

Non-Roman Coins in Italy: The Influence of Western Connections (3rd–1st centuries BC)

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Introduction

The formation of Rome as a Mediterranean power in the mid- and late Republic coincides with a progressive monetisation of the Roman economy. When Roman hegemony was still in its infancy in the late 4th century BC, Rome produced the first coinage of its own, but the use of coinage was still limited. Moving ahead two centuries, the role of coinage in the Roman world had changed considerably. In the period between 150 and 70 BC, Rome produced tens and even hundreds of millions of *denarii* a year (Hopkins 1980, 106–12), with coinage being widely used in the army, in trade and in city markets (Hollander 2007). Rome was, however, never responsible for the supply of all the coinage in circulation in the Roman world: throughout the Republican period, non-Roman coins circulated both in Italy and in other parts of the expanding Roman empire.

In this broad context, the presence of foreign coins in central Italy is of particular interest. Although Rome monopolised the production of silver coinage on the Italian peninsula after the Second Punic War, the continued presence and production of non-Roman bronze coins shows Rome's lack of interest to monopolise all coinage production. In the mid- and late Republic, a variety of other coin producers were active on the Italian peninsula, and coins from all over the Mediterranean travelled to Italy. Both the production and the movement of coins happened for various reasons, ranging across military activity, trade and the provision of small change. This chapter investigates the role of Rome's western connections in these dynamics, in the period from the 3rd to the 1st centuries BC.

One rather obvious effect of western connections was the movement of coins from the western Mediterranean to central Italy. In addition, production of bronze coinage in Italy was also affected by the changing relationship between

Rome and the western Mediterranean. In recent years, the work of Stannard and others has elucidated many formerly unknown or obscure coin types that circulated in Italy in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, which show important signs of significant contacts between Italy and the western Mediterranean (*e.g.* Stannard 2018; 2020; Stannard *et al.* 2019). This chapter draws on their work and aims to give an overview of the various effects of changing connections in the north-western Mediterranean on the coin stock in Italy, with particular attention on the presence of non-Roman coins in Italy.

Early Coinage and Early Connections

In the period before the introduction of the *denarius*, non-Roman coinage was widely present on the Italian peninsula. Most of this non-Roman material was produced on the peninsula itself: in the late 4th and 3rd centuries BC, many Greek and Italic communities, Latin colonies and Roman allies produced their own coinages (Rutter 2001, 6–9). In many cases, these local coinages consisted of just a few issues, and so did not provide a consistent local money supply. Rather, these one-off productions most probably relate to military activity (see *e.g.* Cantilena 1996, 62; Burnett 2012, 308; Termeer forthcoming). In the southern part of the peninsula, where coinage had a longer tradition, Greek cities such as Neapolis and Taras produced larger numbers of coins in silver and bronze. Again, it is likely that coinage was often produced for military purposes (Rutter 2001, 8), but these coinages probably also played a role in trade and in local markets. In this regard, it is intriguing that letters and monograms appearing on the coinage of Neapolis in the late 4th and 3rd centuries in some cases correspond to those on amphorae stamps from Ischia (Olcese 2020, 107).

Connections with the western Mediterranean affected coinage in Italy to a limited degree in this period, but we can recognise some forms of contact. Starting in the 4th century BC, some of the Celtic coinages of northern Italy copy Greek types, mainly of Massalia, but also of cities in southern Italy (Velia, Caulonia) (Gorini 2014; Burnett and Molinari 2015, 33–7). The Celtic familiarity with coinage types from Magna Graecia was probably caused by Celtic mercenary activities in Greek armies (Buchsenschutz *et al.* 2012, 210–3). The Celtic coins and, to a lesser extent, the coins of Massalia circulated in the Po Valley. They sometimes travelled to central Italy: an occasional Massaliot coin is found in Etruria (Burnett and Molinari 2015, section 4), and some of the so-called ‘Po valley imitations’ of Massalia are part of the earliest known hoard of silver coins in Rome (Burnett and Molinari 2015, 23–5).

