

CLIVE STANNARD, ALEJANDRO G. SINNER

A CENTRAL ITALIAN COIN WITH DIONYSUS/PANTHER TYPES, AND CONTACTS BETWEEN CENTRAL ITALY AND SPAIN, IN THE 2ND AND 1ST CENTURIES BC¹

Three Dionysus/panther coins are known from Catalonia, one from excavations at Cabrera de Mar (Ilturo). This is a key component of the Central Italian Assemblage of the Italo-Baetican series, and dates to the late 90s/early 80s. The excavation coin probably arrived during the Sertorian Wars (80–72), certainly before 50. We therefore review evidence of contacts between Hispania Citerior and Central Italy, Hispania Citerior and Ulterior, and Hispania Ulterior and Central Italy. We compare coins from the Cabrera de Mar Valley with Spanish coins from Minturnae. We reconsider the Isla Pedrosa wreck, which contained specimens of the Central Italian Assemblage, imported Italic ceramics from the Catalan coast and the La Loba mine, and some of the more important wrecks between c. 200 and 50. There is little evidence for maritime contact between Citerior and Ulterior, but better evidence, in each case, of contacts with central Italy. The relationship between the Central Italian and Baetican Assemblages of the Italo-Baetican series remains unclear.

Key words: *Italo-Baetican series, Ilturo, Cabrera de Mar, Minturnae, Isla Pedrosa.*

UNA MONEDA CENTRO ITÁLICA CON LOS TIPOS DIONISIO/PANTERA, Y CONTACTOS ENTRE ITALIA CENTRAL E HISPANIA DURANTE LOS SS. II-I. A.C.

Tres monedas del tipo Dionisio/pantera se han encontrado en Cataluña. Una de ellas proviene de las excavaciones llevadas a cabo en Cabrera de Mar (Ilturo). Esta moneda es un componente clave del ensamblaje centro-italico de las emisiones Italo-béticas que data de finales de la década de los 90 e inicios del decenio de los 80. La pieza, probablemente llegó a la zona durante las Guerras Sertorianas (80–72) y con toda seguridad antes del 50. Por ello, revisamos en este trabajo las evidencias existentes para los contactos entre la Hispania Citerior e Italia central, entre la Hispania Citerior y la Ulterior, y finalmente entre la Hispania Ulterior y la Italia central. Con esta finalidad compararemos los hallazgos numismáticos del valle de Cabrera de Mar y de Minturnae. A su vez, revisamos el pecio de Isla Pedrosa que transportaba ejemplares del ensamblaje centro-italico, las cerámicas itálicas de importación en la costa catalana y en la mina de La Loba, y algunos de los principales pecios documentados entre c. 200 y 50. Concluimos que son pocas las evidencias que muestran contactos marítimos entre Citerior y Ulterior, pero mucho más consistentes, en cada caso, las evidencias que muestran contactos entre las provincias hispanas y el centro de Italia. La relación entre los ensamblajes centro-italico y bético de las emisiones Italo-béticas sigue siendo aún poco claro.

Palabras clave: *emisiones italo-béticas, Ilturo, Cabrera de Mar, Minturnae, Isla Pedrosa.*

We begin with the publication of three coins of an issue of the Central Italian Assemblage of the Italo-Baetican series (for this terminology, Stannard 1995; 2005) from Catalonia, two of which are provenanced: one from recent

excavations at Cabrera de Mar (Ilturo), and another from old excavations at Emporion. We show, by a number of overstrikes and metrological analysis, that these coins can be securely dated to a short period in the late 90s/early 80s.

We next describe the context of the Cabrera de Mar find. The settlement is of late Republican date, with highly Italic architecture, and the ceramics include many imports from Italy. Stratigraphic evidence shows that the coin probably arrived during the Sertorian Wars (80-72), and certainly before 50.

The presence of these coins in Catalonia is particularly interesting, as the issue is a key component of the Italo-Baetican series, where a number of unique and rare types are shared between Baetica (with Baetica used in the sense of the geographical area) and Central Italy. We describe these types, and note that there is extremely little evidence for the presence of the Baetican Assemblage in Central Italy, or the Central Italian Assemblage in Baetica, although the Isla Pedrosa shipwreck off Estartit was carrying struck lead pieces of the Central Italian Assemblage. With the primary focus on Citerior, we therefore review a variety of evidence of contacts between Citerior and Central Italy, Citerior and Ulterior, and Ulterior and Central Italy.

In particular, we compare the coin finds from the Cabrera de Mar Valley with the Spanish coins found at Minturnae in Central Italy. There is an important contingent of *Laietani* coins at Minturnae, and there were clearly maritime contacts between Central Italy and both Citerior and Ulterior. The Cabrera de Mar finds, on the other hand, do not appear to bear witness to strong maritime contacts between Citerior and Ulterior. However, southern mines, such as Diogenes El Real

and La Loba, show the presence of large numbers of coins from Citerior in Ulterior, which presumably arrived overland.

We review the Isla Pedrosa wreck and its coins, which, with the exception of two coins from the Narbonne-Beziers area, appear to be either from Neapolis or of the Central Italian Assemblage. We compare the ceramics it carried with those from sites on the Catalan coast, and from the La Loba mine. Finally, we briefly review shipwrecks in the western Mediterranean between *c.* 200 and 75, in order to understand the volume and direction of trade. Wrecks in the area of the Phocaean cities between Nikaia and Massalia are common, with extensions towards the Gulf of Lion and the Catalan coast and, at the end of the period, down to New Carthage. There appears to be little evidence of wrecks further south. In evaluating this evidence, the stronger tradition of underwater archaeology in France than in Spain must be taken into account.

We conclude that it remains difficult to understand the relationship of the Central Italian and Baetican Assemblages. There is ample evidence, however, for frequent and dynamic contacts in both directions between Central Italy and the Cabrera de Mar Valley, as well as the rest of the Catalan coast, during the second half of the 2nd c., down at least to the abandonment of the Late Republican settlement at Ilturo, with the foundation of the new city of Iluro (80-70).

We thank Albert Ribera, Albert Martín, Clementina Panella and Pere Pau Ripollès for information and advice.

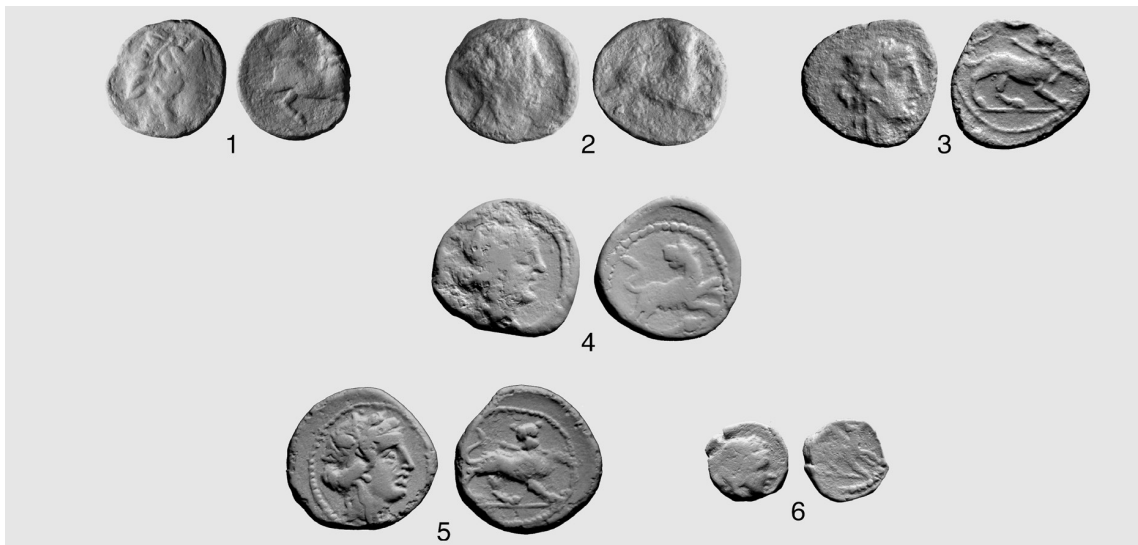


Fig. 1. The Dionysus/panther issue.

THE COINS

During archaeological excavations conducted between 2006 and 2010 in the Can Rodon de l'Hort area of the historical centre of Cabrera de Mar (El Maresme, Barcelona), a number of coins were recovered (Sinner and Martí 2011), including a coin of the Central Italian Assemblage of the Italo-Baetican Series, with Dionysus/panther types: fig. 1, 1. There are two other specimens in the Barcelona cabinet: fig. 1, 2, from old excavations in Emporion, and fig. 1, 3, without provenance. We must be cautious about the unprovenanced coin, because many Central Italian coins came to Spain at the time of the Bourbons in Naples, and a number of examples are today in Madrid (fig. 1, 5 is such a piece, another Dionysus/panther), but it was probably also found in Catalonia.

Obv. Head of Dionysus crowned with ivy, right; border of dots.

Rev. Panther standing right, its left fore-paw raised to hold a thyrsus over its shoulder; border of dots.

1. Æ 17 mm ↑ 3,30g Cabrera de Mar inv. 1400-1 / 1178-1.

2. Æ 18 mm ↓ 4,87 g Barcelona 19.500, from old excavations at Emporion.

3. Æ 19 mm ↙ 6,88 g Barcelona 36.754, without provenance.

Rev. Panther, with head turned back, bounding right; a thyrsus lying below; border of dots.

4. Æ 18 mm ↓ 9,17 g British Museum uncertain 1909.5-4.2.

Rev. Like fig. 1,1.

