

**COINAGE IN THE IRON AGE:  
ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF  
SIMONE SCHEERS**

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# The silver diobols of the Cisalpine Insubrians

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The coinage of the Cisalpine Celts, all in silver and in circulation between the 4<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC was analysed and given its first structured arrangement by Andrea Pautasso<sup>1</sup> in a monograph which is still the basis of classification forty years later.

This distinguished numismatist based his analysis on the systematic identification of material housed in coin collections (both public and private) and those coming from hoards. Except from a minimal part, he was not able to gain access to material coming separately from archaeological excavations, especially urban ones.<sup>2</sup> I myself was fortunate enough to have been able to analyse these, especially those found in the excavations in Milan and, despite several as yet unresolved issues, to have redistributed the emissions of the different hypothetical mints. I have further redefined the models, all of which were reasonably well characterised and identifiable in classes, each relative to a different Celtic “people”.<sup>3</sup> By now, the transfer of the emissions with the legend in North-Etruscan characters from the “Lepontia”<sup>4</sup> area to the “Insubrian”<sup>5</sup> area seems to have been confirmed. Lastly, the models with the legend “seghedu”<sup>6</sup> have been identified, there has been the lucky acquisition of a new model with the North-Etruscan legend “natoris”, discovered in Bavaria<sup>7</sup> and the convincing proposal of Claude Brenot to transfer the emissions of the most ancient drachmas, imitating the heavy drachma of Marseille,<sup>8</sup> to the transalpine area of the hinterland of Marseille, previously seen by Pautasso and myself<sup>9</sup> as initial emissions of the Cisalpine area in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. In connection, above all with Pautasso’s work, there has been further study of the emissions linked with the Celtic-Padana ones, of the Veneti<sup>10</sup> by colleagues in North-Eastern Italy,<sup>11</sup> of the Veragri

<sup>1</sup> A. Pautasso, ‘Le monete preromane dell’Italia settentrionale’, *Sibrium* 7, 1962-1963 (1966), pp. 1-162. For the numerous contributions of the author on the Celtic Padana emissions cfr. A. Pautasso, *Scritti di Numismatica, a cura di G. Gorini* (Aosta, 1986).

<sup>2</sup> A repertory (‘Saggio di Repertorio dei Ritrovamenti di Moneta Celtica Padana in Italia e in Europa e di Moneta Celtica non Padana in Italia’, constantly updated, of the sites of the finds of Celtic (Padana and Transalpine) coins in the Italian peninsular can be accessed at [www.ermannoarслан.eu](http://www.ermannoarслан.eu). Unpublished finds known by (or indicated to) myself are also included.

<sup>3</sup> E.A. Arslan, ‘Le monnayage celtique de la plaine du Pô (IV<sup>e</sup>-I<sup>er</sup> siècles avant J.-C.)’, *Études celtiques* 27 (1990), pp. 71-97; E.A. Arslan, ‘Le monete padane preromane a Budapest’, *Numizmatikai Közloeny* 90-91 (1991-1992), pp. 9-33.

<sup>4</sup> The theory was from A. Pautasso, ‘Le monetazioni preromane con leggende in alfabeto leponzio emesse dai popoli delle regioni alpine’, *Atti Centro Studi e Documentazione Italia Romana* 7 (1975-1976), pp. 473-512; see other contributions in Pautasso, op. cit. (n. 1) (1986). In the same article, due to the alphabet of the legend the definition of North-Etruscan, proposed by Mommsen (Th. Mommsen, ‘Die nordetruskischen Alphabete auf Inschriften und Muenzen’, *Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zuerich* 7 (1853), was discarded in favour of “Insubrian”, in my opinion, mistakenly.