Interestingly, there are also a few Celtic imitations known that copy types of the Campanian mint of the Latin colony of Cales, founded in 334 BC (Fig. 2.1) (with thanks to Stanard and Graziano for this information). One is described by Garrucci (1885, 80 and pl. LXXXIII) and some are known from sales (*e.g.* Macho and Chlapovič – Auction 7, Lot 9, 15 November 2014; Classical Numismatic Group – Triton VIII, Lot 9, 11 January 2005). It has now been suggested they were produced in the lower Danubian region (Torbágyi and Vida 2020). The production by Cales was in all probability related to the Roman war effort during the First Punic War. We may therefore suspect that a similar dynamic was at work here, as in the case of the Celtic imitations of Velia and Caulonia: Celtic familiarity with the Cales coins probably points at some kind of Celtic (mercenary?) involvement in the war.

Intensive Punic trade in the western Mediterranean also affected coinage in Italy in the 4th and 3rd centuries. Punic coins are found throughout the Italian peninsula (recent inventory in Manfredi 2020). Of course, they reached the southern part of the peninsula from an early period onwards (Manfredi 2009), but they are also found in the immediate



Figure 2.1 Celtic silver imitation of a bronze coin of the Latin colony of Cales: Head of Apollo right/cock right. Diam. c. 16 mm, 3.65 g. Image not to scale. Source: CNGCoins/Coinarchives.com: <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=92270|99|9|bcb73fbe9dd3aeac50dde41f0bdb24ce> (accessed 28 June 2021).

surroundings of Rome (see Williams 2011 and Pulcinelli 2015 on finds in Etruria; Prins and Termeer 2021 on a selection of votive deposits in the vicinity of Rome). The finds in Italy include coins from Carthage as well as coins that were produced on Sicily and on Sardinia. Frey-Kupper has identified several ‘supra-regional’ series with generic Punic bronze coin types that were produced either in Carthage, Sicily or Sardinia, and that circulated widely in the western Mediterranean, including in central Italy (Frey-Kupper 2014).

In Etruria, a more detailed study of the Punic coins has allowed changes in these contacts with the Punic world to be recognised. There is a difference between the quantity and distribution of Punic coins before and after the Roman conquest (Williams 2011; Pulcinelli 2015). Punic coins of the earlier period, dated to the late 4th and early 3rd centuries BC (before the First Punic War), are found mainly along the coast and further inland along the main communication routes. At least some of these coins must have reached southern Etruria before the Roman conquest, as they are found on sites that do not continue into the Roman period (Williams 2011, 1104–5). Such early Punic coins are also attested in Latium (Manfredi 2020, 75; Prins and Termeer 2021, 62–3) and testify to contacts with the area immediately around Rome. It should be noted, however, that it cannot be certain that these coins were used for monetary transactions, as they are mainly found in votive contexts (Visonà 2001; Prins and Termeer 2021). While the coins most probably arrived with Punic traders, they did not necessarily play a role in trade themselves.

These contacts seem to have diminished later in the 3rd century. Punic coins from this period are found only in very low numbers. In Etruria, they are mainly found close to the coast, which must have been under Roman control (Williams 2011, 1106). Similarly, the so-called ‘Hispano-Carthaginian’ coins produced on the Iberian peninsula were also quite rare in central Italy (at the sites discussed below, there are three from Pompeii (Ranucci 2008, 170: table 1, n. 99; Hobbs 2013, 22: table 2; Vitale 2015, 202: table 3), one from Rome (Frey-Kupper 1995, 36, fig. 1), but none from Minturnae). The lower quantities of these later Punic coins may be an effect of the Roman conquest of central Italy. Of course, the Roman victory in the Second Punic War reinforced this process. At the same time, this was the start of intensive Roman involvement in Iberia, which caused a variety of new connections between Italy and the West.

The 2nd Century: Intensifying Western Connections

The Second Punic War saw important changes both in Rome’s own coinage production and in the coins circulating in Italy. The most well known is the introduction of the *denarius* and its associated coin system during the war, in

the years between 215/214 and 212/211 (opinions differ on the exact dates; see recently Marchetti 1993, 29–35; Burnett 2012, 305; Woytek 2012, 316–7; Coarelli 2013, 9 for a date in 212/211; Debernardi and Lippi 2019, 120–1 for a date in 214). The introduction of the new system approximately coincides with the disappearance of non-Roman silver coinage from Italy. Perhaps this was the result of a conscious Roman policy to take the non-Roman silver out of circulation (Burnett 2012, 308; more cautiously Crawford 1985, 113), although we can also explain the disappearance of foreign silver more practically, as the result of its use as an important source of metal for the production of *denarii* during the war. It is clear, however, that no more non-Roman silver coinage was produced on the Italian peninsula after the Second Punic War.

