

ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF ROBERTO RUSSO



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Quartered and Counter-Marked Republican Asses, and the Central Italian Italo-Baetican Assemblage

CLIVE STANNARD

In 1998, Roberto and I both contributed to the Festschrift for Charles Hersh, I with a slew of ugly overstrikes and imitative issues from central Italy, and he with a rich run of rare Roman Republican bronze. I had hoped that my continued fidelity to the odd and the ugly in this paper would amuse him, as his own Festschrift came round, but—alas!—he never saw it.

Halved and quartered republican *asses* are very common in central Italy. I here publish a small group of quartered *asses*, countermarked on one face, that I have recorded over the years, while trying to create a database of foreign coins that can be provenanced to the river Liri, at Minturnae. There appear to be no other known specimens.

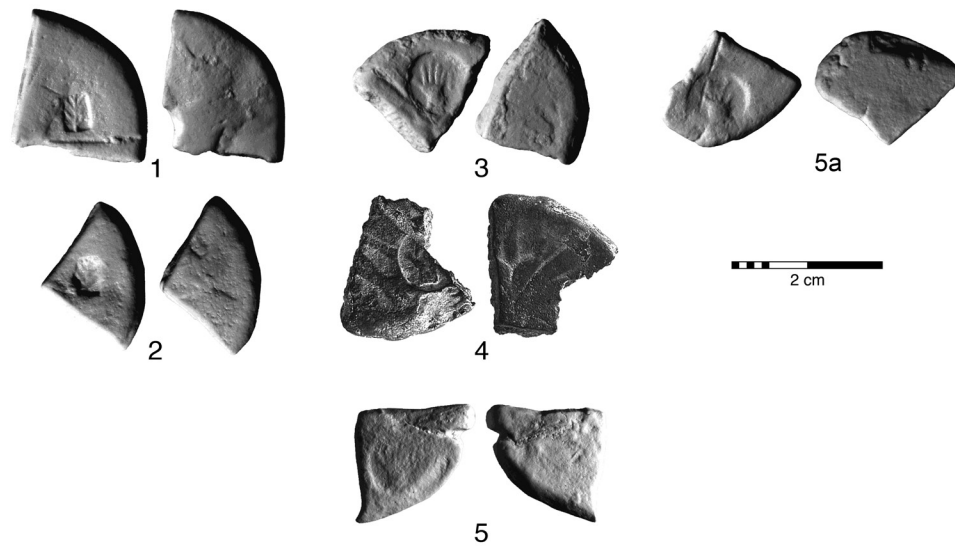


Figure 1: Quartered and countermarked *asses*

There are three types, each with a single punch.

A branch, in a rectangular incuse.

1. Æ 25 mm 10.37 g Liri 53.004
2. Æ 21 mm 7.21 g Liri 53.002

A right hand, seen from above (or left, palm up), **I** to right, in an oblong incuse.

3. Æ 19 mm 6.40 g Liri 53.003
4. Æ 19 mm 0.00 g Liri 48.018
5. Æ 21 mm 4.52 g Liri 53.340

A modius containing ears of corn (?), in a round incuse. The identification is tentative, but the image does not appear to be another hand.

- 5a. Æ 20 mm 4.26 g Liri 53.001

The coins cut up to make these fractions were extremely worn. Only on n° 4 can traces of the under-type be seen. The aim seems to have been to divide them roughly into four, but n° 4 has broken irregularly. The punches were impressed on whole coins—four times, once in each quadrant—before they were cut, not on quarters, already cut. This can be seen from n° 4, where the counter-mark overlaps the edge of the cut: if the coin had already been sectioned, a swelling resulting from the metal driven down by the punch would have been visible on the edge, and this is not the case.¹ The unsuccessful chisel cut on n° 5a also seems to have been made after the punch had been applied, as it runs across the image.