<sup>5</sup> E.A. Arslan, ‘La circolazione monetaria nella Milano del II e I sec.a.C. e le emissioni “insubri”’, in E.A. Arslan (ed.), *Scritti in ricordo di G. Massari Gaballo e di U. Tocchetti Pollin* (Milano, 1986), pp. 111-21; E.A. Arslan, ‘Legende monetali Nord-Etrusche in Cisalpina e in Gallia’, in *Moneta Qua Scripta. La moneta como soporte de escritura. Anejos de Archivo Español*

*de Arqueologia* 33, *Actas del III Encuentro Penínsular de Numismática Antigua, Osuna 27.2-2.3.2003* (Sevilla, 2004), pp. 73-80. For the numerous contributions I have written relative to Celtic-Padana coinage see bibliography at [www.ermannoarслан.eu](http://www.ermannoarслан.eu).

<sup>6</sup> Arslan, op. cit. (n.3) (1991-1992), Types 4-1 and 4-2. A. Pautasso, ‘Un problema di numismatica padana: le dramme della civetta’, *Atti IX Congr. Intern. Num., Berne, 1979* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982), pp. 607-18 (in Pautasso, op. cit. (n. 1) (1986), pp. 379-93) for the drachma. M. Chiesa, ‘Le monete della prima fase delle emissioni argentee con leggende leponzie’, in *Atti della giornata di studio su “I Leponti e la moneta”, Locarno 16.11.1996* (Locarno, 2000), pp. 23-32, for the drachma with the deer.

<sup>7</sup> Arslan, op. cit. (n. 3) (1991-1992), Type 14. B. Overbeck, ‘Alkimoennis-Kelheim, eine neue keltische Muenzstaette’, *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblaetter* 52 (1987), pp. 245-8.

<sup>8</sup> C. Brenot, ‘Des drachmes de Marseille aux drachmes de Cisalpine. Nouvelles remarques’, in P. Piana Agostinetti (ed.), *Study Conference Papers. La monetazione preromana dell’Italia Settentrionale, Bordighera 16-17 September 1994* (Bordighera, 1996), pp. 15-32; C. Brenot, ‘Imitations lourdes de drachmes massaliètes au Cabinet des Médailles de Marseille’, in *Atti della giornata di studio su “I Leponti e la moneta”, Locarno 16.11.1996* (Locarno, 2000), pp. 11-21.

<sup>9</sup> Arslan, op. cit. (n. 3) (1990); Arslan, op. cit. (n. 3) (1991-1992), Types 1 and 2 (ΜΑΣΣΑ and ΣΑΣΣΑ). The identification of the models is less manageable in A. Pautasso’s contributions.

<sup>10</sup> Arslan, op. cit. (n. 3) (1991-1992), Types 18-20.

<sup>11</sup> See G. Gorini, ‘Le monete di tipo venetico’, *Archeologia Veneta* 1 (1978), pp. 69-77, and the numerous further contributions.

by Swiss colleagues,<sup>12</sup> of materials from the Apennines (especially from Serra Riccò),<sup>13</sup> known for many years and of the Marseille model of the “à la Croix”<sup>14</sup> obol.

Drachmas, the nominals most commonly documented, have been more or less definitively classified in the copious bibliography<sup>15</sup> on the subject and thus required no further discussion in this paper. However, the minor nominal, the so-called “obol”, presents issues still to be resolved. The nominal is a very small coin, varying in weight and rarely corresponding to a third of the weight of the heaviest Padana drachma of the 4<sup>th</sup>/beg. 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, but corresponding more frequently to a third of the weight of the Padana drachma of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. The nominal, which should therefore be more correctly defined as the “diobol”, presents models with a male or female head to the right or to the left (more rarely) on the obverse and a reverse which seems specific to northern Italy: a quadruped with a full-frontal, wide-eyed head, standing to the right or to the left. The coat is usually spotted. A bird is visible between the paws to the left. In a later phase, documented above all in the Serra Riccò hoard, the models were more markedly stylised with the quadruped of the reverse to the left in two different versions.

