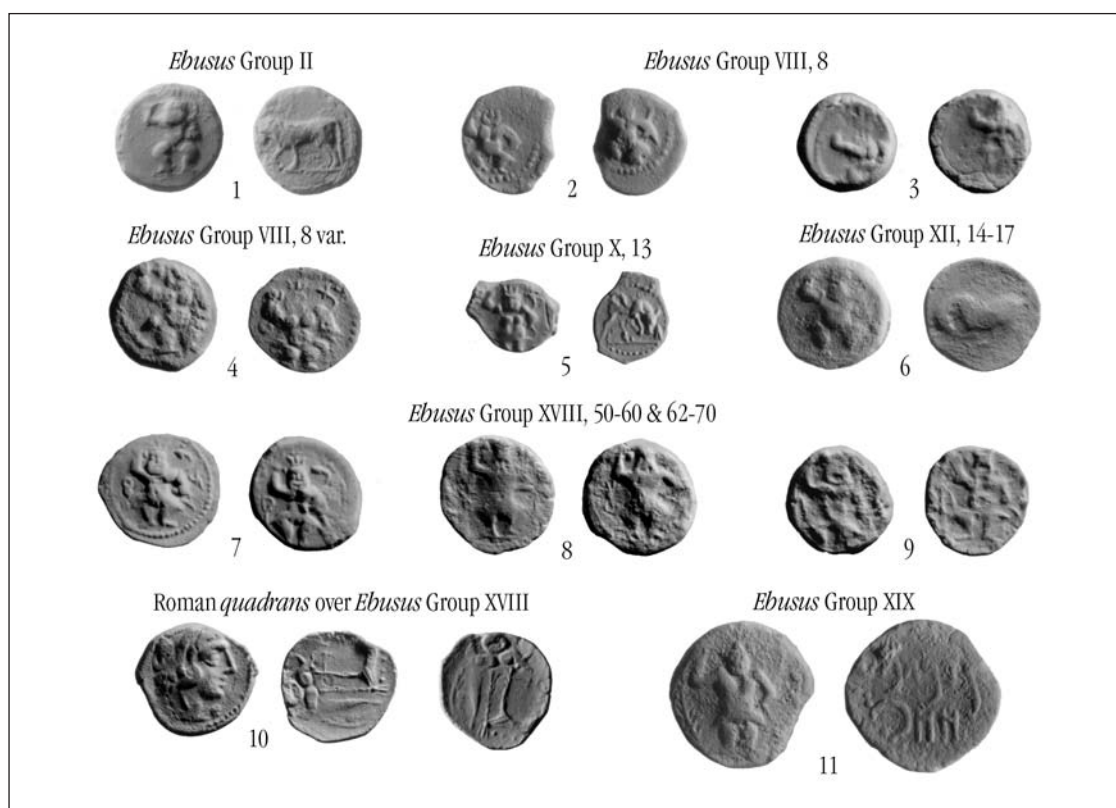
I think we need to consider two separate, super-imposed origins for the Ebusan material: a regular trickle in trade over time, and some extraordinary event or events that brought in a sudden flood of coin that represented a sample of the circulating medium in Ebusus at the time this happened, including older coins. The general paucity of Spanish issues, and the relative rarity of *Ebusus* Group XIX suggest that the volume of coins arriving in trade was relatively small throughout the period; whatever the cause of such a sudden influx of Ebusan coin, I suspect it is to be dated to the late second century BC. In any case, by the first part of the second century BC, canonical Ebusan and Pseudo-Ebusan coins circulated together promiscuously at Pompeii, and

formed the bulk of small denomination pieces, as the bathhouse purse-hoard shows; there seem to have been roughly as many canonical Ebusan as Pseudo-Ebusan coins. I draw attention to no. 10 – a Roman *quadrans* of after c. 91 BC struck over a specimen of *Ebusus* Group XVIII – which shows that Ebusan material down to Group XVIII was circulating in Italy about the time Group XIX appeared in Ebusus.

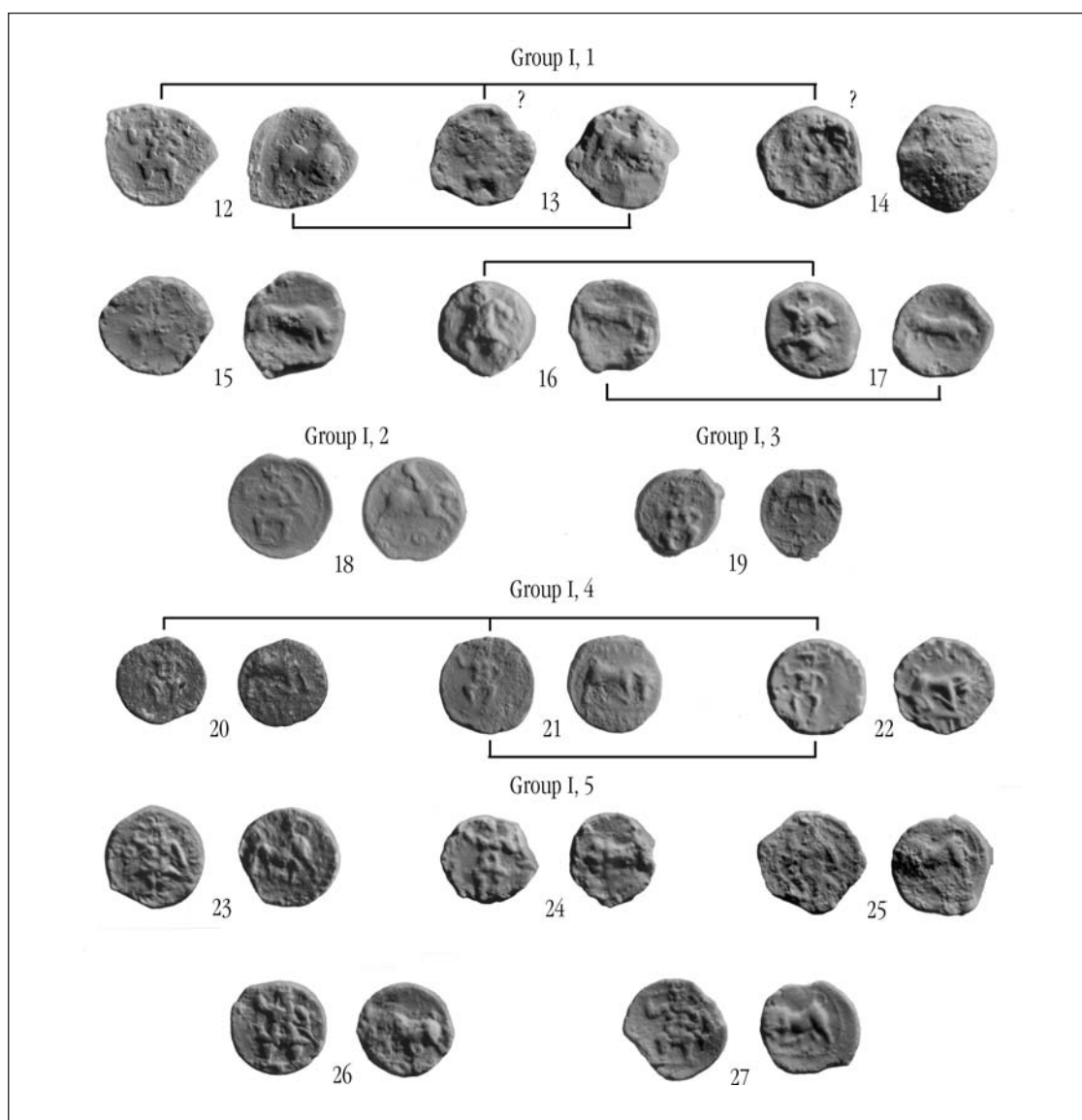
*Pseudo-Ebusus, Group I Bes/Butting Bull (Units, late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, Figure 5)*

The model for Group I is probably *Ebusus* XII, 14-17. The relatively small flan size is characteristic of the Pseudo-Ebusan issues in general<sup>46</sup>. There are a number of die-links, suggesting that the coins have not travelled far from their origins. Groups I, 2 and I, 3 have symbols in the exergue, a characteristic absent in the canonical