5. Æ 21 mm ← 8,64 g Madrid.

6. Æ 11 mm ↘ 1,62 g Liri 45.439.

This issue has so far only been summarily published (Stannard 1998: 212-213). Stannard is currently undertaking a die-study and has identified 85+ obverse and 115+ reverse dies in a sample of 345 coins. A projection of the probable number of dies, using Esty's methodology (2011: 50, formula 5) suggests that about 130 obverse and 200 reverse dies were used. The issue was clearly enormous. It probably began with the variant showing the panther with head back and leaping right, with a thyrsus below (fig. 1, 4); later coins show a panther holding the thyrsus on its shoulder. All specimens of this variant are on the triangular flan that is characteristic of many issues of the Central Italian Assemblage, and the mean weight of coins with this reverse is relatively high, compared to other coins of the issue (for clear examples of triangular flans, see fig. 1, 3, and fig. 3, 10-12).

As fig. 2 shows, the issue is characterized by an immoderate and steady decline in weight, from about 10 g to about 2 g (discounting aberrant high and low weights), with no obvious intermediate steps. Triangular flans grow rarer as the coins become lighter. The lack of any plateau in the falling standard of the Dionysus/panther issue suggests that it was produced in crisis conditions, and that it was of short duration.

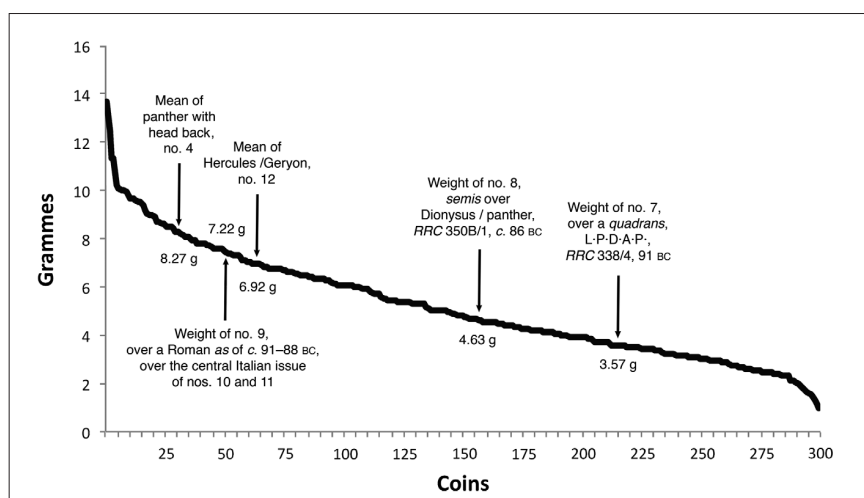


Fig. 2. Decline of the weight of the Dionysus/panther.

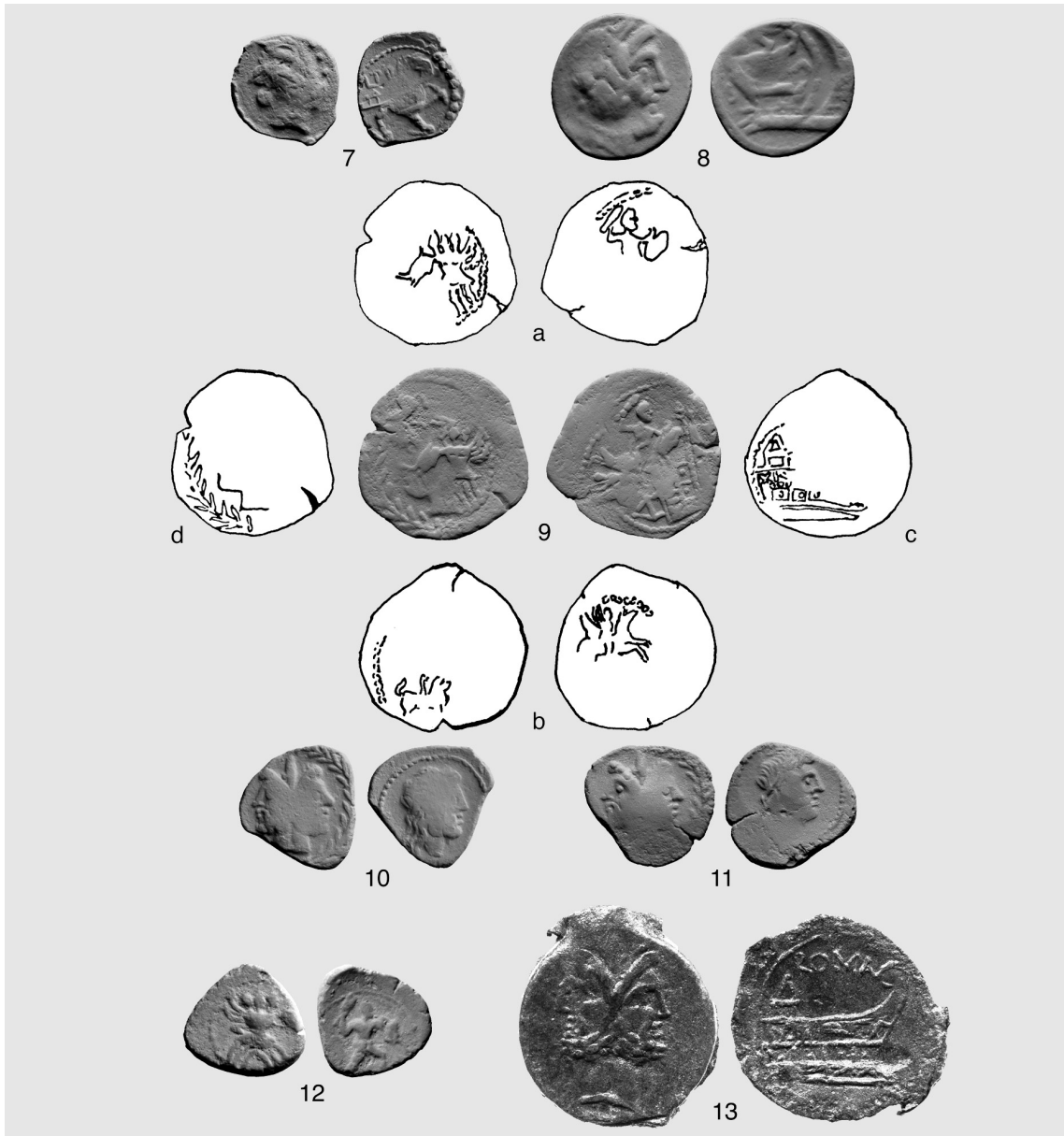


Fig. 3. Dating the Dionysus/panther by overstrikes.

The issue can be dated accurately, with the aid of the overstrikes in fig. 3. Fig. 3, 7 is an example of a middling size Dionysus/panther, struck over a Roman *quadrans*, L·P·D·A·P·, *RRC* 338/4, of *c.* 91. Fig 3, 8 is a Roman *semis*, *RRC* 350B/1, of *c.* 86, struck over a Dionysus/panther. These dates are confirmed by the much overstruck coin, fig. 3, 9, the uppermost strike of which, (a), is another issue

of the Central Italian Assemblage, with the types of Hercules fighting the Hydra/Geryon (fig. 3, 12). This issue is all on triangular flans, like the panther with head back issue, and is of a similar weight. It must be contemporaneous. Strike (a) is over (b), Chimaera/Bellerophon on Pegasus, probably one of the many Central Italian issues, of which no independent specimen is yet known. This is over a Roman

as, (c), with the characteristic prow style used exclusively on post-*Lex Papiria asses*, struck between c. 91 (*RRC* 338, L·P·D·A·P; and 339, Anonymous) and 88 (*RRC* 345, CN·LENTVL), and which is particularly common on *RRC* 341, Q·TITI, 90 (McCabe undated). Only the reverse of this undertype is visible. Below that is the first coin that was overstruck, (d), of which only the obverse wreathed Janus type of the obverse is visible. It is another of the coins of the Central Italian Assemblage, of the types of fig. 3, 10 and 11.

Dionysus/panther, struck over a quadrans, L·P·D·A·P, *RRC* 338/4, of c. 91.

7. Æ 18 mm ↘ 3,57 g Liri² 26.007.

Semis, *RRC* 350B/1, Anonymous, of c. 86, with prow left, over Dionysus/panther.

8. Æ 21 mm ↙ 4,63 g Italo Vecchi Auction 3, 13 September 1996, 586.

A much-overstruck coin, described in the text.

9. Æ 26 mm ↗ 7,22 g Berlin Rauch = *FITA*, pl. 1, 16.

Obv. Laureate head of Janus; I above; all in laurel-wreath. *Rev.* Laureate head of Saturn right; border of dots.

10. Æ 18 mm ↗ 5,55 g Liri 26.016.

Obv. Same.

Rev. Laureate head of Apollo (?) right; border of dots.

11. Æ 19 mm ↘ 3,20 g Liri 23.002.

Obv. Geryon, with a single body, three heads and three pairs of arms and legs, advancing right, helmeted, cuirassed, holding a shield before him, and brandishing spears; border of dots.

Rev. Hercules fighting the Hydra right, a club in his raised right hand; border of dots.

12. Æ 16 mm ↙ 6,69 g Liri 44.153.

As, *RRC* 339/1a, Anonymous, c. 91 B

13. Æ 33 mm ← 11,4 g British Museum, registration number R.8296.

The implication of the short period of issue of the Dionysus/panther, and the rapid decline in coin weights, is that the individual weights of the three specimens from Catalonia are of no significance for dating the arrival of the coins.