In this context, but in different geographical areas, including so far Liguria, Emilia, Veneto and the Valle d’Aosta, diobols deriving from the Marseille “à la Croix” model have been documented. The minor silver nominals of the Canton Vallese, attributed to the Veragri, are of a very different typology.<sup>16</sup>

With the exception of the stylised models of the Apennines, well documented even by the single Serra Riccò<sup>17</sup> complex, the Padana “diobol” is particularly rare, almost always kept in museum collections and rarely has a reliable provenance. Thus, up until now, it has been extremely difficult to attribute them to precise Celtic groups and connect them with known classes of drachma.<sup>18</sup>

Apart from Serra Riccò, the “diobol” model with the quadruped (or spotted panther) has been found<sup>19</sup> at Aquileia,<sup>20</sup> Milan (two specimens in Piazza Duomo), Garlasco (in the tombs found in 1978 and 1979), Casale Monferrato/Balzola road (five specimens) and Gran San Bernardo (two specimens). However, several of the “diobols” mentioned are in very poor condition.

Thus, in this very scanty framework of finds, the discovery of a specimen with characteristics making a precise link with drachma emissions from identified mints possible in an excavation, takes on enormous importance.

The discovery took place at Rho-Lucernate, on the outskirts of Milan, in the excavations of 2005,<sup>21</sup> in a

<sup>12</sup> A. Geiser, ‘Un monnayage celtique en Valais. Les monnaies des Véragres’, *RSN* 63 (1984), pp. 55-126.

<sup>13</sup> Lastly E.A. Arslan, ‘Emissioni di divisionali argentei in area celto ligure’, in *Ligures celeberrimi. La Liguria interna nella seconda età del ferro, International Congress Papers, Mondovì 26-28 April 2002* (Bordighera, 2004), pp. 120-6 (con bibl.); op. cit. (n. 2), no. 2395.

<sup>14</sup> A. Pautasso, ‘Gli oboli gallici di San Cesario’, *Rassegna Numismatica* 9-10 (1980), pp. 9-10; E.A. Arslan, ‘Celti Padani e Marsiglia: un obolo a Casalecchio di Reno’, in U. Peter (ed.), *Stephanos numismatikos, Edith Schoenert-Geiss zum 65. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1998), pp. 69-76; E.A. Arslan, ‘Celti padani e Marsiglia: nuovi ritrovamenti monetari a Casalecchio di Reno (BO)’, *Revue belge de Numismatique* 145 (1999), in memory of Tony Hackens, pp. 185-94; E.A. Arslan, ‘Monete celtiche dagli scavi di Casalecchio di Reno’, in E. Ercolani Cocchi, A.L. Morelli and D. Neri (eds.), *Romanizzazione e moneta. La testimonianza dei rinvenimenti dall’Emilia Romagna* (Firenze, 2004), pp. 67-70, 168.

<sup>15</sup> Significantly important P. Piana Agostinetti (ed.), *Study Conference Papers. La monetazione preromana dell’Italia Settentrionale, Bordighera 16-17 September 1994* (Bordighera, 1996). See texts cited in op. cit. (n. 2).

<sup>16</sup> F. Wiblè, ‘Un monnayage spécifique des Ubères?’, in *I Leponti tra mito e realtà, Catalogue of Locarno Exhibition, II* (Locarno, 2000), pp. 235-9. He cites three “obols” of the Veragri, with geometric models: nos. 12-13-14, with weights

from 0.10 to 0.07 g.

<sup>17</sup> The most recent numerical valuation of the Serra Riccò complex indicated 681 “obols” present: F. Barengi, ‘Una nuova proposta di classificazione degli “oboli” di Serra Riccò’, in P. Piana Agostinetti (ed.), *Study Conference Papers. La monetazione preromana dell’Italia Settentrionale, Bordighera 16-17 September 1994* (Bordighera, 1996), pp. 53-67.

<sup>18</sup> The difficulty of classifying the minor silver nominals (with quadruped) can be seen in the 24 different models proposed by Pautasso, op. cit. (n. 1) (1966), pp. 22-31. Arslan, op. cit. (n. 3) (1991-1992) reduces them to Types 23-27.

<sup>19</sup> All sites are indicated in op. cit. (n. 2), nos. 2395 (Serra Riccò-GE), 1690 (Aquileia-UD), 3590 (Milan), 3960 (Garlasco-PV), 4570 (Casale-AL), 6470 (Gran S. Bernardo).