## 4. Canonical Ebusan coins with central Italian provenance



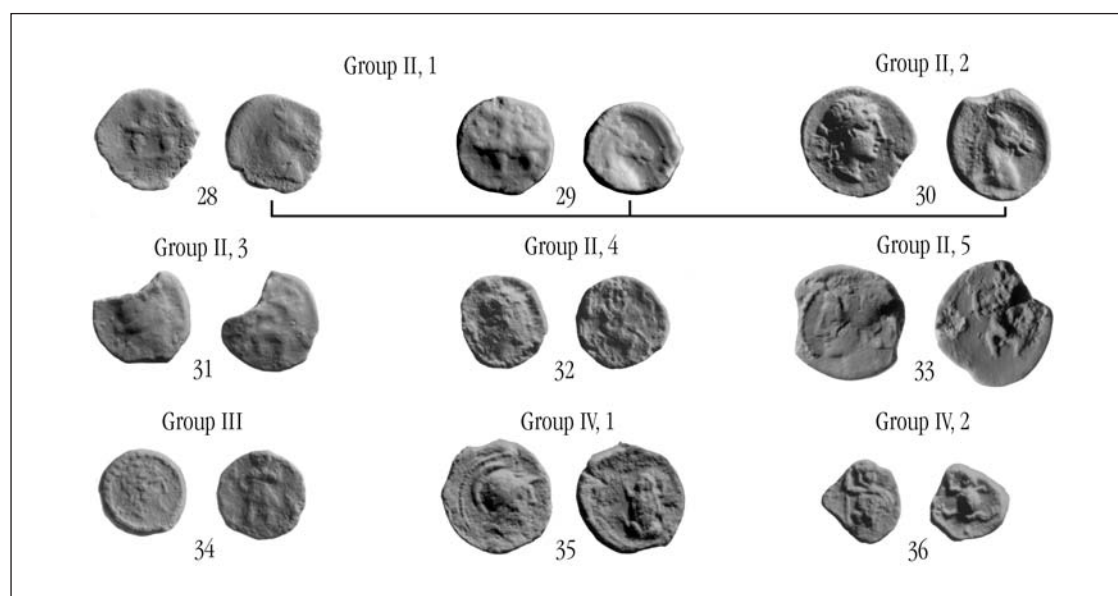
- 1 Æ 15            Liri 100.184  
 2 Æ 15 =    2.67g    Liri 27.114  
 3 Æ 16 0    2.86g    Pompeii sporadic 59031  
 4 Æ 16 3    2.15g    Liri 13.078  
 5 Æ 12 5    0.90g    Liri 4.190  
 6 Æ 16 6    3.39g    Liri 14.071
- Obverse and reverse symbols: *caduceus* to left; shin to right (*Ebusus* Group XVIII, 59-60)
- 7 Æ 17 -    3.13g    Pompeii sporadic 59016
- Obverse and reverse symbol: lotus flower to left (*Ebusus* XVIII, 68)
- 8 Æ 16 -    1.50g    Bathhouse 53
- Obverse and reverse symbol: *gimel* to left (*Ebusus* XVIII, 70)
- 9 Æ 15 1    1.82g    Bathhouse 46
- Rome, after c. 91 BC, *quadrans*, RRC 339/4c, struck over *Ebusus* Group XVIII, 50-61 and 62-70
- 10 Æ 15 7    2.75g    Liri 16.010
- Ebusus* Group XIX, 116
- 11 Æ 20 6    7.20g    Liri 35.010



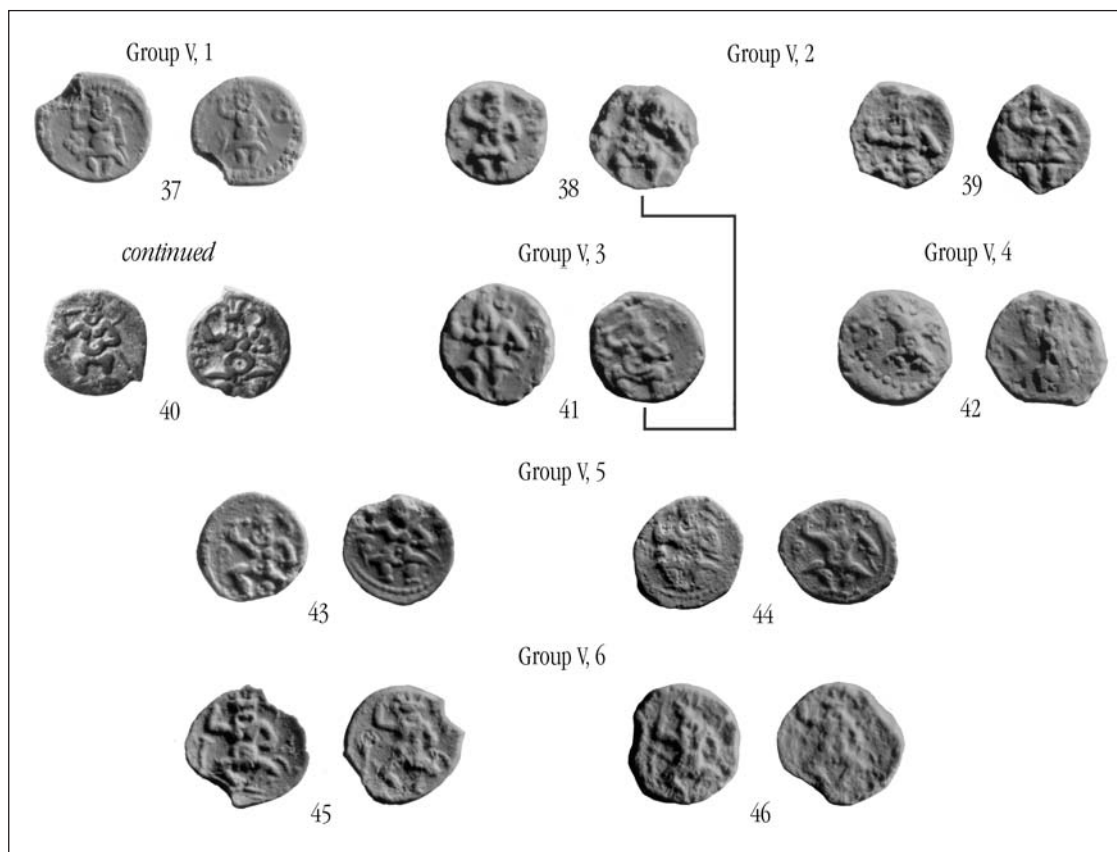
5. Pseudo-Ebusus: Bes / butting bull, units, late second-early first century BC?

12	Æ	16	6	Liri 100.095	19	Æ	13	7	1.95g	Liri 14.070	
13	Æ	16	7	1.54g	Gagnano 7266	20	Æ	12	8	1.10g	Liri 5.011
14	Æ	15		1.48g	Gagnano 7364	21	Æ	13	0	1.47g	Liri 34.004
15	Æ	16	=	1.53g	Naples Pompeii old excavations P14184 bis	22	Æ	15	0	1.43g	Pompeii forum 59217
16	Æ	13	0	1.59g	Pompeii forum 59160	23	Æ	14	9	1.55g	Pompeii forum 58173
17	Æ	14	0	1.72g	Pompeii forum 59219	24	Æ	13	0	1.40g	Pompeii forum 59212
18	Æ	15	5	2.31g	Liri 27.051	25	Æ	15	=	1.64g	Naples Pompeii old excavations P4831

6. Pseudo-Ebusus: anomalous types (horse-head, Apollo, Mars, toad), late second-early first century BC?



				Vives 1917 CVI-9 = Vives 1926 XI-19 = Berlin (this coin)
28	Æ	13	1	1.24g Liri 0.610
29	Æ	13	3	1.71g Pompeii forum 59155
30	Æ	15	9	2.37g Pompeii, from a cinery urn in tomb 7 OS Columella 2
31	Æ	14	1	1.35g Naples Pompeii old excavations P 10739 (broken)
32	Æ	13	=	1.31g Bathhouse 43
				Vives 1917 CVI-8 = Vives 1926 XI-18 = Berlin (this coin)
33	Æ	16	1	2.05g Liri 0.609
				Vives 1917 CVI-7 = Vives 1926 XI-17 = Berlin (this coin)
34	Æ	12	3	0.92g Liri 0.611
35	Æ	15	1	2.01g Bathhouse 41
36	Æ	11	4	1.38g Bathhouse 42



7. Pseudo-Ebusus: small units with symbols, late second-early first century BC?

Said to be from Sicily

37 Æ 13 6 2.55g Liri 0.652

38 Æ 12 5 1.47g Pompeii forum 59186

39 Æ 12 4 1.34g Pompeii forum 59187

*Ebusus* XVIII, 61 = Vives 1917 CVI-5 = Vives 1926 XII-17 = Berlin (this coin)