The branch type is banal, and cannot be related to any coin types, and the modius is a very general type in Roman contexts. The hand, however is more unusual, and is also used in one issue of a

1. I thank Rick Witschonke for examining this piece.


coherent group of coins belonging to what I have called the Italo-Baetican series (Fig. 2).² Within this complex, there are two separate assemblages, one from central Italy, and one from Baetica, (southern Spain), which however share a number of unique and rare types.³ This is a non-state coinage, probably linked to trade and state contracts. In the Baetican material, a number of coins carry the legend, P.S, which has been read as *publica societas*, with the implication that this a ‘company coinage’, issued by those exploiting Spanish oil-production.⁴

The legends on the Italo-Baetican series are Latin, with one, possibly two, Baetican exceptions.⁵ Many of the known specimens of central Italian assemblage coins with Italo-Baetican types—where it is possible to trace the provenance—come from Minturnae. However, because this is a uniquely large sample, it does not in itself prove that they were struck in the city, though this is a possibility. They were certainly made somewhere in south Latium. They seem to have circulated into Roman territory, up to and beyond Rome, with rare specimens occurring as far away as Gualdo Tadino in Umbria,⁶ Lattes in Provence,⁷ and Emporion in Catalonia.⁸

In the central Italian assemblage, many of the issues carry the names of members of the Annia gens, usually using a ligate N, alone,⁹ or as the first two letters of the name,¹⁰ as on n^{os} 6–9 and 18–20 below. An important group of issues of the central Italian assemblage—including those with Janus types—was isolated by Bahrfeldt (1904), and given to the Romans in Sicily, but legends, types, fabric and overstrikes show that this was a misattribution. The central Italian assemblage that can be drawn together around the criteria of the use of a triangular flan, legends with N, and interlinking Italo-Baetican types, numbers at least 140 issues.¹¹

Obv. Vulcan standing left, tongs over his shoulder, a cloak on his left arm and a hammer in his right hand; N behind; border of dots.

Rev. Mercury standing, holding out a purse in his right hand, a caduceus on his left arm; N to right; border of dots.

6. Æ 16 mm  1.76 g Berlin Löbbecke

2. Stannard, 2005. I have not published a definitive catalogue of the issues, but have prepared and circulated a number of provisional catalogues, which I list in the bibliography.

3. The man with the ‘spade’, an *aryballos* and strigils suspended from a carrying ring, and Vulcan; Stannard, 2005, pp. 47–62.

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

5. One issue from Portugal (**Beupo*- Salacia; Alcácer do Sal, Setúbal), carries the Italo-Baetican obverse type of the man with the ‘shovel’, left, and a reverse type of a dolphin, right, with a trident tail (Gomes, 1998, p. 50, n° KET 02; Mora, 2011, pp. 89–91). It is a bilingual issue, with a legend in South Lusitanian script, k, and the Latin letter, A. Less certain is Villaronga, 1994, p. 115, 3 (Monedas con escritura fenicia, inciertas), which is invariably struck over Campo, 1976, group XIX. Its obverse is Vulcan, right, and its reverse, a bull, right, with the Neo-Punic legend, Xʹʹʹʹ. I discuss this issue in Stannard, 2005, p. 49, fn. 10.

6. I thank Samuele Ranucci for this information.

7. Py, 2006, vol. 1, p. 598, 1540.

8. From old excavations. I thank Marta Campo for this information.

9. Legends of the gens on these series include N and L·NNI, PL·NN, P·NI and P·N, and NN/SEX.

10. This has often been resolved not as AN, but as ZA, and the coins of this group have therefore in the past been attributed to Zakyntos, at the time of Mark Anthony. The attribution is early: ‘Quelques Antiquaires ont attribué à l’isle de *Zacynthus* plusieurs médailles qui n’ont pour légende que les lettres ZA [...] mais il n’est pas sûr que la suivante, n° 12, lui appartienne.’ Pellerin (1763), pp. 176f, and 178, pl. CXXIII, no 12 (illustrated here as n° 15).

11. Stannard, 2007, pp. ix–xiii, tab. 1.

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

Rev. Same as last.

7. Æ 13 mm ↘ 1.80 g Liri 14.004

Obv. Hercules wearing the lion's skin standing, right hand outstretched, and a grounded club in his left hand, his right hand raised; border of dots.

Rev. Same as last.