<sup>20</sup> The obol is seen as “venetico”. G. Gorini, ‘Le monete dei Leponti nel Nord-Est dell’Italia’, in *Study Day Papers on I Leponti e la moneta, Locarno 16.11.1996* (Locarno, 2000), pp. 33-45, p. 38, figs. 13-14; E.A. Arslan, *Emissioni di divisionali argentei in area celto ligure, in Ligures celeberrimi. La Liguria interna nella seconda età del ferro, International Congress Papers, Mondovì 26-28 April 2002* (Bordighera, 2004), pp. 120-6: p. 122, note 55.

<sup>21</sup> Op. cit. (n. 2), no. 3760 (RI 2S.B; u.s.188); L. Simone Zopfi, M.G. Laspada, ‘Il complesso rustico romano di Rho-Lucernate (MI)’, in [www.fastionline.org/docs/FOLDER-it-2006-51.pdf](http://www.fastionline.org/docs/FOLDER-it-2006-51.pdf), pp. 1-10: p. 7. My thanks go to Laura Simone Zopfi who assigned me the study of the coin.

terrain where the stratigraphy had been disturbed, only leaving post-holes among pebbles and earthenware fragments. The “diobol” (Fig. 1) shows the usual head of Artemis to the right, with ringlets hanging in tendrils and dangling earrings on the obverse, and with a stylised quadruped to the right, full-frontal, wide-eyed head on the reverse. There is a bird between the paws to the right. Its weight is 0.84 g, the diameter is 11 mm and clockwise axis of the dies is 3.<sup>22</sup>



**Figure 1: Obol with “spotted panther” from Rho-Lucinate (MI)**

Thanks to Pautasso’s abundant documentation, the analogy with the obverse and reverse of coin no. 493, of unknown provenance, in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris (no. 2314, 0.90 g) (Fig. 2) becomes glaringly obvious. The elaborate hairstyle with ringlets in tendrils is practically identical as are the shape of the eyes. As well, the quadruped on the reverse, with its head raised in three great points in relief, its big ears on the side, its coat in thick heavy bunches, its sinuous body, folded front legs, the bird turned to the right and the absence of symbols in the field would appear to be analogous. There have also been finds in reliable excavations: at Garlasco, in tomb B, possibly female, in 1979,<sup>23</sup> a similar diobol with a head and ringlets in tendrils, weighing 0.83 g was found, as was also found in the excavations for the underground railway in Milan.<sup>24</sup>



**Figure 2: Obol with “spotted panther”. Pautasso, 1966, no. 493**

The Garlasco specimen which was found together with two Padana lion-wolf models of drachma, one of the XVI Type and the other, the XVII<sup>25</sup> Type, together with the ceramic goods, indicates a possible dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (LTC 2). The other finds, including those at Rho-Lucinate, do not give chronological indications by means of the context.

While the reverse of the model, with the quadruped to the right, the frontal muzzle raised in three points, the spotted coat and absence of added symbols would seem to stand apart from the other classes of diobol (see further on) but which does not have possible comparisons with the emissions of drachmas in the Padana area, the model of the obverse is well-known.



**Figure 3: Obverse of Insubrian drachma Type XII (Arslan, 1991-1992) from the Manerbio hoard –B5**

In fact, the Insubrian model of drachma with the *τΟΥΤΙΟΠΟΥΟΣ* legend and linear head (Fig. 3), the

<sup>22</sup> See Arslan, op. cit. (n. 3) (1991-1992), Type XXV.

<sup>23</sup> E.A. Arslan, ‘Gli oboli celtici padani di Garlasco’, in *Multas per gentes et multa per aequora. Culture antiche in provincia di Pavia: Lomellina, Oltrepò e Pavese, Gambolo (PV), 18 May 1997* (Milan, 1999), pp. 69-81: p. 71.

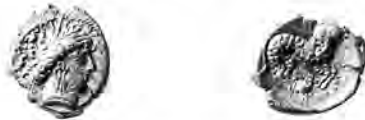
<sup>24</sup> E.A. Arslan, ‘Le monete’, in D. Caporusso (ed.), *Scavi MM3. Ricerche di archeologia urbana a Milano durante la costruzione della Linea 3 della Metropolitana, 1982-1990*, 3, 2 (Milan, 1991), pp. 71-130: pp. 74-5, no. 23. The coin, very worn, weighs 0.53 g.