40 Æ 13 7 1.59g Liri 0.653

41 Æ 13 9 1.38g Pompeii forum 59154

42 Æ 14 7 1.79g Gragnano 6852

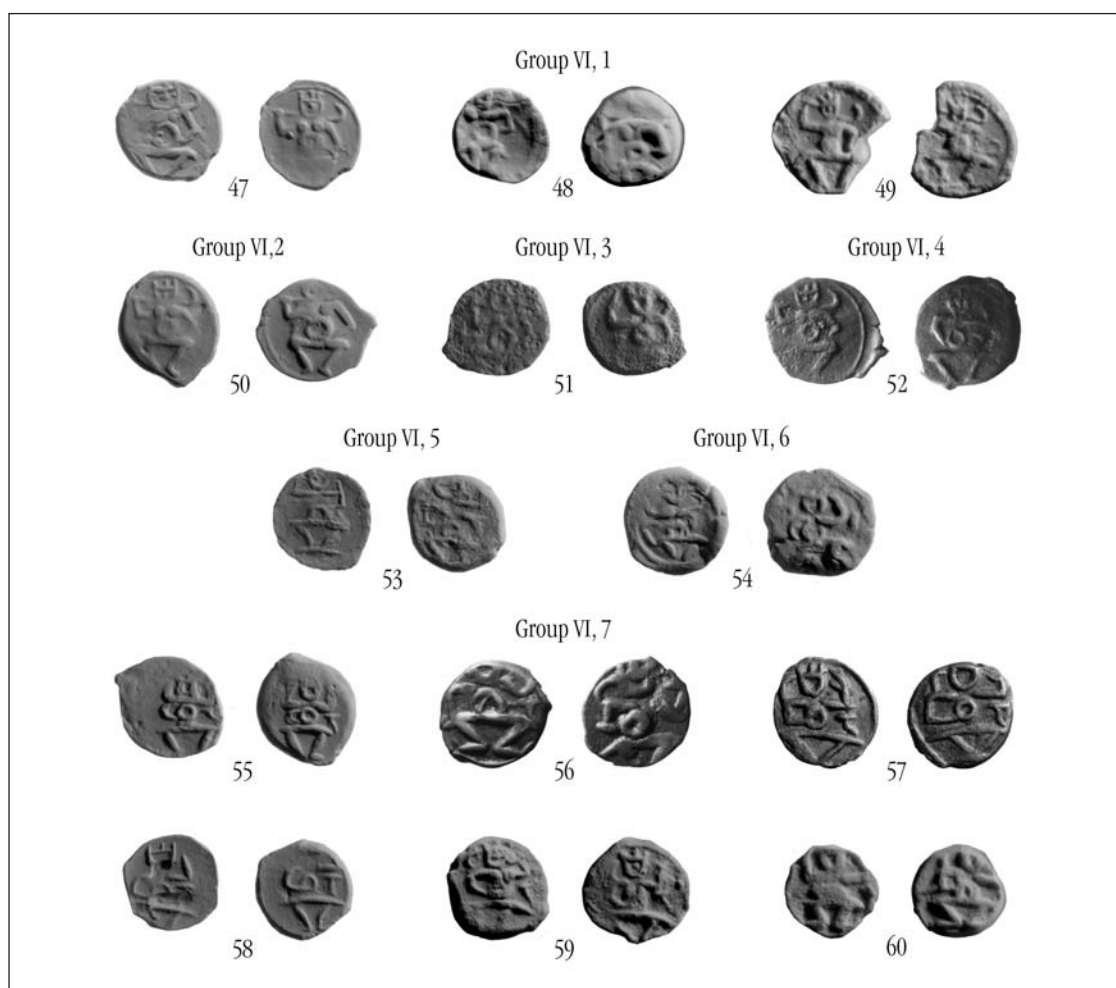
43 Æ 14 7 1.78g Naples Pompeii old excavations P5671

44 Æ 13 7 1.29g Naples Pompeii old excavations

45 Æ 14 9 1.30g Bathhouse 44

46 Æ 14 7 2.13g Bathhouse 8,1

## 8. Pseudo-Ebusus: rudimentary Bes, early first century BC?



47	Æ	15	9	1.73g	Liri 13.091
48	Æ	13	0	1.82g	Pompeii forum 59166
49	Æ	16	=	1.45g	Bathhouse 45
50	Æ	16	3	2.34g	Liri 18.020
51	Æ	15	0	2.10g	Liri 5.001
52	Æ	16	2	1.92g	Liri 4.001
53	Æ	15	9	1.70g	Liri 27.125
54	Æ	15	2	1.72g	Liri 34.027
55	Æ	17	2	1.94g	Liri 28.009
56	Æ	15	8	2.20g	Liri 4.002
57	Æ	15	-	1.97g	Liri 5.003
58	Æ	15	8	1.20g	Liri 13.099
59	Æ	16	0	1.43g	Bathhouse 62