By far the largest number of specimens of the Dionysus/panther come from the Liri at Minturnae. These coins circulated up to and beyond Rome, where a number of unpublished specimens have appeared in recent excavations in Piazza Vittorio, in the area of the *Horti Lamiani* (we thank Giacomo Pardini for this information). Others are known from just north of Rome, and Ostia (Spagnoli 2003: 315, 9, and fig. 2), Cosa (Buttrey 1980: 39, no. 6), Bolsena, (Garrucci 1885: 59-60), Roselle near Grosseto (De Benedetti and Catalli 2013: 84, no. 10 (“Zecca incerta (Minturnae)?”), Gualdo Tadino in Umbria (Ranucci forthcoming), Lattes (Py 2006: vol. 1, 598, 1540) and Narbonne in southern France (we thank Simone Scheers), and Albania (Cesano 1932: 58; pl. VI, 8), as well as the coins with Catalan provenance. However, we know no specimen — and very few coins of the Central Italian Assemblage generally — from Pompeii. The fact that Pompeii revolted from Rome in the Social War and so probably did not receive many coins from the areas of Roman domination at that time, and our analysis of the metrology and overstrikes of the Dionysus/panther issue, indicate that it must be dated to the Social War period. Its circulation pattern suggests that it was struck by a philo-Roman group.

THE CONTEXT OF THE FIND

The coin was discovered in the area known as Can Rodon de l’Hort, in the historical centre of the village of Cabrera de Mar, which is located on the coast of Catalonia, 28 km north of the city of Barcelona, in a valley dominated by Burriac Hill, where the most important Iberian *oppidum* in the territory of the *Laietani* was sited, between the 6th and the 1st c. (Zamora 2007: 281-287). Excavations between 1997 and 2010 have revealed a large settlement, founded in the second half of the 2nd c. Excavation reports have referred to the site by a number of names, according to specific areas investigated — Ca l’Arnau-Can Mateu, Can Masriera, Can Rodon de l’Hort, Can Benet (García *et al.* 2000; Martín and García 2002; Martín 2004; Martí 2009). These are not separate sites, but sectors of one large, late Republican settlement. The settlement lasted until the first quarter of the 1st c. It may have been here that the coins of Ilturo were struck. Fig. 4 shows the position of Cabrera de Mar/Ilturo and the other major Iberian Catalan mints. Some scholars think that the last issue in the name of Ilturo, with the symbol of an ear (*CNH* 14-16; *ACIP*:

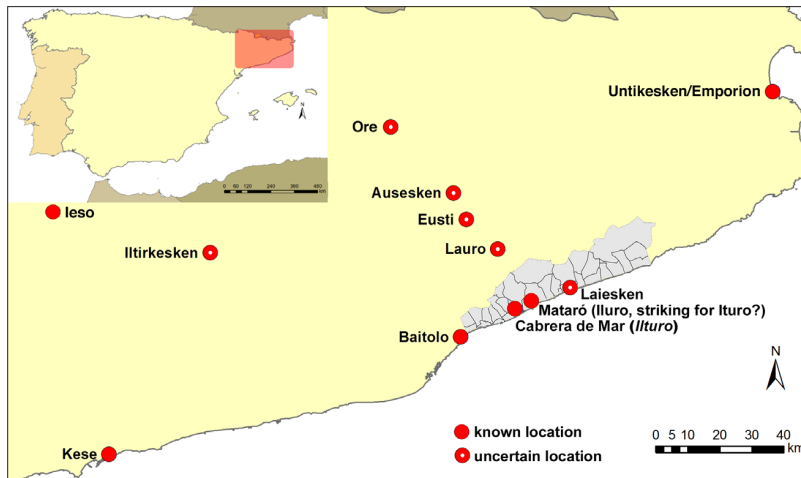


Fig. 4. Catalan Iberian mints.

1348–1350), was struck not at Cabrera de Mar, but at the newly founded neighbouring city, Iluro (Mataró), after 90/80. (Martí 2004: 360; Martí 2009: 383; Sinner 2013: 110); Iluro is not known to have issued any other coins.

An important group of Iberian tombs of the 4th and 3rd c. was discovered in Can Rodon de l'Hort in 1881. The materials recovered were studied and published by Rubio de la Serna (1888). In the 1960s, Barberá (1968) re-studied the materials recovered, and undertook further excavations in the same area, unearthing four new Iberian tombs, next to the earlier excavations.

In 2006, a previously unknown residential area of the Late Republican settlement was identified. It is, as yet, barely excavated, but it is possible to see the well preserved remains of a new *insula*, bounded by at least two streets, one more than four metres wide. The street plan is urban, with markedly Italic characteristics, as the baths in fig. 5 and the Roman-style flooring in fig. 6 show. There are residential areas with *insulae* and *domus*, a variety of small workshops, and a public baths complex, similar to such complexes in Campania. A workshop of imperial times that produced Dressel 2-3 *amphorae* was also found, showing that the area continued to be used at least until the 1st c. AD, but with a different function.

The 2010 campaign focused on what appear to be two different production areas. In at least one of these, traces of lead smelting were found. The chronology of these small workshops is complicated, and the study of the finds has not yet been completed. One workshop seems to have stopped around 100-90/80, but the second seems to have remained in use until the first half of the

first century. The Dionysus/panther was found in SU 1400—a late Republican level—in this area, during a survey of the site before excavation began.

SU 1400 cannot be dated reliably, because it is superficial, and has suffered water erosion. Moreover, it is very possible that the coin in fact comes from SU 1174, which lies under SU 1400, and was uncovered by the erosion. SU 1174 has an important Italic component, in addition to the usual local ceramics. This includes Campanian A (at least one Lamb. 27ab, one Lamb. 27 Ba), Campanian B from *Cales* (at least one Lamb. 8 and two Lamb. 5), and *amphora* from Italy (Campania and Calabria), as well as from Ebusus and North Africa. On this basis, SU 1174 should date to the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 1st c. The building with which the coin is associated seems to have been in use during the first half of the 1st c. Two further coins were recovered in related layers: a unit of the local mint, Ituro (*CNH* 13; *ACIP*: 1347), in SU 1456, which is dated by pottery to c. 80/70 (Sinner and Martí 2011: 607); this coin was minted c. 100-90 (Sinner forthcoming; Sinner 2012: 80-82). The second coin, a unit of Baetarrae, is from SU 1445, which is dated by pottery to the mid 1st c.; Baetarrae's single issue seems to have been minted at the beginning of the 1st c. (*CNH*: 436; *ACIP*: 536). SU 1456 seems contemporary with SU 1174, suggesting that the Dionysus/panther arrived before the abandonment of the workshop, c. 50, probably during the Sertorian Wars (80-72).

Because of the richness of these finds, the city of Cabrera de Mar has designated this sector of the Late Republican settlement as an archaeological reserve, protected from construction and other activities.

Fig. 5. Baths of Ca l'Arnau in the Late Republican Settlement, Cabrera de Mar (Photo A. Martín).



Fig. 6. Mosaic floor in the Can Benet *domus* in the Late Republican Settlement, Cabrera de Mar (Photo A. Martín).



THE DIONYSUS/PANTHER AS AN ELEMENT OF THE ITALO-BAETICAN SERIES

The Dionysus/panther is the largest single issue of the Central Italian Assemblage of the Italo-Baetican series (Stannard 1995; 2005), in which it is securely placed, by the use of the characteristic triangular flan, and by overstrikes on other issues of the assemblage.

The Italo-Baetican series comprise two separate assemblages, from Central Italy, and from Baetica—with Baetica used for the geographical area where these types are found, not the formal sense of the Roman province established in 14—that share a number of types not found elsewhere. In either area, both bronze and struck lead (PbS) pieces are known. The Baetican Assemblage includes many of the so-called *plomos monetiformes* (Casariego *et al.* 1987). The diagnostic types are the man with shovel on his shoulder, a *furnacator*; an *aryballos* and two strigils suspended from a ring; and Vulcan; examples of these types from both assemblages are illustrated in fig. 7. In each assemblage, other issues can be grouped around issues with these types, by common issuer names, common fabrics (in the Central Italian case,

by thick, triangular flans), and by overstrikes. Despite the shared iconography, the Baetican and Central Italian Assemblages are separate and distinct: most Central Italian issues are bronze, while there are few bronze issues from Baetica; the Central Italian bronze includes overstrikes on Republican pieces, and on a variety of foreign mints (none Spanish), and the Baetican issues do not; in each area, the Italo-Baetican types are associated with types not found in the other; and there appear to be no issuers common to both assemblages.

The Central Italian issues are not known from Baetica or from Spain generally, nor the Baetican issues from Central Italy, with the single exception of a *plomo monetiforme* from the river Liri (fig. 8, 29). No specimens of the Baetican Assemblage have been found in the Cabrera del Mar Valley, though an example of the same *plomo* was found between the villages of Enova and Manuel in the Valencia area (Caballero 1880: 10, tab. 2; Casariego *et al.* 1987: 87) (fig. 8, 28). There is, however, an important shipwreck from Isla Pedrosa, off Estartit, from which a number of coins were recovered, which contains some pieces of the Central Italian Assemblage (*IP*; re-published in Stannard 1995 and 2005). We discuss this wreck below.