The picture is rather different for bronze coinage. During the Second Punic War and in the early decades of the 2nd century, Rome produced large amounts of bronze coinage. Around the middle of the 2nd century, however, silver coinage clearly gained prominence compared to bronze: while silver was produced annually in high numbers from the 150s onwards, the same period saw a general decline in bronze production (Stannard 2018, 102–3). By this time, small change was widely used in local markets, and it has been argued convincingly that the lack of interest on the part of the Roman state to produce bronze coinage led to a ‘crisis of small-change’ (Stannard 2018). This may indeed explain the high numbers of non-Roman bronze coins that continued to circulate in Italy throughout the 2nd century (Kemmers 2016, 358–60).

These non-Roman bronze coins came from various sources. Third-century bronze coins continued to be used in the 2nd century (Stannard 2018, 138–40) and various cities on the Italian peninsula produced their own bronze coinages in the 2nd century (Crawford 1985, 71; Kemmers 2016, 359–60 notes that locally produced bronze remains important especially in Sicily and southern Italy). In addition, it is becoming increasingly clear that coins were produced by other actors than Rome or the cities on the Italian peninsula. These ‘non-state coinages’ include both coinage with original iconography (Stannard 2018, 119–38) and the production by so-called ‘pseudo-mints’, which produced bronze coinages that are not recognisable as the production of a specific mint or authority, but instead use and mix the types of a number of foreign mints without exactly imitating any of the prototypes (Stannard 1995; Stannard 2005; Stannard *et al.* 2008; Frey-Kupper *et al.* 2010; Stannard *et al.* 2013). Finally, foreign coins from all of the Mediterranean reached Italy. In some cases, they seem to have been imported in ‘blocks’, large quantities of specific types that were then either overstruck or simply used (Frey-Kupper and Stannard 2018); the idea has been challenged (Hobbs 2013, 35–6; Pardini 2017, 174–6), but the method and evidence presented by Frey-Kupper and

Stannard are convincing (see also Frey-Kupper and Stannard 2019, 168–81).

In this context, western connections became a more important factor affecting the coin stock in Roman Italy. For the silver coinage, Rome’s increasing *denarius* production was sustained by access to silver from the Iberian peninsula after the Second Punic War. While Roman mining activities in Iberia developed relatively slowly (Rowan 2013, 362–6; see also Kay 2014, chapter 3), geochemical analyses show nonetheless that Iberian silver was used for the production of Roman *denarii* early on; this was probably ‘second hand’ metal obtained from booty, tribute or indemnities (Westner *et al.* 2020). In the course of the 2nd century, silver was probably mainly obtained by Roman exploitation of the Iberian mines. Most of the 2nd century *denarii* were produced in Italy, and silver must have been regularly transported to Italy. An exception in the later 2nd century were the *denarii* of RRC 282 being produced at the mint of Narbo (modern Narbonne), where it seems that local silver was used for the production of this issue (Hiriart and Parisot-Sillon, chapter 13 in this volume).

In the case of the bronze coinage, a much more varied range of connections between Italy and the western Mediterranean can be recognised, in which the Roman state only has a minimal role to play. Bronze coinage from Gaul and Iberia reaches Italy in some quantity, and western connections play a role both in the importation of blocks and coinage production by non-state actors. The next section discusses these dynamics in more detail.

Western Connections and Bronze Coinage in Italy

The most obvious way in which western connections could affect the coin stock in Italy was through the movement of coins from Gaul and Iberia to the Italian peninsula. An initial overview of this movement can be created by comparing the presence of coinage from Gaul and Iberia in Rome, Minturnae (modern Minturno) and Pompeii, and is shown in Fig. 2.2.