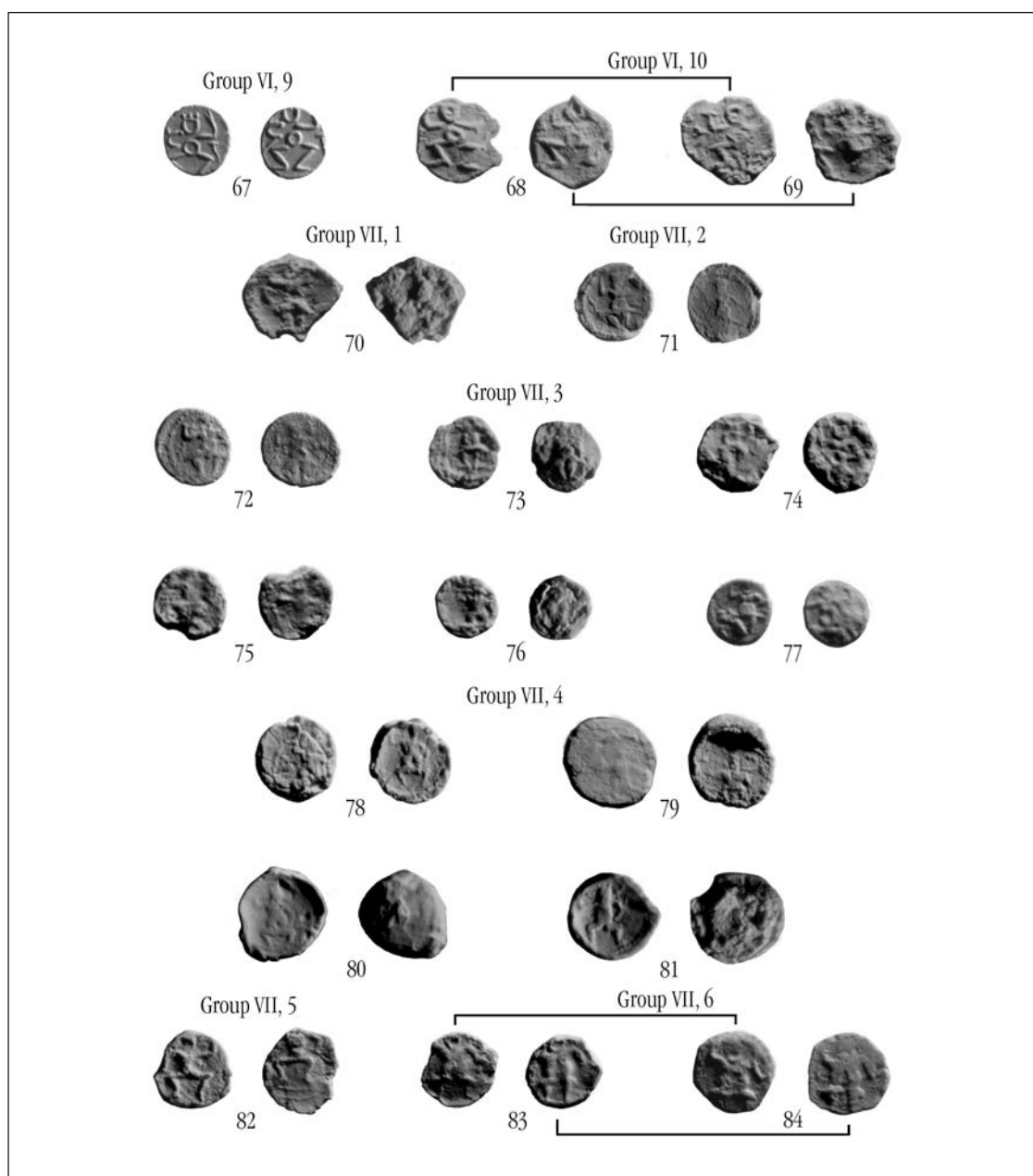




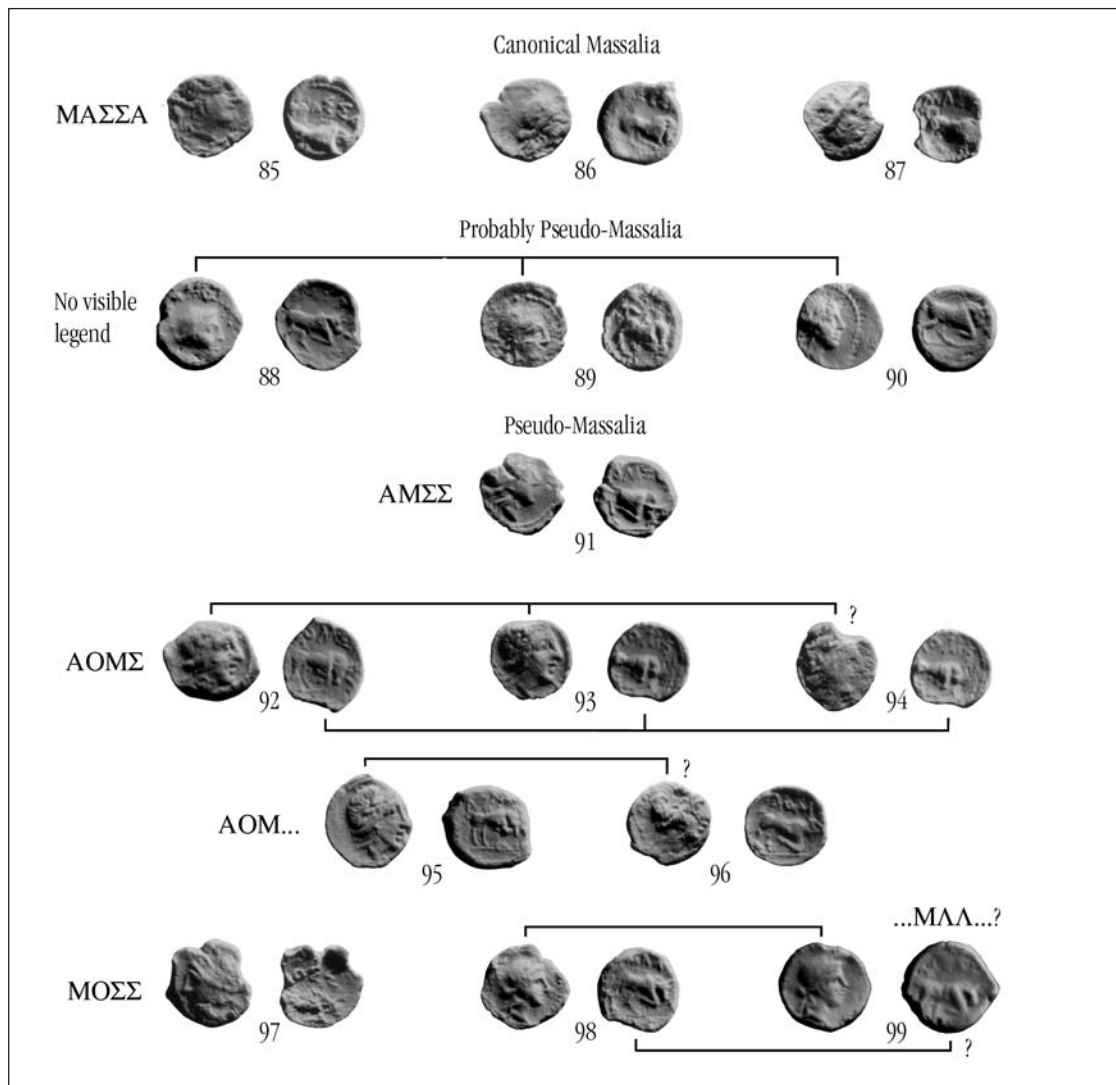
9. Pseudo-Ebusus and associated central Italian issues (rudimentary Bes / man with Palm frond), early first century BC?

61	Æ	13	1	1.63g	Liri 100.192
					Paris, Greek uncertain Z 207 (this coin)
62	Æ	22	5	5.25g	Liri 0.131
63	Pb	17		1.93g	Liri 34.035
64	Æ	15	8	1.38g	Liri 15.001
65	Æ	14	=		Liri 32.015

10. Pseudo-Ebusus: various halves, early first century BC?



67	Æ	11	6	0.79g	Liri 9.001	75	Æ	11	0.94g	Pompeii forum 59156	
68	Æ	13	9	2.02g	Bathhouse 57	76	Æ	10	0.85g	Pompeii forum 59204	
69	Æ	14	6	1.03g	Bathhouse 77	77	Æ	10	0	1.18g	Naples Pompeii old excavations P10784/26
70	Æ	14	4	1.21g	Gragnano 7267	78	Æ	13	1.48g	Pompeii forum 59137	
71	Æ	12	5	1.29g	Liri 27.116	79	Æ	14	1.69g	Amarantus 1048	
72	Æ	11	=	1.04g	Liri 34.021	80	Æ	14	1.85g	Gragnano 7219	
73	Æ	13	0	0.90g	Pompeii forum 59190	81	Æ	13	2.02g	Liri 0.650	
74	Æ	12		1.50g	Pompeii forum 59189	82	Æ	11	6	1.16g	Bathhouse 50
						83	Æ	11	0	1.70g	Bathhouse 48



11. Pseudo-Massalia from the Bathhouse Hoard

<sup>47</sup> It is not possible to tell if there are two separate legends, or whether AOM is merely an incomplete form of AOMΣ.

From the bathhouse hoard (*Figure 11*)

GAUL, MASSALIA

c. 121-c. 49 BC

*Obv.* Laureate head of Apollo, right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Bull butting right; ΜΑΣΣΑ above; border of dots.

Georges Depeyrot, *Les monnaies hellénistiques de Marseille* (Wetteren, 1999), cf. 65

85 Æ 11 7 1.32g Bathhouse 35

86 Æ 12 2 1.48g Bathhouse 36

87 Æ 11 0 1.00g Bathhouse 32

PROBABLY PSEUDO-MASSALIA

(NO LEGEND VISIBLE)

*Obv.* Same, but head of Apollo, right.

*Rev.* Same, but unclear legend above.

88 Æ 12 0 1.21g Bathhouse 37

89 Æ 12 8 1.23g Bathhouse 34

90 Æ 12 2 1.21g Bathhouse 33

PSEUDO-MASSALIA

early first century BC?

*Obv.* Same.

*Rev.* Same, but ΑΜΣΣ above.

91 Æ 12 3 0.98g Bathhouse 31

*Obv.* Same

*Rev.* Same, but ΑΟΜΣ above.

92 Æ 13 4 1.20g Bathhouse 25

93 Æ 11 7 0.88g Bathhouse 29

94 Æ 12 1 1.04g Bathhouse 24

*Obv.* Same

*Rev.* Same, but ΑΟΜ...<sup>47</sup> above.

95 Æ 13 9 1.57g Bathhouse 12.2

96 Æ 12 3 0.95g Bathhouse 18.1

*Obv.* Same, but head of Apollo left.

*Rev.* Same, but ΜΟΣΣ above.

97 Æ 12 0 0.99g Bathhouse 30

*Obv.* Same, head of Apollo right.

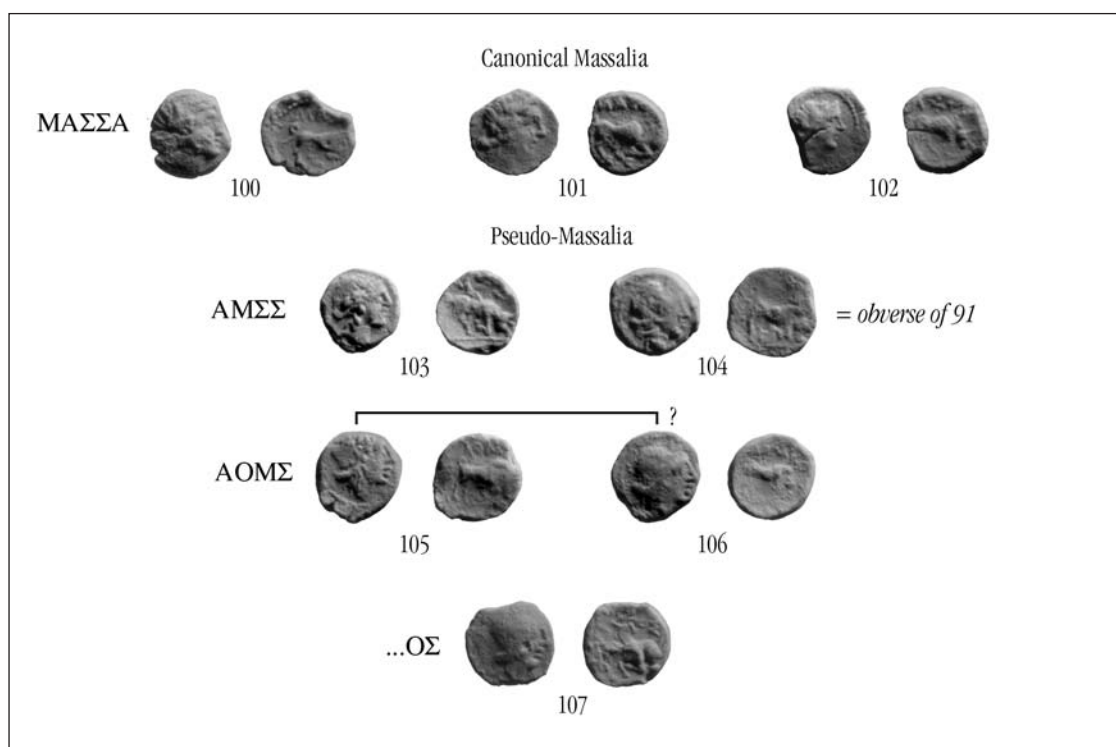
*Rev.* Same, but ...ΜΑΛΛ... (?) above.

98 Æ 12 4 1.33g Bathhouse 26

The following piece (which is not from the bathhouse purse-hoard, but from the Pompeii forum excavations) shares at least an obverse, and probably both dies, with the last.

99 Æ 13 3 1.16g Pompeii forum 59200

## 12. Pseudo-Massalia from the Pompeii old excavations material in Naples



From the Pompeii old excavations material in Naples (Figure 12)

## GAUL, MASSALIA

c. 121-c. 49 BC

*Obv.* Laureate head of Apollo, right; border of dots.