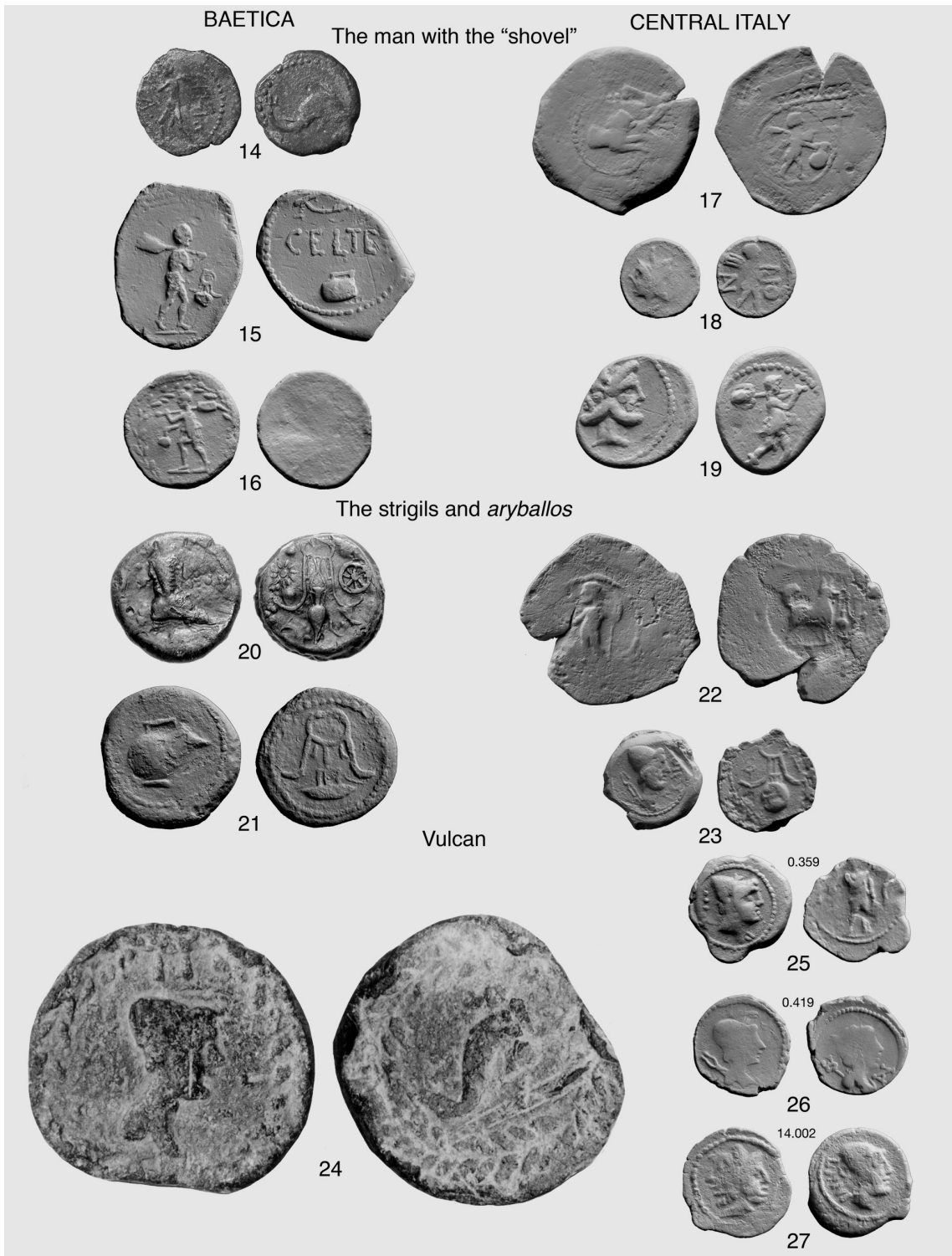


Fig. 7. The common types of the Italo-Baetican series.

The relationship between these two assemblages is as yet unclear, and of historical importance, especially as it has been suggested that the *plomos monetiformes*, some of which bear the legend, P.S—which Maria Paz García-Bellido (1986: 29-30) reads as *Publica Societas*—are a *company coinage*, issued by *publicani* exploiting, in her opinion, both Spanish mines and oil-production. Claude Domergue, however, has advised us that he sees no archaeological evidence of these being linked to mining (for the *plomos* and oil, see Mora 2003). The legend, P.S, is not used in the Central Italian Assemblage.

The presence of the Dionysus/panthers in Catalonia is therefore particularly interesting, and in the remainder of the paper we therefore review various different types of evidence of contacts between Citerior and Central Italy, Citerior and Ulterior, and Ulterior and Central Italy, with the primary focus on Citerior.

Salacia, Portugal

Obv. Naked man, with large pendant phallus walking left, a “shovel” on his shoulder; A before; $\Psi\Upsilon\Delta$ behind; border of dots.

Rev. Dolphin right, its tail ending in a trident; border of dots.

14. \AA 17 mm - 3,29 g Aureo, 25 May 2005, no. 91 = *ACIP*: 168, 972. This is the only Italo-Baetican piece with a South Lusitanian legend. All others are Latin.

Obv. Naked man striding right and carrying an *askos*, a “shovel” over his shoulder; ring, from which are suspended two strigils and an *aryballos* to right.

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

15. PbS 26 mm \checkmark 8,69 g Colección Gago 138, Sevilla = Casariego *et al.* (1987: 8, 2 (Celti)).

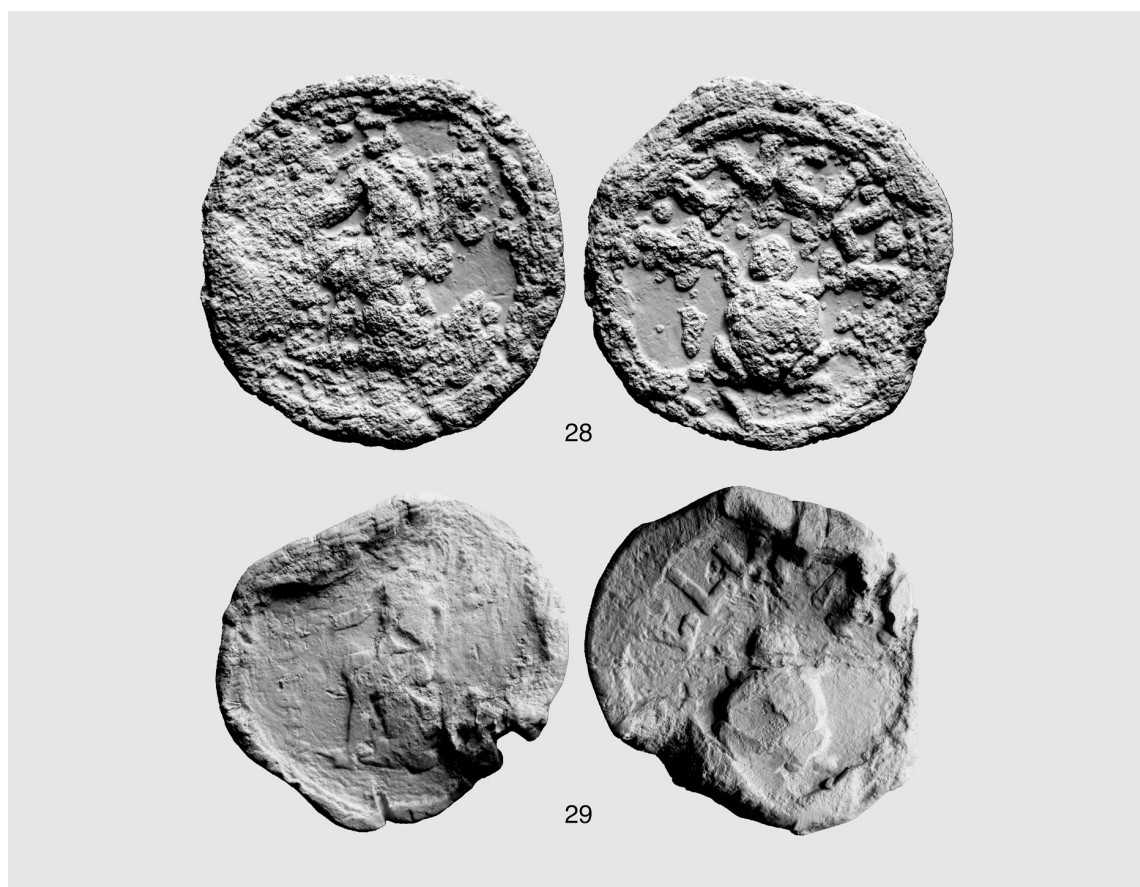


Fig. 8. A *plomo monetiforme* from both Hispania Citerior and Central Italy.