<sup>25</sup> Arslan, op. cit. (n. 3) (1991-1992), Types XVI and XVII.

Insubrian model with the *παρακος* legend (Fig. 4)<sup>26</sup> and the X model, of uncertain collocation with *μασσα* legend, attributed to the Bergomates with some hesitation (Fig. 5),<sup>27</sup> all have the same type of head and hairstyle - very characteristic and quite distinctive from the solutions present in other emissions of post-Hannibal, Celtic-Padana drachmas.



**Figure 4: Obverse of Insubrian drachma Type XIII (Arslan, 1991-1992) from the Manerbio hoard –B5**



**Figure 5: Obol with “spotted panther” from the Casale Monferrato-Balzola hoard**

The differences in the way the head is designed in the three classes of drachma mentioned do not appear decisive for an exact link with the diobols examined at this time, the chronological attribution of which must thus extend for practically all of the third quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. There is still uncertainty as to whether to consider them as issued by the Insubrians or the hypothetical Bergomates. However, the distribution of the finds (Milan, Rho-Lucernate, Garlasco), despite the reduced number, would seem to indicate a tentative Insubrian provenance. The stylistic context of the engravers of the dies must have been that of the Celtic mint of Mediolanum which issued drachmas with average weights aligned with those of the various classes of Padana emissions mid 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and the years immediately following. This can be verified by the Manerbio hoard, concealed shortly after the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, the average weights of which range between 2.34 g and 2.36 g<sup>28</sup> and diobols, with weights ranging from 0.83 g to 0.90 g, of the “spotted panther to the right” model.

The identification of probable Insubrian emissions of diobols in the post-Hannibal period would perhaps make it possible to hypothesise a contemporary emission of minor silver divisionals, with the quadruped model, by other Transpadana peoples. A cautious hypothesis could also be proposed for the preceding emissions of the 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.

The specimen identified by Gorini at Aquileia has already been mentioned and could be proposed as from Veneto<sup>29</sup> due to the typology of the obverse.

Moving into the Celtic area, the diobol found in tomb C, discovered at Garlasco in 1976, appears to be associated with a drachma of the lion-wolf model, attributed hypothetically to the “Libica” area (Vercelli) of the XVIII<sup>30</sup> Type. The obverse of the two coins, drachma and diobol, appear to be very similar in the head of hair, the profile of the face and design of the eyes. It also appears possible, on the basis of the stylistic coherence in the engraving of the obverse, to aggregate a third specimen, indicated by Andrea Pautasso, coming from Gran San Bernardo<sup>31</sup> with this possible “Libica” diobol.

However, it is not possible to define precise links between diobols and drachmas of the Cenomani type<sup>32</sup> with the possible exception perhaps of one diobol with a fairly heavy weight (1.10 g) quoted by Pautasso in Paris.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Arslan, op. cit. (n. 3) (1991-1992), Type XII (*τουτιοπονος*)/Pautasso, op. cit. (n. 1) (1966), Type 9A-9B-9C; Types XIII (*παρακος*)/Pautasso, op. cit. (n. 1) (1966), Type 10. Probably as well Arslan, op. cit. (n. 3) (1991-1992), Type XIV (*νατορις*) had the same characteristics.

<sup>27</sup> E.A. Arslan, ‘La circolazione monetaria’, in *Storia economica e sociale di Bergamo*, 2<sup>o</sup> vol., I Tomo (in publication).

<sup>28</sup> Arslan, op. cit. (n. 3) (1991-1992), p. 84.

<sup>29</sup> Op. cit. (n. 2), no. 1690.

<sup>30</sup> Arslan, op. cit. (n. 23), p. 71. Drachma Arslan, op. cit. (n.3) (1991-1992), Type XVII.

<sup>31</sup> Pautasso, op. cit. (n. 1) (1966), no. 90 (0.75 g); op. cit. (n. 2), no. 6470.

<sup>32</sup> Arslan, op. cit. (n.3) (1991-1992), Type IX.