8. Æ 16 mm → *BMC Peleponnese, Zacynthus 90*

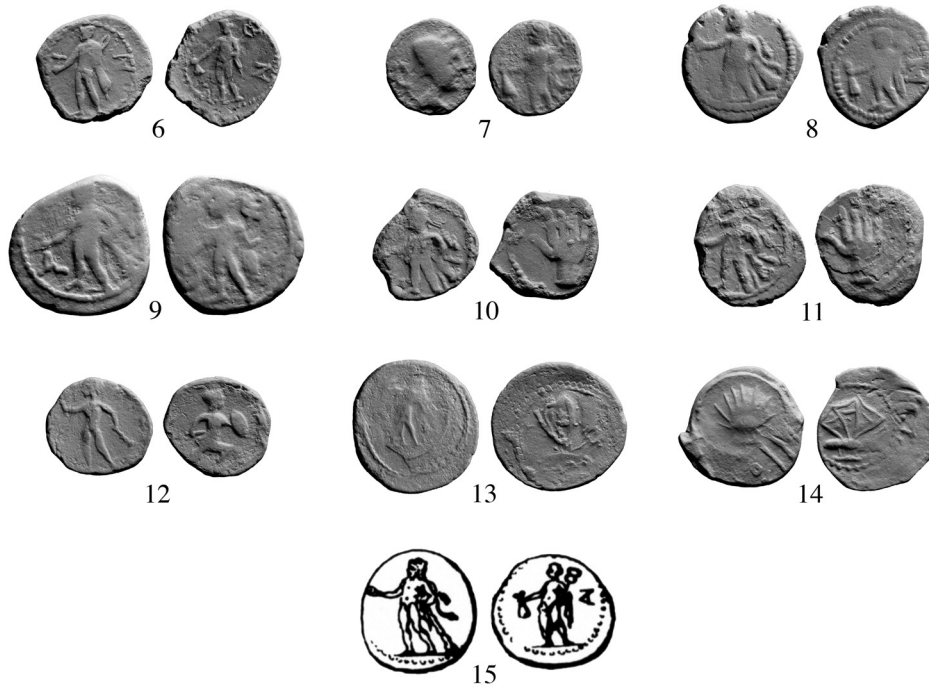


Figure 2: The hand type (n. 10-11) within the central Italian assemblage

Obv. Same as last, but with N (?).

Rev. Same as last, but no legend.

9. Æ 19 mm ↑ 5.69 g SNG Cop., Zacynthus 490

Obv. Same as last, but no legend.

Rev. A right hand, seen from above (or left, palm up); border of dots.

10. Æ 15 mm ↑ 1.97 g Berlin v. Rauch

11. Æ 16 mm ← Liri 32.024

Obv. Same as last, but no lion's skin.

Rev. Soldier with helmet, sword and shield advancing right; border of dots.

12. Æ 14 mm 1.60 g Liri 14.006

Obv. Same as last.

Rev. Butterfly right; border of dots.

13. Æ 17 mm ↗ 2.29 g Liri 14.289

Struck over a *quadrans*; the head of Hercules is visible at an axis of ↗ on the obverse.

Obv. Scallop-shell; border of dots.

Rev. Same as last.

14. Æ 17 mm ↓ 3.29 g Liri 26.001

Struck over a *quadrans*, with the head of Hercules visible at an axis of ↘ on the obverse, and the prow is at ↙ on the reverse.

Obv. and *rev.* Same as n° 8.

15. Æ 16, Illustration of Pellerin (1763), p. 178, pl. CXXIII, n° 12.

A number of the central Italian Italo-Baetican issues are datable to the 90s and 80s BC, since they are overstruck on post-*Lex Papiria* Roman bronze.¹² If the hand type links the quartered countermarked asses to the central Italian assemblage, this would indicate a date in the first quarter of the first century BC.