Ports	Mints	Cabrera de Mar Valley		Liri	
		No.	%	No.	%
ULTERIOR					
Phoenician legends, Ulterior					
✓	Uncertain, Phoenician legend "lbt" (CNH: 115,3: AICP: 891)			1	1.4
✓	Gadir	2	0.7	3	4.3
✓	Malaka			7	10.0
	Ituci			1	1.4
		2	0.7	12	17.1
Latin legends, Ulterior					
	Ilipense			1	1.4
	Lastigi			1	1.4
				2	2.9
Iberian legends, Ulterior					
	Ikalusken	2	0.7	1	1.4
	Kastilo/Castulo	1	0.4	3	4.3
	Obulco			1	1.4
		3	1.1	5	7.1
Various, Ulterior					
✓	Corduba	1	0.4	3	4.3
✓	Carteia	1	0.4	2	2.9
	Illici			1	1.4
	Irippo			2	2.9
✓	New Carthage			1	1.4
	<i>Plomo monetiforma</i> (Casariego <i>et al.</i> : 87; like Caballero: 10, tab. 2)			1	1.4
	Andalusian <i>semis</i> imitation (AICP: 524–525)	1		1	
		3	1.1	11	15.7
VALENCIA AREA					
✓	Arse /Saguntum	8	2.9	2	2.9
	Abañitur?	1	0.4		
✓	Valentia	1	0.4		
		10	3.6	2	2.9
IBERIAN MINTS FROM ARAGON AND CELTIBERIA					
Celtiberia					
	Konterbia Karbika	1	0.4		
		1	0.4		0.0
Susetani					
	Kelse	2	0.7		
	Seteiskan	1	0.4		
	Bolškan	11	4.0	2	2.9
	Belikiom	1	0.4		
	Sekia			1	1.4
		15	5.4	3	4.3
Jalon Valley					
✓	Sekaiza	1	0.4		
	Bilbilis			1	1.4
	Tanusia			1	1.4
		1	0.4	2	2.9
Vasconia					
	Kaiskata	1	0.4		
		1	0.4		0.0
CATALAN MINTS					
Indigetes					
✓	Untikesken	8	2.9	8	11.4
✓	Emporion			2	2.9
		8	2.9	10	14.3
Cosetani					
✓	Kese	39	14.0	13	18.6
	Kaio			1	1.4
		39	14.0	14	20.0

Ports	Mints	Cabrera de Mar Valley		Liri	
		No.	%	No.	%
CATALAN MINTS					
<i>Ausetani</i>					
	Aušesken	34	12.2	1	1.4
	Euštibakula/Eušti	3	1.1		
	Ore	6	2.2		
		43	15.4	1	1.4
<i>Laietani</i>					
√	Laiešken	12	4.3	1	1.4
	Ilturo	85	30.6	2	2.9
	Lauro	11	4.0	1	1.4
√	Baitolo	8	2.9	1	1.4
		116	41.6	5	7.1
<i>Lacetani & Ilergetes</i>					
	Iešo	1	0.4		
	Iltiřta	8	2.9		
	Iltifkesken	22	7.9	2	2.9
		31	11.1	2	2.9
IBERIAN MINTS IN GAUL					
	Cataluni	1	0.4		
	Neronken	3	1.1	1	1.4
	Baetarrae	2	0.7		
		6	2.2	1	1.4
	Total without Ebusus	279	100	70	100
	Ebusus	11	3.8	60	46.5
	Total with Ebusus	289	100	130	100

Fig. 9 (previous page and this). Coins from Cabrera del Mar and from the Liri compared.

Obv. Man wearing tunic walking left, carrying *askos* in left hand; shovel, or standard, on his shoulder; all in wreath tying below.

Rev. Blank.

16. PbS 19 mm ↖ 4,49 g Trade, Seville (this piece).

Obv. Forepart of lion, right.

Rev. Man wearing a tunic striding right, Man walking right, a “shovel” on his left shoulder and an *askos* in his right; border of dots.

17. Æ 28 mm ↖ 11,29 g Paris Ailly 1336 = Bahrfeldt 1904: 435, a (this coin). Struck over a Roman *as*, *RRC* 339/1, Anonymous, 91.

Obv. Head of Janus; I above; border of dots.

Rev. Man walking right, a “shovel” on his left shoulder and an *askos* in his right; N to left; border of dots.

18. Æ 13 mm ↘ 1,89 g Berlin Löbbecke.

Obv. Head of Janus; ÆC to left; border of dots.

Rev. Man in a short tunic advancing right, an *askos* in his left hand, a “shovel” on his shoulder; border of dots.

19. PbS 21 mm ← 7,35 g Liri 30.009.

Obv. Foot right, wearing sandal, with tie-strings at mid-calf; border of dots.

Rev. Ring, from which are suspended two strigils and an amphora-shaped *aryballos*; star to left; wheel to right; border of dots.

20. PbS 22 mm ↑ 11,74 g CNG 67, 1076 = Casariego *et al.* (1987: 25, 12).

Obv. *Askos* right; border of dots.

Rev. Ring, from which are suspended two strigils and an *aryballos*; border of dots.

21. PbS 23 mm ↖ 8,63 g Aureo 15 Dec. 1994, 2309.

Obv. Bearded long-haired male figure standing left, a staff on his left arm, holding a patera in his outstretched right hand.

Rev. Dog standing right, carrying a ring in mouth, from which are suspended two strigils and an *aryballos*.

22. Æ 28 mm ↖ 6,64 g Liri 8.003.

Obv. Bearded head of Vulcan right, wearing *pileus* and with tongs on shoulder; P·CAIO before; border of dots.

Rev. Ring, from which are suspended two strigils and an *aryballos*; *caduceus* behind the left strigil; F to right; border of dots.

23. Æ 16 mm ↓ - Liri 15.005.

Obv. Beardless head of Vulcan right; all in wreath tied above.

Rev. *Cornucopia* in wreath tied above.

24. PbS 48 mm ↖ - Aureo 28 Sept. 1993, 303 = Villaronga 1993: 318, 19.

Obv. Head of Vulcan right, wearing *pileus* and with tongs on shoulder; ♀ behind; border of dots.

Rev. Facing figure; letters or symbols to left and right; border of dots.

25. Æ 18 mm ↗ 13,79 g Berlin Rauch (this coin).

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

Rev. Head of Mercury, wearing winged *petasus* right, *caduceus* on his shoulder; N before; border of dots.

26. Æ 17 mm ↙ 2,13 g Hanover WK 35 = Bahrfeldt 1904 64/4 (this coin).

Obv. Mercury seated on a rock, left, his right hand extended; MERCVR ... before.

Rev. Toad seen from above; L·LVCIL·F above.

28. PbS 49 mm ↖ 134,00 g Biblioteca de la Universidad de Valencia; This piece is published in Caballero 1880: 10, tab. 2.

29. PbS 49 mm ↓ 136,56 g Liri 24.056

WHAT EVIDENCE IS THERE FOR CONTACTS BETWEEN THE CABRERA DE MAR VALLEY, BAETICA, AND CENTRAL ITALY?

For many years, Stannard has been assembling a database of “foreign” (non-Roman) coins that can be provenanced to the River Liri, at Minturnae, where the *Via Appia* crossed over a bridge from *Latium* to *Campania*. Coins lying on the river bed were first recovered in underwater excavations led by Brother Domenic Ruegg (Ruegg 1995); these were published in Frier and Parker (1970), Metcalf (1974) and Houghtalin (1985), and finally in Bellini (1996-2000). Large numbers of coins also came into private hands. The Liri database documents one of the largest known groups of foreign coins of from any late Hellenistic ancient site.

There are a substantial number of Spanish coins in the database. Mainland mints make up about 4,5% of the database (70 coins), and Ebusus about 3,9% (60 coins). In fig. 9, we compare these with the coins from the Cabrera de Mar Valley (Sinner and Martí 2012: 58, table 1). Fig. 10 maps the mints in the two samples.

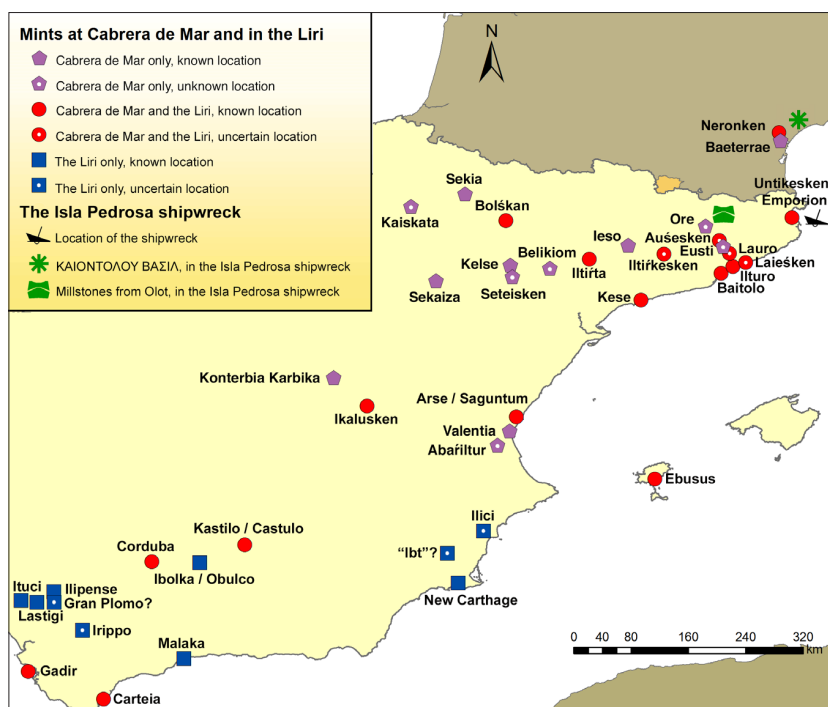
Two factors make it difficult to compare these samples directly: the huge numbers of Ebusan coins in the Liri, and the very local character of the Cabrera de Mar sample. A caveat is also necessary: both samples are too small for statistically significant results, particularly in the case of the less frequent mints.

Stannard has argued that Ebusus did not arrive in Italy as a result of trade and casual contacts—at least in the quantities suggested by this sample (46% of the total Liri sample in fig. 9)—but that a very large block of Ebusan bronze coins was taken to Italy, probably in 140/130, and put into circulation, probably at Pompeii (Stannard 2013a: 134-139). The huge abundance of Ebusan coin is therefore not a reliable index of on-going contact between Ebusus and Central Italy, but a result of this unusual event. It is impossible to estimate any part of Ebusus in the Liri sample that may have arrived independently of the block transfer. Ebusan types were then massively imitated, in issues that often muled Ebusan types with Massaliot, Roman, Athenian and other types (Stannard 2013a; Stannard and Pardini 2011). The term, *pseudo-mint*, has been proposed to characterise such a phenomenon, and the coins of this pseudo-mint supplied the bulk of Pompeii’s small change in the late 2nd and 1st c. BC. Many are also found at Minturnae, but, as they are Central Italian imitations, not canonical Ebusan coin, they are not listed in fig. 9.