The data for Fig. 2.2 come from published finds and only include datasets that make a distinction between direct imports from Ebusus (modern Ibiza) and Massalia (modern Marseille) and the production of the Pompeian ‘pseudo-mint’, which often copies the Ebusan and Massaliot types. The following data are included:

Rome: the coin finds from the Tiber (Frey-Kupper 1995, 36, fig. 1) and the coins held in the Capitoline museum that were found during excavations in the city of Rome in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Barbato 2016, 143–4; 2018 (*non vidi*)).

Minturnae: the foreign coin finds in the river Liri, currently being inventoried by Stannard in his Liri database (Stannard and Ranucci 2016, 158–61). The data used in

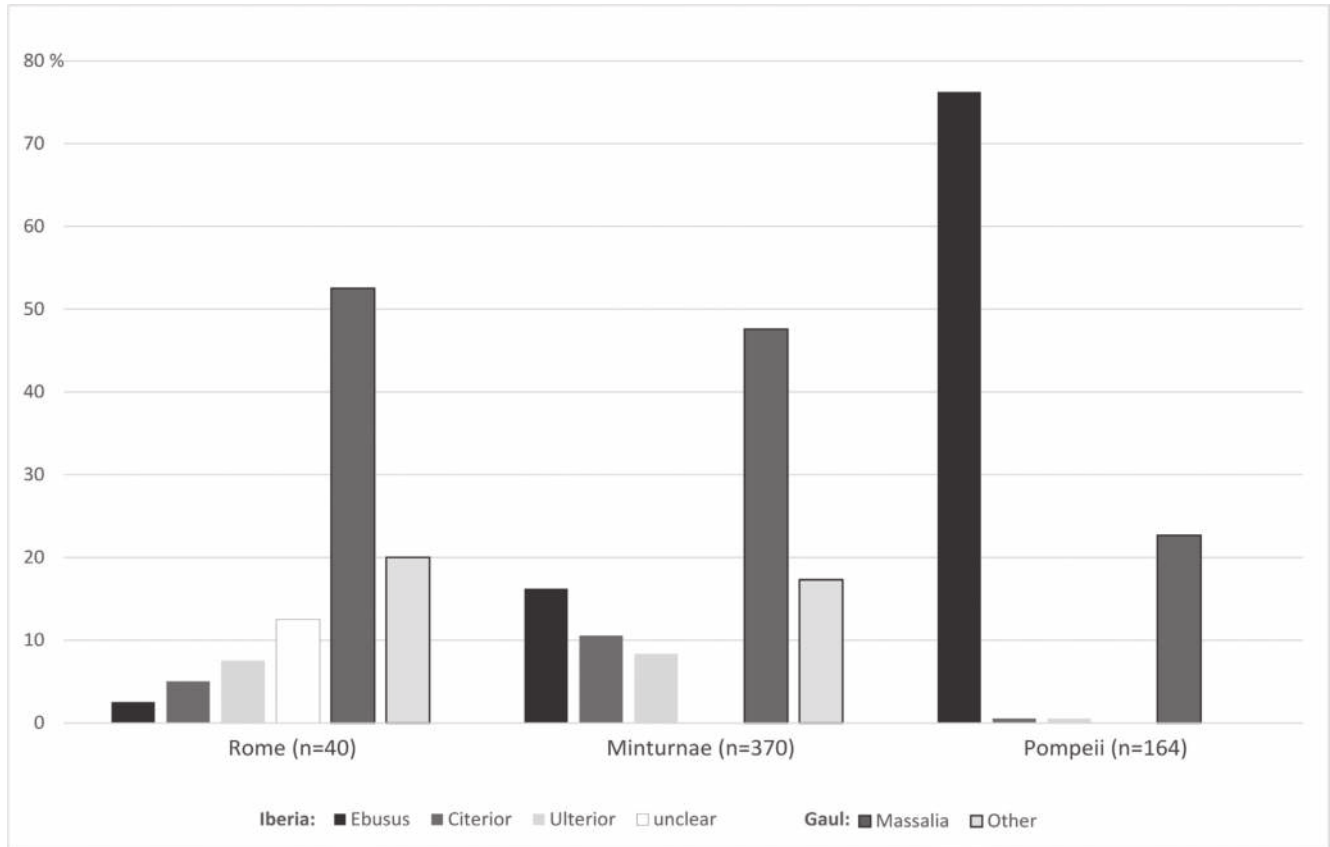


Figure 2.2 Comparison between Rome, Minturnae and Pompeii of the composition of the total number of coins from Iberia and Gaul known from each site. Figure by author; see main text for data included.