*Rev.* Bull butting right; ΜΑΣΣΑ above; border of dots.

100 Æ 13 3 1.27g Naples Pompeii old excavations

101 Æ 12 5 1.21g Naples Pompeii old excavations P13470

102 Æ 12 7 1.21g Naples Pompeii old excavations P13149

## PSEUDO-MASSALIA

early first century BC?

*Obv.* Same.

*Rev.* Same, but ΑΜΣΣ above.

103 Æ 11 6 0.81g Naples Pompeii old excavations P10735

The legend on this piece is unreadable, but it shares an obverse die with no. 91.

104 Æ 12 8 1.45g Naples Pompeii old excavations P13041

*Obv.* Same.

*Rev.* Same, but ΑΟΜΣ above.

105 Æ 13 = 1.71g Naples Pompeii old excavations P13041

106 Æ 13 2 1.28g Naples Pompeii old excavations

*Obv.* Same.

*Rev.* Same, but ...ΟΣ above.

107 Æ 12 0 1.17g Naples Pompeii old excavations

		Liri	Amarantus	Pompeii	Bathhouse	Gragnano	Number of weighed coins	Average weight
Group I, 1 <sup>48</sup> <i>Imitations A, Ebusus VII var., unit</i>	Bes, nude, a hammer in his raised right hand, a serpent in his left / Bull butting right	1		2		2	4	1.58g
Group I, 2 <i>Imitations F, Ebusus -, unit</i>	Same / Bull leaping right, snake below	1					1	2.31g
Group I, 3 <i>Imitations G, Ebusus -, half?</i>	Same / Bull butting right, two stars in exergue	1					1	1.95g
Group I, 4 <i>Imitations G, Ebusus -, half?</i>	Same / Bull butting right, illegible legend above, and in exergue?	2		1		1	4	1.32g
Group I, 5 <i>Imitations -, Ebusus -, unit</i>	Bes, wearing a tunic, a hammer in a raised right hand, a snake in the left / Bull butting left			3			3	1.51g <sup>49</sup>

Ebusan issues. The strong, squat figure of Bes standing firmly on the exergual line in nos. 12-14, 18 and 19, and 26-27 is easily recognisable; moreover, the style of no. 26 – where Bes' tunic is represented as a broad line across the pelvis, extending out on both sides of the body – is shared with nos. 28 and 29, linking Groups I, 4 and II, 1.

*Pseudo-Ebusus, Groups II, III and IV Anomalous types: Horse-head, Apollo, Mars, toad (late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, Figure 6)*

While the Bes dies of nos. 28 and 29 (Groups II, 1) link back stylistically to Group I, 4, the reverse die – with a bridled horse-head right – is shared with Group II, 2 (no. 30); the latter piece, without this die-link, would probably not have been identifiable as part of the pseudo-Ebusan complex. The bridled horse-head probably copies the well-modelled bridled horse-head on early Roman pieces<sup>50</sup>, rather than the rather flat unbridled Sardo-Carthaginian type, often found in Italy<sup>51</sup>; but both possible models would show a continued awareness of coins of the third century BC a hundred or more years later. I hesitate to draw much significance from the fact that the Group II, 2 piece was deliberately buried in a tomb, but it is a suggestion that the issue is Pompeian.

Group II, 3 (no. 31) and II, 4 (no. 32), appear to be a *unit* and a *half*. It is also possible – because of its size and stylistic similarity – that Group II, 4, mules the Massaliot obverse type of Apollo with an Ebusan Bes reverse; it is from the bathhouse purse-hoard, with included a number of Pseudo-Massaliot pieces.

Group IV, 1 and 2 (nos. 35 and 36, both from the bathhouse purse-hoard), have not been previously published; they extend further the iconographic range of the Pseudo-Ebusan issues, and give us a very uncharacteristic image of Bes leaning on a staff.

Groups II, 5 and III are not present in the provenanced materials that I examined in preparing this note, but specimens are reported from the House of the Postumii. *Ebusus* cites a single specimen each of my Groups II, 1, and III, all in Berlin<sup>52</sup>.

*Pseudo-Ebusus, Group V small units with symbols (late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, Figure 7)*

Group V contains various Bes/Bes *units* with Italian provenances, which I believe to be local imitations of *Ebusus* Group XVIII; Pseudo-Ebusan issues of this group are in some ways the most difficult to identify, except when they carry symbols not present in the canonical Ebusan material. I suspect that there are other –

<sup>48</sup> Does not appear to be *Eivissa* 73-77, with a very different style of Bes (large, linear heads, with a distinct nose, and squat bodies); *Ebusus* Group XIII, 18 (three specimens only listed) may be more of these.

<sup>49</sup> The average also takes into account two specimens from the Naples Pompeii old excavations material: the pieces listed here as nos. 25 and 27.

<sup>50</sup> M.H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (1974), nos. 25/1 and 3, 241-235 BC.

<sup>51</sup> *SNG Copenhagen*, nos. 144-178, c. 300-264 BC.

<sup>52</sup> The Berlin cabinet is particularly rich in central Italian issues, and presumably reflects coins collected in the area by German travellers in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. A coin of Group II, 5 was also among the Ebusan coins collected by Padre G. Foresio from the sea at Salerno in the nineteenth century; see figure 8 (page 195) in Lucia Travaini, 'More evidence on the finds of coins of Ebusus in Italy', *Revue belge de Numismatique et de Sillographie* CXXXVII (1991), pp. 193-7.

<sup>53</sup> The only specimen I know of this issue, no. 31, is broken and very worn; it probably weighed about 1.50g.

<sup>54</sup> Weight of the Berlin specimen.

<sup>55</sup> Weight of the Berlin specimen.

<sup>56</sup> *Imitations*; I said to have been found in Sicily.

<sup>57</sup> Wrongly cited in *Imitations*, p. 224, as *Ebusus* Group XVIII, 64.

<sup>58</sup> I can only suggest that this originated from an initial mechanical copying of the type, which the engraver failed to reverse when sinking the die.

		Liri	Amarantus	Pompeii	Bathhouse	Gragnano	Number of weighed coins	Average weight
<b>Group II, 1</b> <i>Imitations</i> O2, <i>Ebusus</i> XVI, 22, <i>unit</i>	Bes, wearing a tunic, a hammer in a raised right hand, a snake in the left / Horse-head right			1			1	1.71g
<b>Group II, 2</b> <i>Imitations</i> -, <i>Ebusus</i> -, <i>unit</i>	Laureate head of Apollo right; possibly O below right and monogram to left / Horse-head right			1			1	2.37g
<b>Group II, 3</b> <i>Imitations</i> -, <i>Ebusus</i> -, <i>unit</i>	Same, but no visible symbols / Bes, wearing a tunic, a hammer in a raised right hand, a snake in the left							— <sup>53</sup>
<b>Group II, 4</b> <i>Imitations</i> -, <i>Ebusus</i> -, <i>half?</i>	Same / Same				1		1	1.31g
<b>Group II, 5</b> <i>Imitations</i> O1, <i>Ebusus</i> XVI, 21, <i>unit</i>	Same, but Apollo left / Same						—	2.05g <sup>54</sup>
<b>Group III</b> <i>Imitations</i> O3, <i>Ebusus</i> XVI, 23, <i>half</i>	Small, bearded head right / Same, but left hand raised						—	0.92g <sup>55</sup>
<b>Group IV, 1</b> <i>Imitations</i> -, <i>Ebusus</i> -, <i>unit</i>	Helmeted head of Mars right / Toad				1		1	2.01g
<b>Group IV, 2</b> <i>Imitations</i> -, <i>Ebusus</i> -, <i>half?</i>	Bes standing facing, leaning right arm on staff / Toad				1		1	1.38g

perhaps many other – relatively accurate local imitations of *Ebusus* in the coins found in Italy: those that are too accurate, we shall never be able to identify; those which we suspect to be imitations will need checking against the mass of coins found in Spain, before we can be sure.

In *Imitations*, I noted that the single known specimen of Group VI, 1 (no. 37)<sup>56</sup> was very close to *Ebusus* Group XVIII, 61<sup>57</sup> (no. 40) and used the same four-petalled rose symbol on one face; both pieces are of the small module characteristic of the Pseudo-Ebusan issues, and no. 40 does not have a Spanish provenance, but is in Berlin. These pieces are clearly Pseudo-Ebusan, and to them we can link Group V, 3, by module and style, and the probable die-link between nos. 38 and 41.

The symbol on Group V, 4 does not appear to be a Punic letter, and is absent in *Ebusus*. Group V, 5 uses the

*caduceus* symbol of *Ebusus* XVIII, 58–60, but is clearly too small to be a canonical Ebusan issue.

Group V, 6 could easily pass as *Ebusus* XVIII, 62 and 63, but can be identified as Pseudo-Ebusan, because of their small module, the fact that both coins no. 45 and 46 are from the Bathhouse purse-hoard, and the stylistic similarity between the two coins.