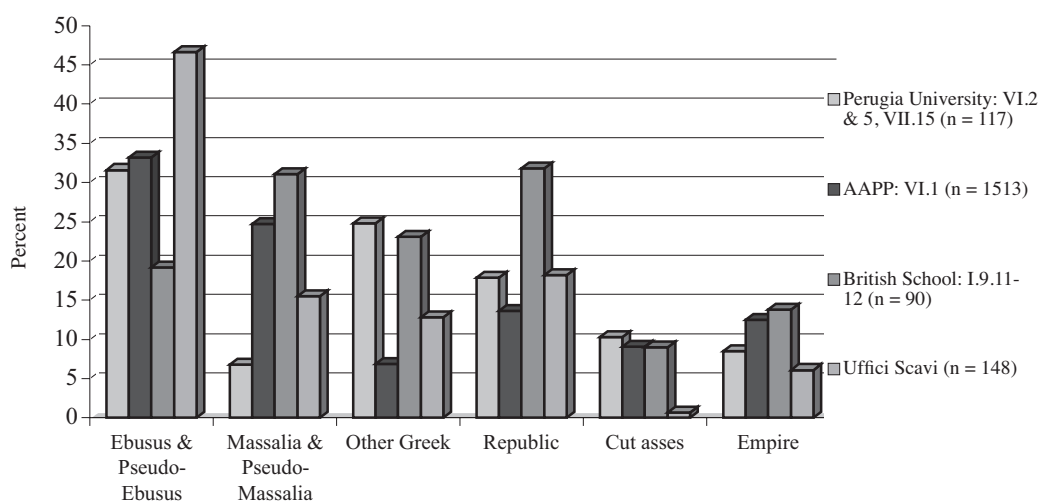


Figure 3.¹³ Coins from excavations below the AD 79 destruction level at Pompeii¹⁴

12. Stannard, 1998 p. 212, n° 12 and p. 215, n° 29–31.

13. This is fig. 2 of Stannard and Frey-Kupper, 2008, 367, with the information for the University of Perugia and AAPP excavations updated. I thank Samuele Ranucci and Richard Hobbs. The Uffici Scavi sample is probably biased, because of a lack of interest in cut pieces.

14. A coinage of bronze small change, which imitated and mixed the types of Ebusus, Massalia and Rome, was struck at Pompeii, probably from the 130s or 120s BC until well into the first c. BC. I have characterised this phenomenon as a 'pseudo-mint'. The pseudo-mint appears to have been preceded by the importation of a very large block of coins from the island of Ebusus (mainly of Campo, 1976, group XVIII), probably in the 140s or 130s BC. These were put into circulation at Pompeii, where—with the coins of the pseudo-mint—they formed the bulk of bronze small change at this period. Because the existence of the pseudo-mint has only recently been documented, and because it is not always certain which are canonical Ebusan, and which imitative Ebusan, coins, Fig. 3 groups canonical Ebusan and Massaliot coins with the imitative issues.

There is recent stratigraphic evidence from excavations at Pompeii to help date the general phenomenon of cut coins in central Italy. They are very common at Pompeii, as Fig. 1 shows, and make up about 10% of all the coins below the AD 79 destruction layer. There are two halved *asses* from the Casa di Arianna, in strata of c. 80–c. 30 BC,¹⁵ and Richard Hobbs informs me that the coins from the AAPP excavations include two quartered *asses* in strata provisionally dated to before 89 BC.¹⁶ This data should be approached with caution, because I do not believe that Pompeii and Minturnae—where the counter-marked quarter *asses* come from—were part of the same circulation area at the time of the central Italian assemblage. I have studied a number of groups of excavation coins from Pompeii, and the coins of the central Italian assemblage—so frequent at Minturnae—are rare at Pompeii. A reason for this may well be Pompeii's revolt from Rome during the Social War (91–88 BC). Nonetheless, my opinion is that the cutting of coins occurred sporadically and locally, probably from the late second century BC on.

A number of well preserved, freshly quartered, post-*Lex Papiria asses* in the Liri database (I illustrate two in Fig. 4) are also evidence for the practice of chopping up coins for small change at the same period. Andrew Burnett has argued that these semi-uncial *asses* circulated for a very short period,¹⁷ and it is therefore likely that these coins were cut soon after they entered circulation.



Figure 4: Quartered post-Lex Papiria Asses

Obv. Laureate head of Janus; I above.

Rev. Prow right, on which stands Victory; L-PISO above; FRVGI below.