this chapter are presented in Stannard and Sinner 2014, 168–9 and Stannard *et al.* forthcoming, table 1 for Iberia and the data presented in Chevillon *et al.* 2018, 51 for Gaul (the numbers have not changed in Stannard and Chevillon 2021, 224, n. 21; note that Fig. 2.2 includes all Massaliot types under Massalia, although some of them may not have been produced there).

Pompeii: the inventory of coins found in *regio* I (Giove 2013, 67: table 1); the inventory of coins found in *regio* VII (Vitale 2015, 202: table 3 with n. 25; Ribera i Lacomba *et al.* 2013); coins found in the *Pompeii Archaeological Research Project: Porta Stabia (regio* VIII, *insula* 7, 1–15) (Pardini 2017, 77–9); coins found in excavations of the House of Sallust (*regio* VI, *insula* 2,4) (Ranucci 2014).

These three towns have more often been used to better understand the presence of foreign coins in Italy, because relatively good data are available for them (*e.g.* Stannard and Frey-Kupper 2008, appendix 2; Stannard 2018, 140–50). Of course, the selection of three sites with direct access to the Tyrrhenian Sea does not allow for generalisations about the presence of coinage from Gaul and Iberia in all of Italy. These towns were probably more intensively involved in

Mediterranean trade and exchange than most other towns on the peninsula. Even so, the total number of ‘western’ coins present in Rome, Minturnae and Pompeii is generally quite low compared to the total number of foreign coins. In Rome, the total number of coins from Iberia (including Ebusus) is 1.6% (11 out of 680); the total number of coins from Massalia is 3.1% (21 out of 680) (numbers from Barbato 2016, 142–4, tables 1 and 2). In the Liri dataset, coins from Iberia and Gaul are relatively common. Coins from the mainland of Iberia make up about 4.5% of the total numbers of foreign coins, and coins from Ebusus about 3.9% (Stannard and Sinner 2014, 170). Coins from Massalia represent 8.7% of the total number of foreign coins (Stannard and Chevillon 2021, 222). The picture in Pompeii is somewhat different, because the relative number of Ebusan coins is higher there (see below for the discussion of the importation of a block). For example, in the dataset published by Vitale (2015, 202, table 3), coins from Ebusus represent 16.1% of the total number of foreign coins (63 out of 392), while coins from Massalia represent 4.8% (19 out of 392). It can be expected that further inland, the proportion of ‘western’ coins would be similarly low or even lower.

In order to compare the composition of the assemblage of ‘western’ coins in these three towns, Figure 2.2 roughly

divides the coins according to their place of production, distinguishing between Hispania Ulterior, Hispania Citerior and Ebusus for the Iberian coins, and between Massalia and other mints for Gaul. For each of the towns, their relative quantities are shown compared to the total number of coins from Iberia and Gaul that are known from that site.

It is immediately apparent that Rome and Minturnae show a similar pattern. They have more material from Gaul than from Iberia, and in both cases, the bulk of the material from Gaul is from Massalia (Fig. 2.3). The best explanation for the presence of these coins is probably that they were incidentally carried to Italy by the movement of individuals, quite possibly traders. It is unclear whether these coins would have been accepted as currency in Rome or Minturnae, although in view of the wide variety of bronze coinage that was in circulation, these coins may have been accepted for their ‘utility value’ (cf. Hobbs 2013, 23–34; see Stannard 2018, 161–2 on utility value). Interpreted in this way, the higher number of coins from Gaul indicates either a higher degree of mobility between Italy and Gaul, or at least more mobility by people who carried coins.