*Pseudo-Ebusus, Group VI Rudimentary Bes (late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, Figure 8)*

In Group VI, I list the many variants of the commonest of the Pseudo-Ebusan issues, with a very stylized and crude Bes; contrary to all other issues, Bes here most frequently raises his left hand, rather than his right<sup>58</sup>, most often without the usual hammer; most show an inexpli-

		Liri	Amarantus	Pompeii	Bathhouse	Gragnano	Number of weighed coins	Average weight
Group V, 1 <i>Imitations</i> I, <i>cf. Ebusus</i> XVIII, 61, <i>unit</i>	Bes, wearing a tunic, a hammer in a raised right hand, a snake in the left; four-petalled flower to left / Same as obverse, but <i>ayin</i> to left, <i>beth</i> to right							2.55g <sup>59</sup>
Group V, 2 <i>Imitations</i> -, <i>Ebusus</i> XVIII, 61, <i>unit</i>	Same / Same as obverse <sup>60</sup>			2			2	1.39g <sup>61</sup>
Group V, 3 <i>Imitations</i> -, <i>Ebusus</i> -, <i>unit</i>	Same; probably no symbol / Same as obverse			1			1	1.78g
Group V, 4 <i>Imitations</i> -, <i>Ebusus</i> -, <i>unit</i>	Same; 'C' reversed to left / Same as obverse					1	1	1.79g
Group V, 5 <i>Imitations</i> -, <i>cf. Ebusus</i> XVIII, 58-60, <i>unit</i>	Same; <i>caduceus</i> to left / Same as obverse							1.54 <sup>62</sup>
Group V, 6 <i>Imitations</i> -, <i>cf. Ebusus</i> XVIII, 62-63 <i>unit</i>	Same; <i>cornucopiae</i> to left / Same as obverse							

cable symbol shaped like a T, which, Campo remarks, cannot easily be assimilated to a Punic letter – it seems to me likely that this is a corruption of the stylized *cornucopiae* of Group V, 6 – and the border, when present, is linear, rather than of dots. In *Imitations*, I suggested that there might be a progression from relatively neat, right-hand-raised issues, without T, to the cruder, left-hand-raised pieces, with T, of Group VI, 7, which are most common; this may be so, but I am now less convinced. Group VI, 7 contains some very rudimentary pieces, on small flans; these may well mark the end of these issues.

*Pseudo-Ebusus, Group VI, 8 and associated central Italian issues Rudimentary Bes/Man with palm-frond (late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, Figure 9)*

Group VI, 8 (no. 61) has the same rudimentary Bes, with his left hand raised, on the obverse, but uses a reverse type of a man standing, holding a grounded palm-frond, which links on to a group of central Italian issues without any obvious Ebusan reference. No. 62 appears

to be a *double-unit*, with a two-dot value mark; the three specimens I know average 5.51g, which is slightly heavy in relation to the averages of these *units*, but not impossibly so for minor bronze coinage. Without more evidence, it is hazardous to assign denominations to these issues; it is possible, however, that the unit was at a par with the Roman *quadrans* of post-91 BC weight, which would make the double a *semis*. No. 63 is a uni-facial lead strike from a die of the double, not – it seems – the same die. A good number of lead pieces have been found in the River Liri at Minturnae, some of which use Italo-Baetican types, and some of which have value marks<sup>63</sup>; struck lead (as I noted earlier) is also characteristic of the Baetican *plomos monetiformes*; but I imagine this to be only a die-trial. Group VI, 8 appears to be die-linked to a type (a *unit*?) with Mercury wearing a winged *petasus* on the obverse (nos. 64 and 65); and a link, through a very similar obverse die, carries the group further, to include a reverse with a dolphin right, on a tiller (?) (no. 66).

The central Italian types that link to Group VI, 8 do not use Italo-Baetican types, and so cannot firmly tie the Pseudo-Ebusan materials to that assemblage. The Liri

<sup>59</sup> The weight of no. 37.

<sup>60</sup> *Ebusus* describes the reverse as having a five-petalled flower to left.

<sup>61</sup> The average includes two specimens of this issue illustrated in Enrico Acquaro, 'Monete Puniche nelle Collezioni Italiane, Parte III: Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale', *Bollettino di Numismatica, Monografia* 6.3 (2002), nos. 475 and 476.

<sup>62</sup> Average of the two pieces from the Naples Pompeii old excavations material, listed here as nos. 43 and 44.

<sup>63</sup> For example, *Parallels* 44, pp. 68-9, and *passim*.

<sup>64</sup> In Group VI, the figure of Bes is so rudimentary, that it is often uncertain whether he is intended to be wearing a tunic or not.

<sup>65</sup> *Imitations* L3 and M were merely stylistic variants, which I now group together.

<sup>66</sup> The obverse type – a horse-head right – may associate this issue with Group II, 1 and 2, but the type is too common to bear much of an argument.

<sup>67</sup> I know three specimens of this issue: the piece illustrated as 62, Liri 0.218 = *SNG Copenhagen* Uncertain locality of Sicily 1073, and Liri 6.033; their average weight is given here.

		Liri	Amarantus	Pompeii	Bathhouse	Gragnano	Number of weighed coins	Average weight
<b>Group VI, 1</b> <i>Imitations</i> K1, <i>Ebusus</i> -, <i>unit</i>	Bes <sup>64</sup> , a hammer in a raised right hand, a snake in the left / Same as obverse	3	3	1	1		8	1.51g
<b>Group VI, 2</b> <i>Imitations</i> K2, <i>Ebusus</i> -, <i>unit</i>	Same / Same, but T to left	1				1	2	2.21g
<b>Group VI, 3</b> <i>Imitations</i> K3, <i>Ebusus</i> -, <i>unit</i>	Same / Same, but right hand merely raised and T to left	2					2	1.33g
<b>Group VI, 4</b> <i>Imitations</i> K4, <i>Ebusus</i> -, <i>unit</i>	Same / Same, but left hand merely raised and T to right	1					1	1.91g
<b>Group VI, 5</b> <i>Imitations</i> L1, <i>Ebusus</i> -, <i>unit</i>	Same, but right hand merely raised, no T / Same, but left hand raised and T to right	3					3	1.76g
<b>Group VI, 6</b> <i>Imitations</i> L2, <i>Ebusus</i> -, <i>unit</i>	Right hand merely raised, T to left/ Same, but no T	4					4	1.72g
<b>Group VI, 7</b> <i>Imitations</i> L3 & M, <sup>65</sup> <i>Ebusus</i> XVIII, 71, <i>unit</i>	Same, but left hand raised, T to right / Same as obverse	39	8	4	11	2	78	1.83g

		Liri	Amarantus	Pompeii	Bathhouse	Gragnano	Number of weighed coins	Average weight
<b>Group VI, 8</b> <i>Imitations</i> -, <i>Ebusus</i> -, <i>unit</i>	Bes, wearing a tunic, a hammer in a raised left hand, a snake in the left, T to right / Standing man with upright palm-frond in right hand and left hand on hip; border of dots	1					1	1.63g
<b>Central Italy 1</b> <i>double unit</i>	Horse's head right; <sup>66</sup> behind / Same, but: to right	3 <sup>67</sup>					3	5.51g
<b>Central Italy 2</b> <i>lead trial?</i>	Blank / Same, but no visible value-mark	1					1	1.93g
<b>Central Italy 3</b> <i>unit?</i>	Head of Mercury wearing winged <i>petasus</i> left; border of dots / Same	2					1	1.38g
<b>Central Italy 4</b> <i>unit?</i>	Same / Dolphin right, above tiller(?)	1					–	–



		Liri	Amarantus	Pompeii	Bathhouse	Gragnano	Number of weighed coins	Average weight
Group VI, 9 <i>Imitations N, Ebusus</i> –	Bes, wearing a tunic, a hammer in a raised left hand, a snake in the left, T to right / Same as obverse	1					1	0.79g
Group VI, 10 <i>Imitations -, Ebusus</i> –	Same, but right hand raised / Same as obverse				2		2	1.76g
Group VII, 1 <i>Imitations -, Ebusus</i> –	Same, but T(?) to left / Same as obverse					1	1	1.21g
Group VII, 2 <sup>68</sup> <i>Imitations J2, Ebusus</i> -	Same; <i>caduceus</i> to left / Same as obverse	1					1	1.29g
Group VII, 3 <i>Imitations J1, Ebusus</i> –	Same, but no visible symbol / Same as obverse	1		4			6	1.15g
Group VII, 4 <i>Imitations -, Ebusus</i> –	Same / Same as obverse		1	1		1	2	1.67
Group VII, 5 <i>Imitations -, Ebusus</i> –	Same, but right hand raised / Same, but left hand raised				1		1	1.16g
Group VII, 6 <i>Imitations -, Ebusus</i> –	Same / Same as obverse				1		1	1.70g

<sup>68</sup> A further specimen of Group VII, 2 is illustrated as *fig. 4*, p. 195, in Lucia Travaini, *loc. cit.*

<sup>69</sup> Les monnaies hellénistiques de Marseille (Wetteren, 1999), *cf.* 65.

provenance of the associated pieces suggests that at least some of the Pseudo-Ebusan issues may have been struck in north Campania or Southern Latium, rather than south of Neapolis; but the paucity of the evidence cannot bear too dogmatic an argument.