16. Æ 13 mm ↖ 2.69 g Liri 100.399 RRC 340/4 of 90 BC

Obv. Same as last.

Rev. Three prows right, on which palm-branch; caps of the Dioscuri before; ROMA above; C·VIBI PAN below.

17. Æ 15 mm ← 2.87 g Liri 100.400 RRC 342/7 of 90 BC

Everything suggests that Theodore Buttrey's thesis—namely that old Republican *asses* were cut in two in a single event in the 20s BC in the western half of the Empire, when the old *asses* were tarified as *dupondii*, so that the half now became an *as*¹⁸—is fallacious.¹⁹ By statistical analysis of the many

About half of the Ebusan and pseudo-Ebusan coins are canonical. The ratio of canonical Massalia to imitative Massalia is much lower. For the Pompeian pseudo-mint, see Stannard and Frey-Kupper, 2008, Frey-Kupper and Stannard, 2010, and Stannard, forthcoming, which also discusses the importation of the block of Ebusan coin, and the dates of this event and of the opening of the pseudo-mint, on the basis both of numismatic evidence, and the stratigraphic evidence presented in Ribera, Salavert and Stannard, forthcoming.

15. Ribera, Salavert and Stannard, forthcoming, pl. 2, n^{os} 36–27.

16. Hobbs, 2003, 2005 and forthcoming.

17. Burnett, 1982, p. 126.

18. Buttery, 1972, pp. 44–47.

19. Crawford, 1970, pp. 44f, accepted this hypothesis.

halved coins from the baths at Bourbonne-les-Bains, Eberhard Sauer has shown that the chronological pattern of cut and uncut coins 'is incompatible with the assumption that there was a single wave of halving as a result of a sudden revaluation'.²⁰

To return to our quartered *asses*, the hand is accompanied by what appears to be a value mark signifying an *as*, I. Were they then intended to play the role of *asses*, wherever they were circulated (probably at Minturnae)? There are, in fact, a considerable number of issues within the central Italian assemblage that use the Janus type of the *as*, many with the value mark as well, that fall within the same weight range (Fig. 5). I do not suggest that these pieces conform to a specific weight standard, or a range of standards, but assume that they are fiduciary, where the metal weight is a factor in manufacturing cost only, not a vehicle of value.