The coins from the Cabrera de Mar Valley are overwhelming local: the *Cosetani*, the *Ausetani*, the *Laietani*, and the *Lacetani* and *Ilergetes*, make up 84,9% of the sample. When the Catalan mints are removed from the sample of 279 coins, to focus on long-distance contacts, a much smaller sample of 53 coins remains, of which Ebusus accounts for 20,7% (11 coins). Clearly, contacts between Ebusus and the Cabrera de Mar Valley were substantial. However, because of the anomaly of the size of the Liri Ebusus sample, Ebusus is excluded from the following comparisons.

If, in addition to Ebusus, we remove the local Catalan mints from the Cabrera de Mar sample, leaving 42 coins, the most important contacts of the valley are with the Iberian mints of Aragon and Celtiberia (42,9%, 18 coins), with the *Susetani* accounting for 35,7% (15 coins), and Bolskan alone for 13,3% (11 coins); the Valencia area accounts for 23,8%, 10 coins), and it is interesting to note that the number of coins (eight) from Arse/Saguntum greatly outnumbers coins from Valentia (one coin), reflecting the larger production of Arse/Saguntum. Ulterior

Fig. 10. Mints present at Cabrera del Mar and in the Liri, and the Isla Pedrosa shipwreck.



accounts for 19,0% (eight coins). Contacts with the Iberian mints in Gaul (Feugère and Py 2011: 384-398) (14,3%, six coins) are commoner than for other regions of Spain (Sinner 2013b). Contacts with mints outside Spain (not included in fig. 9) are not particularly important, even Rome (12 coins), given the fact that the late Republican phase at Cabrera de Mar is strongly Italic in character, and that the area was under Roman control and pacified, probably since 195. Off the Spanish Mainland, only Ebusus (11 coins) and Massalia (nine coins) are present in any significant quantity. There is one coin of Carthage. There is also, of course, the Dionysus/panther (fig. 1, 1), which possibly arrived from Minturnae. The overall picture is of dynamic regional and local exchange in the Gulf of Lion, especially with the area between the Pyrenees and the River Hérault, and including the Catalan coast, Emporion, Massalia and Ebusus, but of few direct or indirect long distance contacts.

The Liri sample contains coins from Citerior and Ulterior in about equal proportions, which—considered together with the limited number of Ulterior coins in the Cabrera de Mar sample—suggests that Central Italy was in direct contact with both Citerior and Ulterior separately, rather than that the primary contact was with

Citerior, and through Citerior to Ulterior. From Citerior, the *Laietani* mints are relatively common (7,1%, four coins); this is significant, and suggests direct contact with Central Italy, because *Laietani* coins circulated locally, unlike those of Kese, which are found throughout Catalonia. Kese (18,6%) and Untikesken/Emporion (14,3%) are particularly well represented, and it is interesting to note that the Valencia area is much less frequent (2,9%) than it is in the Cabrera de Mar Valley sample. Less frequent, too, are the Iberian mints of Aragon and Celtiberia (7,1%), and the Iberian Mints in Gaul (1,4%). No one mint stands out in Ulterior. In both samples, ports are prominent.

Further valuable numismatic and archaeological evidence is provided by the Isla Pedrosa shipwreck, off Estartit. Fig. 11 summarises the coins recovered (*IP*; republished in Stannard 1995 and 2005), which may be the contents of a purse (Ponce 1975: 105), and they are illustrated in fig. 12. We have reattributed some of the coins. We use Ribera's suggested dates of 150/130 for the wreck (Ribera 2001: 300; forthcoming: 283-284), and date the struck lead from that. We owe the proposed identification of the Roman *as* (fig. 11, *IP* 9) to Andrew McCabe. The piece is poorly preserved, but appears to be

	Date	Isla Pedrosa
STRUCK LEAD (PbS)		
Vulcan / Boy lacing a man's sandals	> c. 150/130	11, 12
Theatre mask / Mouse and lamp	> c. 150/130	14
Athena / Victory	> c. 150/130	13
Clasped hands / ?	> c. 150/130	15
BRONZE (Æ)		
Gaul, Narbonne-Béziers region, ΚΑΙΑΝΤΟΛΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΑ. <i>CNH</i> : 436.1 ("Emissiones de finales del siglo II A.C."); <i>AICP</i> : 2685; Feugère and Py 2011: 300-301 ("datation proposée: 125-75")	> c. 150/130	1, 2
Campania, Neapolis, Apollo left / man-headed bull and victory, <i>HN Italy</i> : 71, 589-591.	c. 275-250	5, 6, 3?, 4?
Campania, Neapolis, Apollo left / man-headed bull and victory, <i>HN Italy</i> : 71, 595	c. 250-225	10
Campania, Neapolis, Artemis left / cornucopia, <i>HN Italy</i> : 71, 594	c. 250-225	8
Roma, <i>as</i> , <i>RRC</i> : 241, 199/2, SAR (?)	155	9
UNCERTAIN Æ		
Male head right / <i>Cantharus</i>	?	16
Head right? / ?	?	7

Fig. 11. Coins from the Isla Pedrosa shipwreck; see fig. 12.

worn before loss, which would suggest that the wreck dates to towards the end of this time window, if the identification is correct.

Apart from the two coins of ΚΑΙΑΝΤΟΛΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΑ (*IP* 1 and 2), all appear to come from Central Italy, and the struck lead pieces are certainly part of the Central Italian Assemblage. Fig. 12, *IP* 14, from the wreck, shares dies with a number of pieces from the River Liri (fig. 12, 21). Although fig. 12, *IP* 12, is not known from Italy, it shares its reverse type with fig. 11, 23, a number of specimens of which are known from the Liri. It is therefore likely that all the struck lead pieces in the Isla Pedrosa wreck are part of the Central Italian Assemblage. No other specimens of these series are known from Spain. Most of the Neapolitan coins were originally published as Massaliot, but the only pieces that could possibly be Massaliot—because their very poor condition makes judgement difficult—are *IP* 3 and *IP* 4, and these most probably Neapolitan.

Obv. Head of Vulcan right, wearing *pileus*.

Rev. Boy kneeling left, tying the shoe, or washing the foot, of a stooping man, facing right; ⚔ to right; ring, from which are suspended two strigils and an *aryballos* in field above value-mark; ...VR (?) behind.

IP 11. PbS 16 mm ↖ 3,56 g.

IP 12. PbS 20 mm ↗ 4,80 g.

Obv. Head of Apollo right; • behind.

Rev. Same image as last; • punched into die, to right and over the man's left thigh.

30. PbS 17 mm ↘ 4,86 g Liri 18.066.

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

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

IP 14. PbS 16 mm ↘ 2,59 g.

31. PbS 15 mm ↘ 1,98 g Liri 27.064.

The high dates of the Neapolitan coins shows that non-Roman bronze coins over 150 years old were still circulating as part of the monetary mass in Central Italy c. 150/130, and that Roman bronze had not yet driven out local coinages to a substantial degree. Stannard (2013a: 142-147), discusses the monetary stock at Pompeii in the 3rd to 1st c., which is also characterised by a high residuality of old coin. The implications for the understanding of the coins from the wreck, in the context of contacts with Central Italy, are clear: a high issue date need not translate to a high contact date, as the ceramics show.

A major component of the cargo was Campanian A black glaze ceramics, probably from the Ischia-Naples area (Barberá 1975: 82), clearly showing the commercial link between Northern Catalonia and Central Italy around 150/130, the wide date that Ribera suggests for the wreck, on the basis of the similarity between the ceramics it carried