*Pseudo-Ebusus, Group VI and VII various halves (late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, Figure 10)*

In Group VII, I assemble further *halves*, of a variety of styles. Group VI, 9 (no. 67) records the *half* to Group V, 7. Group VI, 10 (nos. 68 and 69) is also of the rudimentary Bes style, without the T symbol. Groups VII, 1 (no. 70) is stylistically unlike Group VI, but appears to carry the T symbol. The coins of Groups VII, 2 and 3 could pass as *halves* to *Ebusus* XVIII 50-60 and 62-70, but there are none such in the Spanish material, and the central Italian provenances show these pieces to be local imitations. Group VII, 4 (nos. 78-81) is of a particularly ugly and individual style; Groups VII, 5 (no. 82) and VII, 6 (nos. 83 and 84), from the bathhouse purse-hoard, are also of odd, individual styles.

**Massaliot and Pseudo-Massaliot issues found in central Italy**

In addition to the possible Massalia/Ebusus mule (Group II, 4), the bathhouse purse-hoard contained a group of fourteen pieces with late Massaliot types, which Georges Depyrot dates widely to *c.* 121-*c.* 49 BC<sup>69</sup>; these are all illustrated above. They allow us to identify, for the first time, the existence at Pompeii and elsewhere in central Italy of Pseudo-Massaliot coins with anomalous legends, in the early part of the first century BC.

As with the Pseudo-Ebusan series, it is difficult to judge whether some coins with the canonical type and legend are or are not copies, but, in fact, only three of these pieces (nos. 85-87) definitely carry the canonical legend, ΜΑΣΣΑ; no. 91 reads ΑΜΣΣ, nos. 92-94 ΑΟΜΣ, nos. 95 and 96 ΑΟΜ..., no. 97 ΜΟΣΣ, and no. 98 ΜΑΛ...(?). Although there is no readable legend on nos. 88-90, they share an obverse die, which suggests that they, too, are Pseudo-Massaliot. There are other various die-linkages in the bathhouse group, and no. 98 shares an obverse die, and probably

<sup>70</sup> Wetteren, 2002.

<sup>71</sup> With the numbers 50-52 = Bibliothèque nationale, Muret et Chambouillet 2226-8, which I read as having the legends AOPA, AOM, and MOΣΣ or ΛOΣΣ.

<sup>72</sup> Note from Georges Depeyrot, whom I thank for his help.

<sup>73</sup> Pp. 219-222; *pl.* 33, 56-80.

<sup>74</sup> There are two in the old excavations material from Pompeii in Naples.

<sup>75</sup> Pp. 212 f.; *pl.* 31, 15-19 and *pl.* 32, 45.

<sup>76</sup> By my count, there are at least 78 obverse and 95 reverse dies in my material; applying Carter's formula to estimate the total number of dies, we obtain 102.8 obverse dies (s: 4.8) and 139.9 reverse dies (s 7.7).

both dies, with a coin from the Pompeii forum excavations, no. 99.

I studied the bathhouse purse-hoard after having looked at most of the other materials used in this paper, and, as I had not yet become aware of the Pseudo-Massaliot issues, did not pay much attention to the Massaliot coins they contained: I therefore have limited comparative material. I did, however, look at the old excavation coins from Pompeii at Naples after the bathhouse purse-hoard, with this new understanding. There were 22 Massaliot and Pseudo-Massaliot coins, that is, about a third as many as the Ebusan and Pseudo-Ebusan coins. Most of the coins were unreadable; those that were, I illustrate above: there are three pieces with the legend, ΜΑΣΣΑ, and five with the same anomalous legends found in the bathhouse purse-hoard; no. 106 shares an obverse die with the bathhouse purse-hoard piece, no. 91. The old excavation coins from Pompeii confirm that the Pseudo-Massaliot issues were a general phenomenon, rather than merely an oddity of the bathhouse purse-hoard; taken together, the two groups suggest that a large proportion of the numerous Massaliot-type coins from Pompeii – where they formed, with Roman and Ebusan and Pseudo-Ebusan issues, the bulk of the small coinage in circulation in the early years of the first century BC – are local imitations.

Such anomalous-legend pieces have in the past been given to Celtic tribes in the hinterlands of Massalia; but their association in mass at Pompeii with Pseudo-Ebusan material, and the many die-links, all suggest that they are central Italian imitations, and that the relatively few pieces in French museums, on which the attribution to Gallic tribes is based, are, in fact, of central Italian origin. “Tes découvertes de monnaies ‘marseillaises’ sont très intéressantes. Dans le premier tome du ‘Numéraire celtique’<sup>70</sup>, j’avais inventorié les émissions gauloises des environs de Marseille<sup>71</sup>. Figurent ainsi dans le catalogue des monnaies lues ΑΟΜ [*sic*] qui me font penser aux tiennes. Il est évident que ces frappes ne sont pas marseillaises, et que leur attribution à la région marseillaise repose davantage sur la tradition que sur les découvertes. Il semble que les très nombreuses monnaies que tu inventories pourraient permettre d’attribuer ces frappes à un atelier extérieur à la Gaule, peut-être à rechercher dans le bassin méditerranéen occidental, en tous cas dans une zone recevant habituellement des monnaies d’Ebusus et de Marseille<sup>72</sup>.”

### ‘Foreign’ coins in the materials studied

*Figure 13*, which follows, gives the number of pieces of the mints other than Rome present in Amarantus, Pompeii and Gragnano, and, for comparison, the number of coins of these mints in my Liri databases. A fairly consistent picture emerges: to a core of Campanian mints is added a wide sampling of most of the late Hellenistic world, the result of military and commercial contacts.

I note again the small number of Spanish coins other than those of Ebusus that reached central Italy; there are none in any of the materials considered, except in my Liri data-bases, where 3.1% of the coins are from Spain other than Ebusus, and where Ebusan and Pseudo-Ebusan coins are together 2.7 times as common. The Ebusan phenomenon is not a general Spanish phenomenon; I doubt if it is a function of Italian colonisation of Baetica in the second century BC to which the Italo-Baetican types, and the Isla Pedrosa shipwreck, testify.

Campanian issues are well represented at all sites; judging from their relative paucity in the Liri material, the issues of Irnthií and Nuceria Alfaterna tended not to stray far from home. The clear anomaly is the relatively much greater proportion of Neapolitan coins from Gragnano; I suspect that this is a function of date, because, as Cantilena notes, a large proportion of the coins dated from the end of the fourth and the first thirty years of the third centuries BC, when Neapolis was by far the dominant mint in Campania, and foreign contacts fewer.

All sites contain Ebusan and Pseudo-Ebusan coins in relative abundance; but the Pseudo-Panormitan issues that I described in *Imitations*<sup>73</sup>, and which are common at Minturnae, clearly did not penetrate southern Campania in numbers<sup>74</sup>; we can therefore disaggregate the general phenomenon of imitative coinages, which did not all originate in the same mints.

The piece I list as ‘uncertain, Dionysus / Panther’ is an example of the commonest of the central Italian issues, which I discussed in *Parallels*<sup>75</sup>; I date it, by overstrikes discussed there, to the late 90s and early 80s BC; its presence at Pompeii is interesting, but given the enormous size of the issue<sup>76</sup>, the relative rarity of specimens in the materials studied, except at Minturnae, suggests that it must be placed in northern Campania or southern Latium.

I draw attention to the relatively large numbers of coins of King Ballaios of Epirus that turn up in central Italy.

## 13. Mints in Amarantus, Pompeii, Gragnano and the Liri databases

	<i>Amarantus</i>	<i>Pompeii</i>	<i>Gragnano</i>	<i>Liri</i>
Spain, Ebusus	13	47	52	48
Gaul, Massalia	4	12	few	106
Campania, Allifae			1	
Campania, Atella or Calatia			1	
Campania, Cales			1	20
Campania, Irnthii (Sorrento, sanctuary of Punta della Campanella?)	1	2	8	1
Campania, Neapolis	9	10	300+	182
Campania, Nuceria Alfaterna	2		15	1
Campania, Phistelia	1		1	
Campania, Pseudo-Ebusus	12	22	5	61
Central Italy, Pseudo-Massalia		1	?	At least 3 AOY
Central Italy, Pseudo-Panormos	1			68
Central Italy, uncertain; Dionysus / Panther		1		245
Apulia, Arpi			1	4
Calabria, Brundisium			1	3
Calabria, Taras			1	2
Lucania, Paestum	1		6+	25
Lucania, Velia	1		1	29
Sicily, Messana under the Mamertines		1	3	14
Sicily, Panormos	1		1	28
Sicily, Syracuse	2	1	9	61
Carthaginians in Sicily			1	7
Thrace, Sestos	1			5
Thessaly	1			3
Kings of Illyria, Ballaios	1			11
Illyria, Epidamnos-Dyrrhachium		1		9
Aetolian League			1	
Argolis, Argos			3	12
Arcadia, Mantinea	1			
Ionia, Ephesos	1			5
Phrygia, Apameia	1			2
Lycia, Masikytes	1			1
Egypt, Alexandria: Augustus	1			13
Africa, Cyrenaica	2	2		138+
Zeugitania, Carthage	1		Some	19
Carthaginians in Sardinia		2		16
<b>Total</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>412+</b>	<b>1142+</b>

A fact of interest is the relative paucity in southern Campania of the late Cyrenaican issues with a head of Zeus-Amon, right / a headdress of Isis; ΠΤΟΛΕΜ ΒΑΣΙΛΑ<sup>77</sup>. As I noted in *Parallels*: ‘one of the commonest foreign coins in the Liri material is [this] small Cyrenaican piece. . . Theodore Buttrey dates it to just before the Roman conquest: “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 [in Cyrenaica] into Imperial times”<sup>78</sup>. They rapidly flowed into central Italy in large quantities (they account for 2.6% of the foreign material from the Liri), where they were often

overstruck with imitative Roman types, mainly *quadrantes*; I illustrated a number of these<sup>79</sup>. It seems probable that southern Campania did not participate in the Cyrenaican adventure to anything like the extent that Minturnae, a Roman colony, did, at a time when the disturbances of the Social War will have restricted co-operation between Romans and Italians.