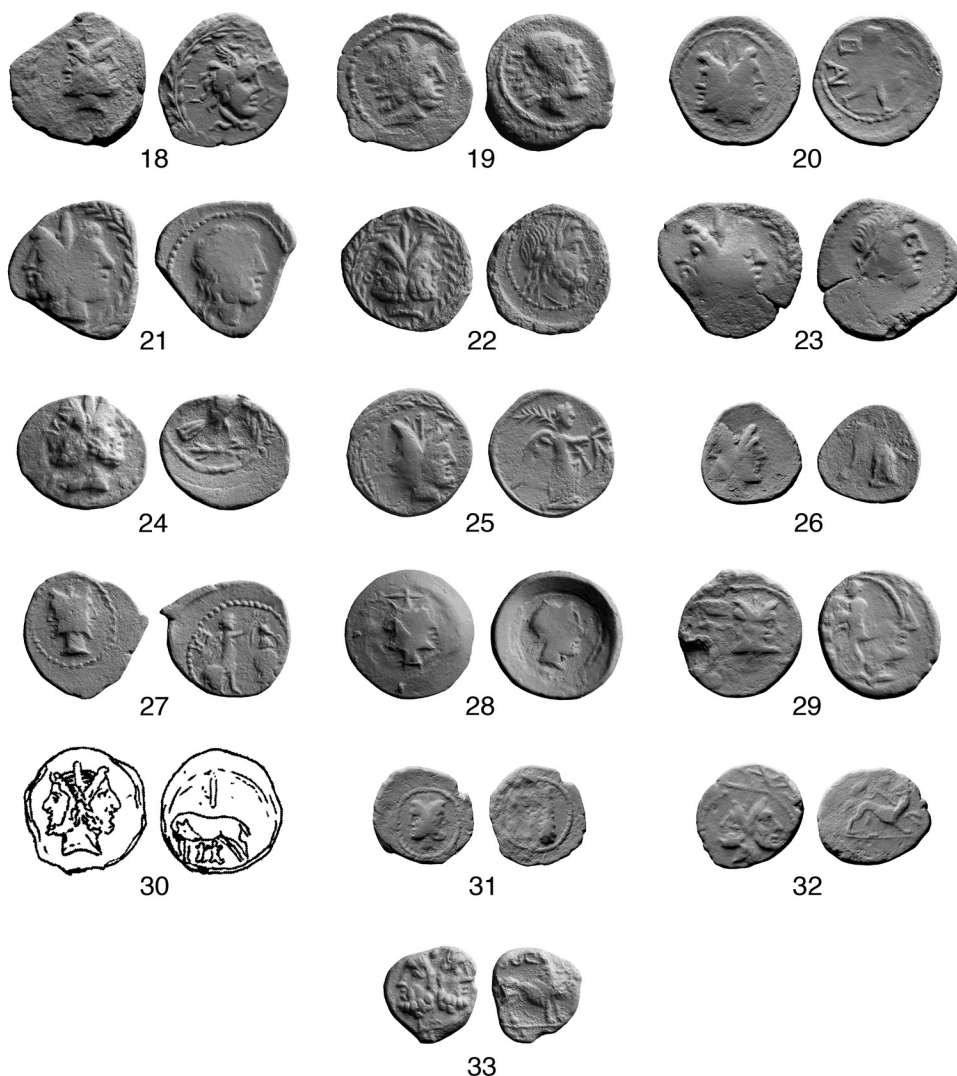


Figure 5: Asses in the central Italian assemblage

20. Sauer, 2006, pp. 58-68.

Obv. Laureate head of Janus in laurel-wreath; SEX around.

Rev. Gorgon-head right; N to right; N to left; all in laurel-wreath.

18.²¹ Æ 18 mm → 7.68 g Liri 26.009

Obv. As last, but no legend, I above, and a border of dots, instead of a wreath.

Rev. Head of Vulcan right, wearing a *pileus*; tongs on shoulder; L·NNI behind; border of dots.

19.²² Æ 18 mm ↗ 3.90 g Liri 14.002

Obv. Same as last.

Rev. Man wearing tunic walking right, a 'shovel' on his shoulder, and an *askos* in his right hand; N to left; border of dots.

20.²³ Æ 17 mm ↘ 2.51 g Paris Z3151

Obv. Same as last, but in a laurel-wreath.

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

21.²⁴ Æ 18 mm ↗ 5.55 g Liri 26.016

Obv. Head of Janus; OPTI around; all in laurel-wreath.

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

22.²⁵ Æ 18 mm ↗ 4.43 g Liri 100.126

Obv. Head of Janus; I above; all in laurel-wreath tying below.

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

23. Æ 19 mm ↘ 3.20 g Liri 23.002

Obv. Same, but no value-mark or border.

Rev. Eagle on thunderbolt right; border of dots.

24.²⁶ Æ 17 mm ↘ 2.73 g Hanover WK 41

Struck over an unidentified coin.

Obv. Same, but I above, in laurel-wreath tying below.

Rev. Victory holding out a wreath right; linear border.

25.²⁷ Æ 17 mm ↑ 2.79 g Paris Ailly 1332

Obv. Same, but no value-mark or border.

Rev. Victory holding out a wreath right.

26. Æ 14 mm ↘ Thorvaldsen uncertain

Obv. Same, but I above, and border of dots.

Rev. Victory crowning a trophy right; ER behind; border of dots.

21. Bahrfeldt, 1904, p. 414, 62.

22. Bahrfeldt, 1904, p. 416, 64.

23. Bahrfeldt, 1904, p. 434, 87.

24. Bahrfeldt, 1904, p. 411, 59.

25. Bahrfeldt, 1904, p. 408, 58.

26. Bahrfeldt, 1904, p. 432, 82 (this coin).

27. Bahrfeldt, 1904, p. 430, 80,4 (this coin)

27.²⁸ Æ 17 mm ↙ 2.63 g Hanover WK 42

Obv. Same as last.