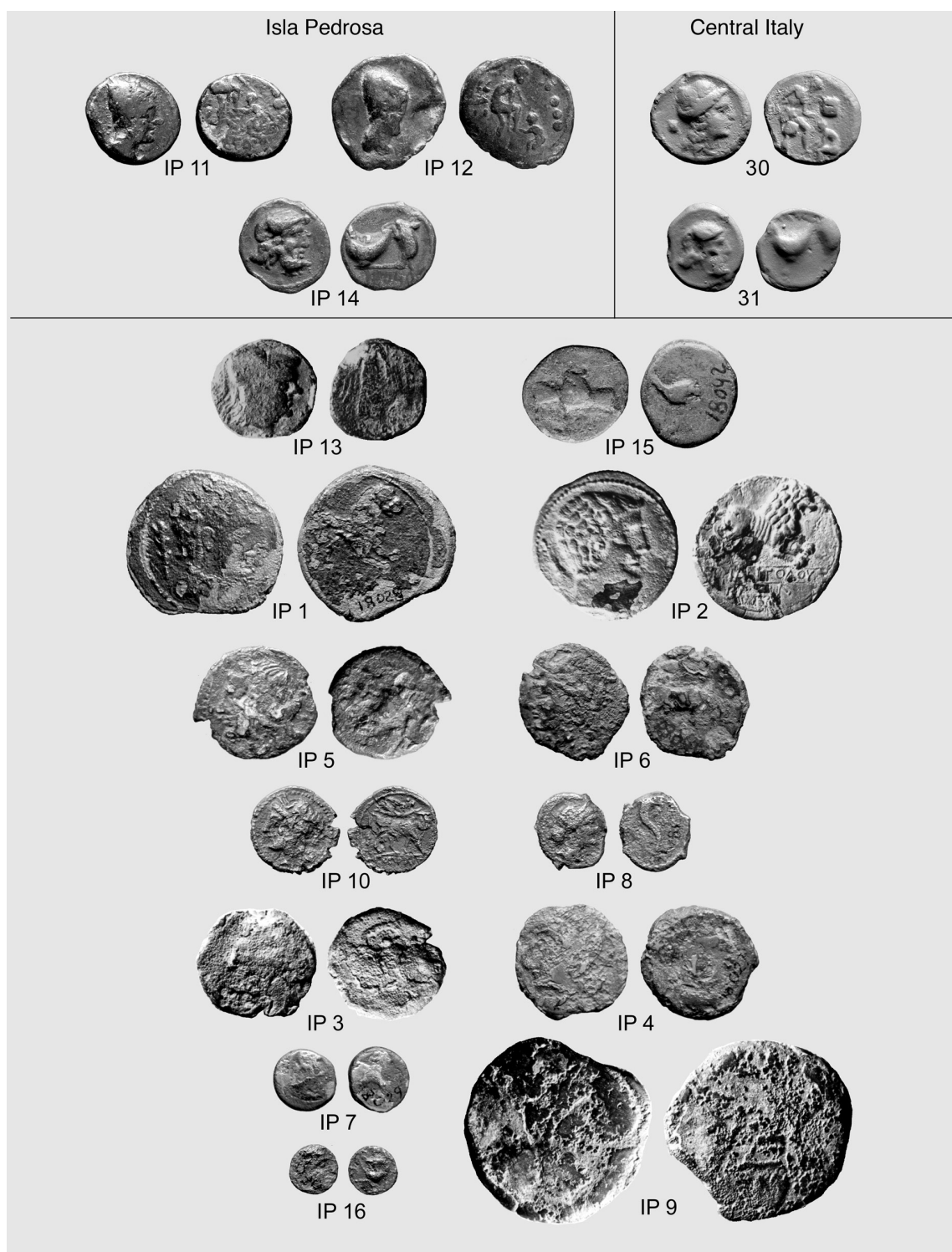


Fig. 12. The Isla Pedrosa shipwreck includes Central Italian struck lead.

Origin	Fragments	%
Italic	5,538	68.58
Punic (total)	1,939	24.01
Ebusan	708	8.77
North African	1,231	15.25
Other imported	598	7.41
Total	8,075	100.00

Fig. 13. Origin of imported *amphorae* at Cabrera de Mar, in a sample of SUs from Ca l'Arnau and Can Benet.

and the ceramics of the initial phase at Valentia, which was founded in 138 (Ribera 2001: 300; forthcoming: 283-284). Sanmarti (1985: 156) suggests a narrower date—140/130—from the presence of an *amphora* comparable to *amphorae* from Numantia, 134-133, and, in fact, Ribera has sometimes also used the narrower date.

In the Cabrera de Mar Valley, Campanian A represents 83.87% of the total black glaze pottery finds of this time (we thank Dolors Zamora and Joaquín García for this information). In the wreck, the most documented forms are Lamboglia 55, 27, 36, 6, 26, 31 and 33 (Barberá 1975: 80-81). The forms most common at Cabrera de Mar during the second and third quarter of the second century were Lamboglia 26, 27ab, 27B, 31 and 36, four of which were present in important quantities in the Isla Pedrosa cargo. These wares are frequently found along the entire Catalan coast, and were the most commonly imported tableware in the area in all the 2nd c. (Asensio and Principal 2006: 122). They are especially frequent in Emporion, where, by the mid 2nd c., imported ceramics represent 23.2% of ceramic fragments recovered (Asensio and Principal 2006: 119), showing how dynamic its port was.

From the third quarter of the 2nd c., early Calenan black glaze starts to arrive in the Cabrera de Mar Valley, at first in small quantities. By the first quarter of the 1st c., Campanian A and middle Calenan are present in almost equal quantities. In Ulterior, Calenan largely predominates at the La Loba mine (Passelac 2002: 238-257). By the second quarter of the century, middle Calenan black glaze predominates all along the Spanish Mediterranean coast, and reaches 72.02% of finds at Cabrera de Mar. It is interesting to note that, by the time of late Calenan black glaze wares, the trade route from Minturnae to Spain seems to have changed, with evidence of direct sailing to Spain, without going through the Phocaeen cities of southern Gaul: *Ya es bien sabido el escaso papel que*

en Hispania juega la Campaniense A tardía [90/80-40/20], totalmente superada por sus homólogas calenas, al contrario de lo que parece suceder en el Midi francés, alrededor de Marsella, donde las últimas cerámicas napolitanas de barniz negro mantiene unas proporciones bastante superiores (Principal and Ribera 2013: 104).

Cales did not itself have a harbour, and used the Italian colony, Minturnae, with wharfs on the River Liri, to export its production. The coins from the Liri show Minturnae's wide contact with both Citerior and Ulterior generally, and with the *Laietani*, in particular.

A further important index of contacts between Cabrera de Mar and Central Italy lies in the Italic wine *amphorae* found during the excavations. Few strata of c. 200 have yet been excavated, but at other sites on the Catalan coast, c. 17% of fragments of imported *amphorae* are Italic, usually of Greco-Italic types, while Punic *amphorae* still clearly predominate. This pattern changes rapidly during the 2nd c., especially after c. 130, when the monopoly of Dressel 1 begins, first 1A, and later 1B and 1C. For the overall period in which the Late Republican settlement of Cabrera de Mar was in use (the mid-2nd c. to 90/80), the statistical breakdown of fragments of imported *amphorae* is as in fig. 13.

This picture concords well with what is known for other Catalan coastal sites, c. 200, where around 60% of fragments are Italic, and 40% Punic (Asensio 2010: 31). An excellent testament to the ubiquity of Italic *amphorae* in the Late Republican settlement was documented in Can Rodon de L'Hort, during the 2006 campaign: 18 mostly Italic *amphorae* were re-used under a floor, in SU 1160, to drain and insulate it (fig. 14; we thank Albert Martín, archaeologist of the Cabrera de Mar City Hall for this information).

The study of the origin of the Italic *amphorae*, through the analysis of their clays, is still incomplete, but it is already clear that most come from the area of Pompeii (fig. 14, 1). Fig. 14, 3, is almost certainly Campanian (perhaps from Baia di Napoli; we thank Clementina Panella for this identification). Fig. 14, 2, may be from the area of Minturnae or the *Ager Falernus*, but this needs to be confirmed. Less common than the last two, but still quite frequent, are clays from Apulia and Calabria.

What route did the cargo that the Isla Pedrosa wreck was distributing take? Now that the supposedly Massaliot coins have been reattributed, there is no need to assume that the cargo was transhipped into a coaster there. The cargo from Italy was loaded onto the coaster that was

Fig. 14. A deposit of *amphorae* from Can Rodon de l’Hort, and a small sample of the most common clays (photos with a binocular lens: A.G. Sinner).



wrecked, along with a local cargo of millstones. *Almost 200 lava millstones, representing 100 pairs, lay tumbled on the site and in the gullies ... Of 12 millstones analyzed, 10 came from Olot (see fig. 10) or other local sources, but one was from Agde and one from Etna* (Parker 1992: 520). This large preponderance of Olot millstones makes it probable that the place of transshipment was Emporion, rather than some point in the Gulf of Lion, despite the millstone from Agde, and the ΚΑΙΑΝΤΟΛΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΑ coins.

The cargo of Campanian A ceramics came from the Neapolitan area, but it is possible that the owner of the purse with the coins—perhaps a sailor or trader who travelled on with the cargo—came from Minturnae. The struck lead piece with the theatre mask/mouse and lamp types (fig. 12, *IP* 14 and 21) is otherwise known only from three examples in Stannard’s database of coins from the Liri at Minturnae, and most known specimens of the Central Italian Assemblage generally were found there. Neapolitan coins of the issues in the wreck are common at Minturnae. There is a single Calenan shard in the wreck (of MP. 127); Calenan wares are not common in Spain before c. 130, so this does not signify either for or against a direct contact with Minturnae.

The overall value of the coins in the purse is very low, and they can have had no commercial utility on the Catalan coast. It is best to regard them merely as left-over small change brought from home.

Fig. 15 shows and compares the shipwrecks known to be carrying Italian materials in the western Mediterranean, in two tranches: from c. 200-150 and from c. 150-75. We have taken into account only those wrecks for which Parker provides relatively narrow dates. We have not, therefore, included wrecks attributed more widely, for example, to the 2nd c., the 1st c., or the 2nd/1st c. We have also borne in mind the recent studies of Ribera (2001) and Asensio (2010). Though this analysis should not be forced too far, the pattern seems clear. In the early period, down to about the time of the foundation of the Italic-style settlements of Cabrera de Mar, Valentia and El Camp de les Lloses among others, most of the trade from Italy heads for the Phocaeen cities between Nikaia and Massalia, with an extension into the gulf of Lion, until Emporion. Evidence of Italian cargoes further south is scarce. After 150, the general density of wrecks increases, and there are extensions S to Sicily and N Africa in the E, and down the Spanish coast to New

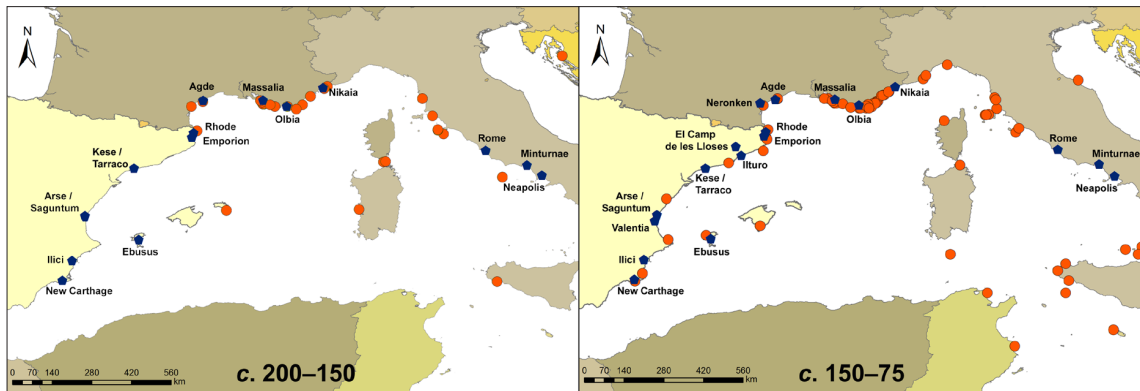


Fig. 15. Shipwrecks carrying Italian and Spanish cargoes (data from Parker 1992).