Pompeii deviates considerably from this pattern, as the number of Ebusan coins is much higher there (Fig. 2.4). Indeed, Ebusan coins are present in Pompeii in comparable numbers to Rome’s own production, and only the production of the local Pompeian mint – which partly imitates the Ebusan coins – is present in higher numbers (Stannard 2018, 143, fig. 16). As has been convincingly argued by Stannard and Frey-Kupper, the best way to explain such a large amount of Ebusan coins in Pompeii is that they were imported as a block for local use, probably in the 140s or 130s BC (Stannard 2013, 134–41; Frey-Kupper and Stannard 2018, 298–309). The identification of this block rests on a combination of observations. First of all, Ebusan coins of *one specific issue* (Campo XVIII; see Fig. 2.4) are found in Pompeii in very high numbers, much higher than any other form of foreign coin and much higher than anywhere else in Italy. In addition, these high quantities of

Ebusan coins in Pompeii are not mirrored by the presence of coins of the Pompeian pseudo-mint in Ebusus, nor are they accompanied by any evidence for substantial trade from Ebusus to Pompeii (Ramon Torres 2013). This consequently means that the high number of Ebusan coins from Pompeii cannot be used as evidence for intensive trade or some other form of repeated interaction between Pompeii and Ebusus (Stannard 2013).

It is difficult to understand who were the agents behind the importation of this block of Ebusan coins to Pompeii. The possibility that the block was acquired as military booty on the occasion of Quintus Caecilius Metellus’ Balearic campaign in 123 BC does not seem to match well with the probable date at which the block was imported, one to two decades earlier (Stannard 2013, 138). Moreover, Ebusus was probably at peace with Rome during this campaign, as Metellus’ intervention focused on Majorca and Minorca (Costa Ribas 2007, 87). At best, therefore, some kind of local initiative by the Pompeians to import this block in order to facilitate day-to-day market transactions can be imagined. Once it had arrived in Pompeii, it is clear that the Ebusan material was used as currency in the town itself, as indicated by the presence of eight Ebusan coins in a hoard that most likely represents the contents of a purse, dated to c. 70 BC (Stannard 2019), and by the copying of the Ebusan types in the production of the Pompeian pseudo-mint. In addition, the larger amount of Ebusan coins in Minturnae compared to Rome may indicate that the use of these coins spread more widely after they had been imported to Pompeii.

If it is accepted that the Ebusan coins in Pompeii were imported as a block, it should be noted that, without the Ebusan coins, the assemblage of ‘western’ coins in Pompeii is more similar to that in Rome and Minturnae, with coins from Massalia being the most frequently found. Since this preponderance of Massaliot coinage is recognisable for each of our three sites, this can most probably be regarded as the result of regular contacts between Massalia and the



Figure 2.3 Massaliot bronze coin: Head of Apollo right/Bull butting right. Diam. 15.5 mm, 2.17 g. Image not to scale. Source: Bertolami Fine Art: https://bid.bertolamifineart.com/auction-lot/gaul-massalia-bronze-ca-150-100-bc-ae-g-2-17-mm-1_B41466A9D9 (accessed 28 June 2021).



Figure 2.4 Ebusan bronze coin (Campo group XVIII): Full figure of Bes facing/Full figure of Bes facing. 2.73 g. Image not to scale. Source: American Numismatic Society 1944.100.84762: <http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.84762> (accessed 28 June 2021).

Tyrrhenian coast. Some coins of the Pompeian pseudo-mint and the Italo-Baetican series (see below) have even been attested in southern France, and they are part of a broader complex of finds that testifies to regular contacts and trade (Stannard *et al.* 2015; Stannard *et al.* 2018; see also Stannard and Chevillon 2021). In contrast, without Ebusus, the number of Iberian coins at all three sites is much lower. While, of course, overall this cannot be taken as a direct sign of less intensive contacts or trade (see below), Iberian coinage was apparently carried to Italy less often. It should be noted, though, that Pompeii has yielded slightly more Iberian material than is presented in Fig. 2.2, which has not been included in the figure because the published record does not distinguish between Ebusan/Massaliot and the production of the local pseudo-mint (in *regio VI*: 1 coin of Baria (Cantilena 2008, 75: table 1); in the excavation of the *Università di Perugia*: 1 of Baria, 1 of Kese, 1 Andalusian imitation of a *semis*, and 1 unknown (Ranucci 2008, 155–6); in the excavations by the Anglo-American Project in Pompeii in *regio VI, insula 1*: 1 coin of Carmo, 1 of Kese, and 2 perhaps of Kese or possibly another Spanish mint (Hobbs 2013, 22: table 2).