### Conclusions

I have probably now squeezed most of the information possible out of the numismatic evidence – the re-

<sup>77</sup> *SNG Copenhagen*, given to the Ptolemies, Cyprus, uncertain mints, 685-90.

<sup>78</sup> ‘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.

<sup>79</sup> *Imitations*, pl. 31, 2-9.

<sup>80</sup> As does the very much smaller Pseudo-Termessos Group (*Imitations*, pp. 218-9, *pl.* 33, 48-55).

<sup>81</sup> There are two other ways of explaining the value-mark. One is that it is uncial, denoting a *sextans*, but the weight (average of 5.51 g) would give an *as* of about 33 g, requiring the piece to be put back to the third or early second century BC, which does not square with the rest of the evidence. Another is that the unit of value was the *sextans*, making the double a *quadrans*; there is some support for this, in that the Mercury obverse type on nos. 64-66 is associated with the *sextans*, but this, too, would require placing the coin relatively early in the second century BC.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Michael H. Crawford, 'Unofficial imitations and small change under the Roman Republic', *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* 29 (1982), pp. 139-163.

<sup>83</sup> I thank Filippo Coarelli for permission, and Samuele Ranucci for his assistance.

<sup>84</sup> No. 128 - FBDC 5655 saggio 3 Proprietà Delli Colli; I thank Luigi Pedroni for this information.

<sup>85</sup> Samuele Ranucci, 'Pompei; *Regio VI*: Interessante composizione di un piccolo deposito votivo', *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* 48 (2001), pp. 249-258, published in a preliminary form in the poster by Lara Anniboletti and Samuele Ranucci in the present volume. Other significant pieces include three Cyrenaican pieces with a head of Ptolemy right / Head of Libya right (Buttrey, *op. cit.*, p. 165) and two Spanish pieces, a coin of Baria (Leandre Villaronga, *Corpus Nummum Hispaniae ante Augusti Aetatem* (1994), p. 74, 89) and an Andalusian imitative *semis* (Villaronga, *loc. cit.*, p. 426).

maining questions will need to be addressed through archaeological and historical methods – though some further Pseudo-Ebusan issues may be riddled out, and, with luck, links to other issues found that help place the Pseudo-Ebusan material in the more general context of the central Italian assemblage.

For the minute, it is clear that the various imitative issues may well be attributable to different origins; the Pseudo-Panormitan group probably belongs in or near Minturnae<sup>80</sup>; but the Pseudo-Ebusan Group had a much wider currency. Can we attribute it to Pompeii? The bathhouse purse-hoard shows that it played a monetary function in Pompeii; it also shows that the currency medium promiscuously included Roman, Ebusan and Pseudo-Ebusan, Massaliot and Pseudo-Massaliot, and sundry Greek coinage. What then was the unit of value or convention that made these convertible one to another? It seems likely that, by the end of the second century BC, the wide spread of Roman coin would have led to the adoption of Roman standards, or to convertibility with Roman denominations; it is possible that the Ebusan/Pseudo-Ebusan *unit* was assimilated to a *quadrans*, and that the *quadrans* functioned as the reference unit of value, which would explain the two-dot value mark on no. 62<sup>81</sup>, though, without further evidence, not much can be built on these foundations.

Further research may show whether it is possible to attribute an origin to the Pseudo-Massaliot group; its solid presence in the bathhouse hoard suggests that it may be Pompeian. The legends on these pieces do not seem to be macronic or casual, as they are repeated on a number of dies – see the coins with AOMΣ which I illustrate – and the Greek letters are well formed. I cannot suggest what they mean.

Although these coins were of little individual value – so that the total value of the issue, even if very numerous, would not have been great – to look at minor coinages in terms of the value of individual pieces is economic naivety; their function in the economy depended on the speed of circulation, that is, how frequently they were transacted, the monetary supply they thereby provided, and the commercial exchanges they facilitated. I doubt that such low-value coins were issued as a store of value, or merely to meet official obligations (which could theoretically have resulted in large numbers being struck to make up even small values); it seems more likely that the large numbers issued testify

to a well monetised economy, and the fact of frequent exchange. Group VI, 7, at least, must have been made in enormous numbers: in the sample of about 70 pieces, I have not been able to identify any die-identities, which suggests that the sample does not cover the original issue very thoroughly. Purely speculatively, to have an idea of values, we can hypothesize an issue as 70 dies, multiplied by 10,000 coins a die, or 700,000 coins; if these are *quadrantes*, the total value would have been about 11,000 *denarii*; even spread over some years, this is too large a sum and too great a task for a mere counterfeiter; I think we must assume that they were issued by some polity, presumably a city.

An interesting question – for which I have no answer – is why imitative issues should have been made in the first place? The most banal explanation is that the coins of Panormus, Ebusus and Massalia had already been assimilated into the monetary pool, which was simply topped up by the imitative issues; to evaluate this, we would need to take a close look at the imitations of Roman coins from central Italy, which should have been made in comparable numbers, given the ubiquity of Roman coin; there are clearly many Pseudo-Roman pieces, particularly *quadrantes*, present at Minturnae<sup>82</sup>. Another possible explanation is that some political pressure, formal or informal, prevented local polities other than Paestum from coining with their own types, and who but the Romans could have applied such pressure?

In understanding the Pseudo-Ebusan phenomenon, a key question is when and how the canonical Ebusan coinage came to Italy, and how and why it was attributed a local monetary function. The date of its introduction is a question susceptible of archaeological investigation. Because the Romans destroyed Fregellae in 125 BC, I looked through the coins found there<sup>83</sup>, but came to the conclusion that the assemblage is too poor in 'foreign' coin to be able to draw any reasonable inference from it; one Ebusan piece is reported to have been found<sup>84</sup>, but I could not trace it. Further information comes from current excavations by Filippo Coarelli in Regio VI, 2, 16-21, where fifteen coins were found in a votive niche datable to about 100 BC. These include five canonical Ebusan coins (one *Ebusus* Group XII, 14-17 and four *Ebusus* Group XVIII, 51-53, 58, 69 and 70), but no Pseudo-Ebusan coins; this may be a pointer that the imitations began after this date<sup>85</sup>.

While awaiting better evidence for the initiation of the phenomenon, I am inclined to date it to a relatively short period, from the late second century to the early 80s; if so, some deliberate transfer of coin from Ebusus to central Italy seems more likely than trade, but I cannot suggest what. This period includes the Social War, in which Pompeii stood with the Italians, was reduced by Sulla, and received a Roman colony. A question of some importance for the political history of the period is whether the imitative issues are directly linked to actors in the Social War. Are they the Pompeian small change of the Social War? Did these coinages continue beyond the freedom of the city? For the moment, I assume not. In any case, if I correctly attribute Pseudo-Panormus to Minturnae at the turn of the first century BC, imitative issues came from both sides of the Social War.

Finally, although the non-Ebusan-type issues associated with Group VI, 8 link the Pseudo-Ebusan issues into the more general central Italian assemblage, their re-

lationship – if any – to the issues with Italo-Baetican types remains unclear<sup>86</sup>. A question that needs to be addressed is the relationship between Ebusus and Baetica, and the paradoxal nexus of clear iconographic ties between central Italy and Baetica, the relative paucity of Spanish coin other than Ebusan in central Italy, and the massive and as yet inexplicable presence there of Ebusan coin. A resolution could be valuable in understanding the political and economic history of Italy, Ebusus and Baetica at a key juncture.

### Postscript

Since delivering this paper, I have identified a number of further Pseudo-Ebusan issues, mainly from excavation materials from Sicily, which I describe in ‘Numismatique evidence for relations between Spain and central Italy at the turn of the first and second centuries BC’, *Revue Suisse de Numismatique* 83 (2005, forthcoming).

<sup>86</sup> Central Italian issues are present at Pompeii, though in far fewer numbers than at Minturnae: in all the materials I looked through for this study, I found three specimens.