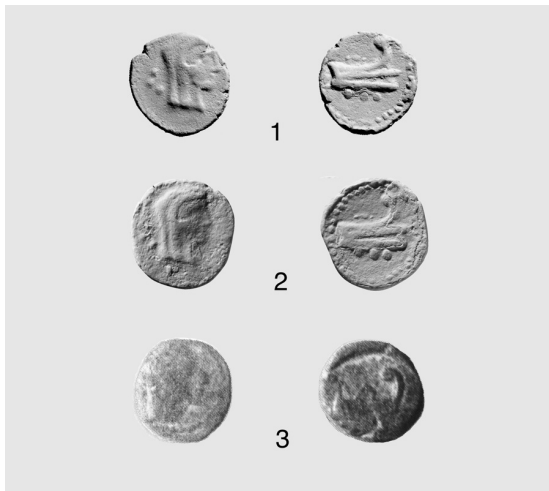


Fig. 16. Central Italian imitative *quadrantes* from Central Italy and Spain.

Carthage. The enormous quantities of *amphorae* from Vieille-Toulouse, from the mid-2nd c. on, show the continuing importance of the route into the Gulf of Lion (Tchernia 1983: 99).

Clearly, the mines of Ulterior drew large numbers of Roman and Italian immigrants to Ulterior, in particular after c. 140. Sea-born traffic was heavy enough for *Quintus Servilius Caepio*, consul in 140-139, to build a lighthouse on an island in the mouth of the River Baetis. Italian ceramics travelled up the Baetis to the mines of the Sierra Morena. Large quantities of Dressel 1 *amphorae* of the late 2nd and early 1st c. have also been found in mine-workers' dwellings (Domergue 1990: 355). Middle Calenan black glaze wares (c. 130/120-90/80) are very

common at La Loba, where Campanian A and B together make up 30% of the ceramics (Passelac 2002: 239 and 288). Metal was exported from Gadir, Malaka, and New Carthage (Blázquez 1998: 114-116). Nonetheless, shipwreck information from Ulterior on contacts with Italy in this period is scarce. There is more evidence for products from Ulterior being transported to Italy. Parker lists the following wrecks: 33, from Corsica, with lead ingots; 617, from Cap Croisette in the bay of Marseille, with Iberian pottery and Punic *amphorae*, probably coming from Spain; 77, from Bagaud Island, France, with tin ingots, and iron bars that Parker thinks come from Spain; 373, from l'Île d'Or, France, with Dressel 20 *amphora* and iron ingots from Spain; and 197, off Cap Roux, with mixed Italian and Spanish materials. To this must be added the clear evidence in the Liri database for extensive contacts by sea between Central Italy and Ulterior, at least as intense as with Citerior (figs. 9 and 10).

Imitations of Roman *quadrantes* are common in the monetary stock of Central Italy in the 1st c., particularly at Minturnae; some share dies with imitations of various non-Roman mints, as part of the pseudo-mint phenomenon. Pere Pau Ripollès has drawn our attention to a die-identical unprovenanced example of one such *quadrans* (fig. 16, 1 = Stannard and Carbone 2013: 285, pl. 7, O29 / R44; 2,47 g) in Madrid (fig. 16, 2 = MAN 1997-72-1141, 1,89 g). It probably dates from the 40s. With the caveat that many Central Italian coins in Madrid came to Spain from Bourbon Naples, this appears to be a further index of contact between Spain and Central Italy, probably Minturnae. A similar coin (fig. 11, 3) from excavations at Hornachuelos (Badajoz) further suggests direct contacts with Ulterior.

Overland contacts between Ulterior and Citerior are evident in the coins from the mines of Ulterior. The presence of large contingents of coins of the mints of Citerior at La Loba—where the coins of Citerior account for 30% of all coins—and other mines of the Sierra Morena, is amply documented in Chaves and Otero (2002). Domergue remarks of the Diogenes El Real Mine: *Il y a ... presque autant de monnaies venues du Nord que des grandes cités voisines d'Espagne Ulérieure. C'est là une preuve évidente de la pénétration et de la circulation du numéraire d'Espagne Citérieure en Bétique* (Domergue 1967: 56).

CONCLUSIONS

Very strong contacts with Italy are evidenced by the Late Republican settlement at Cabrera de Mar itself. What appear to be public baths with marked Italic characteristics were constructed by the mid 2nd century, and probably required the presence of Italian architects in the settlement, at about the time that the Isla Pedrosa ship sank off the Catalan coast. The Can Benet *domus*—which is unpublished, except for the coins (Martí 2009)—is of a markedly Italic style, in particular, the mosaic floors with black and white *tessellae*. Its construction may date to around 130-125, judging from the presence of black glaze wares—as well as of Dressel 1A *amphorae* (Martí 2009: 375).

The Late Republican settlement seems to have played an important role in the process of colonization of the Laietani territory, but it is difficult to say what part of its population was Roman, or Italic, at various times in the 2nd and 1st c., and what part was an Iberian group—probably the larger part—that was assimilating Roman material culture. This need not have proceeded across all cultural goods at the same pace. For example, the architecture was strongly Italic, and imported ceramics were the norm, but the coinage was Iberian in style and script, and graffiti on both local and Italic ceramics are mainly in the Iberian script (the graffiti are currently being studied by Joan Ferrer and Alejandro G. Sinner, to whom we owe this information).

In the almost contemporary settlements of *Valentia* and La Cabañeta (Burgo de Ebro, Zaragoza)—both destroyed in the Sertorian War, at about the time the Cabrera de Mar settlement was abandoned—the graffiti are mainly in Latin, with a minority in Iberian script, or Greek

(we thank Albert Ribera for information on *Valentia*; for La Cabañeta, Mínguez and Díaz 2011) Despite many shared elements of Italic material culture (architecture, and table and transport wares, but note that coin legends at Cabrera de Mar are Iberian, and at *Valentia* Latin), Cabrera de Mar does seem to have had a more Iberian character: it needs to be considered whether a local Iberian *élite* at Cabrera de Mar was acting as the agent of Roman control over the territory.

A similar predominance of Iberian graffiti on Italic ceramics is found on the La Loba mine (Moret 2002), active between just after 119 and 90/80 (Domergue and Sellières 2002: 386). Moret also notes (380) *une très forte concentration [de telles inscriptions] en Léétanie*. Domergue and Sillières (2002: 403) from these graffiti draw the conclusion *que, parmi la main d'œuvre indigène présente à La Loba, une partie venait du Nord-Est, tandis que l'étude des monnaies de bronze hispaniques paraît permettre de retrouver la trace des mineurs originaires de Celtibérie où les mines de fer étaient déjà en exploitation. Or ces deux régions sont déjà en cours de Romanisation à cette époque*.

There is ample evidence for frequent and dynamic maritime contacts in both directions between Central Italy and the Cabrera de Mar Valley, as well as the rest of the Catalan coast, during the second half of the 2nd c., down at least to the abandonment of the Late Republican settlement at Cabrera de Mar, with the foundation of the new city of Iluro (80-70), just after the Dionysus/panther coin reached the area. The presence in the Liri of a substantial number of *Laietani* coins suggests direct contacts between the two areas.

The Dionysus/panther issue must also be placed in the wider chronology of the Italo-Baetican series in general. The highest certain date so far attested for any issue is for the struck lead pieces in the Isla Pedrosa wreck, and the Dionysus/panther issue, in the early 80s, may be towards the end of the Central Italian Assemblage, if the rapid decline in weight is, in fact, the sign of a crisis at the time of the Social War that may have brought these issues to an end.

There remains very little evidence for the issues of the Baetican Assemblage having travelled north to Citerior, and equally little for them having travelled to Central Italy (but see fig. 8). The presence of Dionysus/panther coins in Catalonia is understandable, if the size of the issue—with some 130 obverse dies—is taken into account. It is not rare, and travelled widely.

Its presence may be related to the influx of Calenan ware from the port of Minturnae. Like the presence of the theatre mask/mouse and lamp piece in the Isla Pedrosa wreck, it is anyway a sign of contacts between Citerior and Central Italy, which seem independent of any contacts there may have been between Baetica and Central Italy.

It remains difficult to understand the relationship of the Central Italian and Baetican Assemblages.

CLIVE STANNARD
School of Archaeology and Ancient History
University of Leicester
clive@stannard.info

ALEJANDRO G. SINNER
Programa FPU del Ministerio de Educación,
Cultura y Deporte
Dept. de Prehistòria, Història Antiga i Arqueologia
Universitat de Barcelona
sinner.garcia@ub.edu

NOTES

1. All dates in this article are BC, unless otherwise mentioned.
2. Liri, in cataloguing coins, refers to Stannard's as yet unpublished database of coins provenanced to the River Liri, at Minturnae, where the *Via Appia* crosses from Latium to Campania.

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