Looking in more detail at the contacts between Italy and Gaul, a shift in the relative importance of the ports of Pompeii and Minturnae has been suggested, based on the difference between the composition of the group of Massaliot coins in Pompeii and in Minturnae (Stannard and Frey-Kupper 2008, 375; Frey-Kupper and Stannard 2010, 130). In Minturnae, some of the later series of Massalia, dated after 80/70 BC, are present much more than in Pompeii (see also Stannard and Chevillon 2021, 226 and fig. 2). In addition, the relative quantity of Massaliot coins compared to the coins of the Pompeian pseudo-mint is higher in Minturnae than in Pompeii, while the ratio between Ebusan coinage and the coins of the Pompeian pseudo-mint is similar at both sites. This seems to indicate that, after the production of the Pompeian pseudo-mint started, Minturnae continued to receive Massaliot coinage, while this was not (or to a lesser extent) the case in Pompeii. Stannard and Chevillon suggest that this was the result of a shift from Pompeii to Minturnae as the main port for the wine trade from Campania to Gaul (Stannard and Chevillon 2021).

Western Connections and Coin Production in Italy

In addition to this direct movement of coins from Gaul and Iberia to Italy, two more indirect ways in which western connections affected the coin stock in Italy can also be recognised, both of them connected to other forms of non-Roman bronze coinage that circulated in Italy in the last centuries BC.

Firstly, there is the production of the Pompeian pseudo-mint, which produced coinage to be used in the local market, but did not clearly mark these coins as Pompeian (Stannard and Frey-Kupper 2008; 2018, appendix 3; Frey-Kupper and Stannard 2010). Instead, the mint mixes types that were known in the local context, with Massalia and Ebusus as the main prototypes being used (Stannard 2018, 113–6; Fig. 2.5 with Figs 2.3 and 2.4). This local mint probably started to be active around 140/130 BC and continued to produce coinage into the early 1st century BC. This can be taken as a sign that, in the period before that, the coins of Massalia and Ebusus were indeed well known in Pompeii and, significantly, also functioned as currency.

Secondly, Stannard has identified two groups of non-state coins from central Italy, one of bronze coins and one of lead pieces, which share types not only with each other, but also with large lead pieces from the valley of the Guadalquivir river in southern Spain (the so-called *grandes plomos monetiformes*) and other coinages of southern Spain – together, he refers to them as the ‘Italo-Baetican’ series (Stannard 2007; Stannard *et al.* 2019; forthcoming). They date approximately from the second half of the 2nd and the early 1st centuries BC. In terms of technical characteristics, the material from Italy and Iberia is clearly distinct (Stannard *et al.* 2019), but they do share several types: a ‘man with shovel’ or *furnacator* (stoker in a bath-house), an *aryballos* (a small spherical or globular flask) and two strigils, and Vulcan (Stannard 2020; see Fig. 2.6). Some of the coins, both in bronze and in lead, are signed with Latin names, but there is no reference to a city or other issuing authority.

The shared types clearly imply a connection between central Italy and southern Spain, although the actual pieces did not travel much: two Iberian *plomos* are known from the Liri deposit in Minturnae (Stannard and Chevillon 2021, 220), while five Italian lead pieces were recovered from the *Isla Pedrosa* shipwreck found off the coast



Figure 2.5 Cast of bronze coin from the Pompeian pseudo-mint, combining types of Ebusus (obverse) and Massalia (reverse): Full figure of Bes facing/Bull butting right. Diam. 13 mm, 1.41 g. Image not to scale. Source: Frey-Kupper and Stannard 2018, 341, fig. A, TC-18, with thanks to Stannard for the image.