Rev. Laureate male head right; border of dots.

28. Æ 18 mm ↖ 2.98 g Liri 13.042

Struck over an unidentified coin.

Obv. Same as last.

Rev. Hercules standing left, strangling a lion; border of dots.

29. Æ 17 mm ↑ 3.41 g Paris 1257

Struck over a *quadrans*.

Obv. Same as last.

Rev. Wolf right with twins; *ficus ruminalis* behind; border of dots

30.²⁹ Æ 17 mm Ailly, 1864-1869, II, p. 476, pl. LXXXVIII, 9

Obv. Same as last, but no value-mark.

Rev. Club; any legend or other symbol has been obliterated; border of dots.

31.³⁰ Æ 13 mm ↑ 1.38 g Paris Ailly 1330

Obv. Same as last, but I above; border of dots.

Rev. Panther right, with thyrsus over shoulder; border of dots.

32. Æ 14 mm ↘ 1.26 g BM Uncertain, SP plates 2872 9/10 (this coin)

Obv. Same as last.

Rev. Lion standing right, on exergual line; A(?)OC above.

33. Æ 13 mm ↘ 2.37 g Liri 17.011

A characteristic feature of some or all of the specimens of many issues of the central Italian assemblage is that the flans are triangular, as is the case for n^{os} 18, 21, 23, 26 and 27.³¹ The flans appear to have been chopped or cut as triangles from a thick sheet, or more probably a disk, of metal, with the points of the triangles then being chopped away. The rough edges were then smoothed in one way or another, perhaps by annealing at a high temperature. It is probable that Roman *asses* were used in this process, and chopped into sixths, but, if this is the case, I have never yet been able to identify traces of an undertype on the resultant coins. It should also be noted that n^{os} 1–5 are *quartered*, not cut into *sixths*, but it is nonetheless probable that they reflect similar production techniques.

In the milieu in which the Italo-Baetican series were made, Roman coins—particularly the *quadrans*—were also widely imitated,³² including some on triangular flans, as the group in Fig. 6 shows. Coin n^o 23, listed above, was itself overstruck with the imitative quadrantal types of n^o 34. N^o

28. Bahrfeldt, 1904, p. 433, 86,2 (this coin).

29. Bahrfeldt 1904, p. 431, 83,1, with illustration from Ailly, 1864-1869, I, pl. LXIII, 4 (this coin).

30. Bahrfeldt 1904, p. 437, 89 (this coin).

31. Robinson (1964, p. 42) first realised that this fabric could be used to group a number of these series, though he gave them to Campanian hill communities in revolt against Rome in the Second Punic War.

32. I think that a large number of the imitative *quadrantes* listed in Crawford, 1982, originate in south Latium, as well as all those with the reverse prow left (RRC 350B/3).

34.1 is angled to show the undertypes, and 34.2, to show the overtypes. N° 35 is a clear specimen of the imitative *quadrans* from the same dies. I know two further imitative *quadrantes* (n°s 36 and 37), with shared dies, that are struck on the characteristic triangular flan of the central Italian assemblage, although the dotted borders show that the dies were intended for smaller flans.



Figure 6: Imitative *quadrantes* associated with the central Italian assemblage

34.	Æ 20 mm	4.39 g	Liri 13.030
35.	Æ 18 mm ↖	3.96 g	Liri 46.009
36.	Æ 21 mm ↗	4.89 g	Liri 100.367
37.	Æ 22 mm ↗	6.46 g	Liri 51.014

To sum up, it is probable that the quartered and countermarked *asses* from Minturnae form part of the central Italian assemblage, or were at least made in the same milieu. They probably date to the 90s or the 80s BC, and were part of sporadic and local cutting of *asses*, in a context of a dearth of small change. It is possible that they were intended to pass for *asses*, which is a hypothesis based on the value-mark on n° 5, and the similar weights of *asses* of the central Italian assemblage. The phenomenon of cutting *asses* may also be the explanation for the dumpy, triangular fabrics of many of the central Italian assemblage issues. Roman *quadrantes* were also imitated in the same context, a few even on triangular flans.

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