Figure 2.6 Cast of lead piece of the 'Italo-Baetican' series: Head of Vulcan right, wearing wreathed pileus and with tongs on shoulder/Bearded furnacator in short tunic, a phallus hanging down, advancing right, holding a shovel before him; askos before. Diam. 20 mm, 3.53 g. Source: Stannard 2020, plate 5, no. 12 (Liri 23.041), with thanks to Stannard for the image.

of Catalonia (Stannard and Sinner 2014, 171–4). The connection should rather be seen in a broader context of migration from Italy to Hispania in the 2nd and 1st centuries, both as a result of colonisation movements after military successes and because Italians were attracted by the resources of Hispania and the opportunities it offered for trade (overview in Stefanile 2017, chapter 3). Interesting in this context is that several *gentes* from Campania were involved in the lead trade from Carthago Nova, which has been established from prosopographic research of the names stamped on lead ingots (Stefanile 2017, 60–3). Stefanile suggests that there are two areas in Campania where these *gentes* particularly originated: the Gulf of Naples, which would have used the port of Puteoli, and northern Campania, connected to the port of Minturnae (Stefanile 2017, 66–8).

Indeed, the names on the 'Italo-Baetican' coins partly overlap with names that are known from epigraphic material from the area north of Carthago Nova, which includes lead ingot stamps (Stannard *et al.* 2019, 150–7; see also Stannard *et al.* forthcoming). Based on this observation, it has been plausibly suggested that these were Italian individuals who were members of a *societas* that was involved in the lead trade with Carthago Nova. Conversely, names known from the epigraphic record of Minturnae feature on the Spanish *plomos* (Stannard *et al.* 2019, 157–61). In both cases, therefore, there is clear evidence of people involved in trade being responsible for the production of the coins and lead pieces – even though it cannot be sure that they were actually used for trade. In addition, one specific central Italian coin type is a reminder that the coin producers may also have been involved in other kinds of trade. This features an amphora and a mouse trying to steal oil from an oil-lamp – possibly a reference to the involvement of the producers in the wine and oil trade (Stannard *et al.* 2019, 155; cf. Roselaar 2019, 74–9 on wine and oil trade).

Both the production of the Pompeian pseudo-mint and these 'Italo-Baetican' coinages show that coinage production in Italy itself was affected by western Mediterranean contacts. In the case of the Pompeian pseudo-mint, the presence of coinage from Ebusus and Massalia in Pompeii clearly affected the local production of coinage. The case of the Italo-Baetican coinage is perhaps even more interesting: what seems to be apparent in this case is the creation of a new form of coinage as a result of trading contacts between central Italy and southern Spain. Neither the production of the Pompeian pseudo-mint nor the Italo-Baetican coins is related to the Roman state, but these coinages are unquestionably part of a developing Roman world that is partly shaped through these western connections.

Conclusion

The effects of western connections on the coin stock of Roman Italy can be understood as the result of the interplay between two dynamic processes. On the one hand, the intensity and nature of the connections themselves changed. In the 3rd century, the main connections that had an effect on coinage in Italy were Celtic mercenary involvement in Mediterranean wars and Punic trade. In the 2nd century, Rome's increasing power and conquest of a large part of the Iberian peninsula changed the nature of the connections. In the wake of the Roman conquest, people from Italy moved to Iberia and trade connections with both Iberia and Gaul intensified. On the other hand, the role and significance of coinage in the Roman world developed strongly in this period. After the introduction of coinage in the Roman world, it took a while for the economy to become monetised, in the sense of coinage being used for day-to-day market transactions. This level of monetisation was reached only in the course of the 2nd century.

In this interplay, the influence of western connections on the presence of non-Roman coins in Italy takes a variety of forms. To begin with, the copying of coin types was a widespread phenomenon in the Mediterranean at large, and it has been possible to recognise the influence of western connections both in the 3rd century, when Celtic coinages imitated coins from Italy, and in the use of Ebusan and Massaliot types in the production of the Pompeian pseudo-mint in the late 2nd and early 1st centuries. From early on, the actual movement of coins – probably carried by individual traders – can also be traced. This had already started in the late 4th and 3rd centuries with Punic coins travelling to Italy, and continued in the 2nd century, when coins of Massalia are dominant in the pool of western foreign coinages that reach Italy. In the 2nd century, the increasing demand for small change led to a more intensive movement of coins with the importation of a block of Ebusan coins to Pompeii. Finally, increasing connectivity between central Italy and Hispania

also had its effects on the practice of coin production in Italy itself, as groups involved in trade between Italy and Hispania started to produce their own coinages in the later 2nd century BC.

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