<sup>33</sup> Pautasso, op. cit. (n. 1) (1966), no. 494; Paris, Bibl. Nat., no. 2315.

In my opinion, the collocation of several emissions, documented particularly in the hoard of Serra Riccò, in an area of the Apennines with groups who did not issue drachmas but only diobols, appears to be more complex.

A first class, certainly more ancient (second half 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC?), is comprised of models of obverses with heads (female?) with radiating locks of hair (“blazing”) and models of reverses with quadrupeds (spotted coats and small heads) to the left on a surface (pseudoepigraphic?) with a four-rayed star as a symbol overhead and a bird underneath (often unrecognisable).<sup>34</sup> The model also shows traces of barbarian influence with the star degenerated into five small spheres, quincunx style, and the quadruped to the left or the right.

This class can be placed beside another which has an unmistakable male head, with a necklace to the right on the obverse and the “spotted panther” with a small head to the left on a base, the right front leg raised and a symbol overhead consisting of three lines, triangle-shaped or with sides crossed (like an X)<sup>35</sup> on the reverse. Neither of these classes have been noted in sites other than the Serra Riccò repository.

The typological sequence seems to conclude in the later phase with a class of highly stylised diobols with frequent “barbarised” imprints. The obverse shows a head to the right, perhaps virile with a necklace, while the reverse has a schematic quadruped to the left and a “trident” which could be an interpretation of the language, to the left. The star, degenerated into five small spheres, quincunx style, is placed overhead and clearly indicates the model from which it derives.<sup>36</sup>

This class which was the principal one at Serra Roccò, such to support the theory that it was issued by the Viturii Longenses, referred to in the *Tavola di Polcevera*<sup>37</sup> is well-documented in *Liguria marittima*.<sup>38</sup> The emission could be placed between the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

The outline of the emissions of the Celtic Padana diobols with the model of the “spotted panther” in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC given to date will not seem comprehensible without focussing attention on the precedents in the pre-Hannibal period while maintaining ties with the emissions of drachmas which must have kept the weight of the Massaliot “heavy” drachma up to 280-270 BC as their weight reference. This would make it possible to attribute the heavier diobols weighing more than a gram to the 4<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.

A clarification in the form of the identification of the five specimens of diobols associated with drachmas at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century BC at Casale Balzola (Fig. 5),<sup>39</sup> thanks to Federico Barello, arrived recently. The drachmas with which these diobols are associated are of Type V-VIII, both with the “naturalistic” lion and the “lion-scorpion” on the reverse. The diobols with the female head, stylistically Latenian and “blazing” hair on the obverse, as at Casale-Balzola, seem to be linked to the second class of drachmas, seen as Boi-Cenomani. On the reverse the “spotted panther” appears bigger and heavier, is not on a base, has a larger head and eyes but smaller ears, has the bird below but not the symbol overhead. These can probably be generally attributed to highly Latenised groups of transalpine origin.

Emissions not present at Balzola, with a virile, beardless head on the obverse and the quadruped (spotted

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 1966, nos. 32-37, 482. In Arslan, op. cit. (n. 3) (1991-1992) it is not distinct from Type XXV; ibid., 1966, nos. 38-40, 483; ibid., 1966, nos. 41-43, 495-496.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 1966, nos. 44-49, 486; Arslan, op. cit. (n. 3) (1991-1992), Type XXVI.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 1966, nos. 50-77, 497-508; Arslan, op. cit. (n. 3) (1991-1992), Type XXVII.

<sup>37</sup> A.M. Pastorino (ed.), *La Tavola di Polcevera. Una sentenza incisa nel bronzo 2100 anni fa. Atti della giornata di studi* (Genova, 1995).

<sup>38</sup> The findings of the model are documented in op. cit. (n. 2), at nos. 2310 (Avosso di Caselle-GE), 2320 (Camogli-GE), 2330 (Cornigliano-GE), 2360 (Genova-“Mattoni rossi”), 2370 (Genova-Piazza S.Maria della Passione), 2390 (Sampierdarena-GE), 2395 (Serra Riccò-GE), 2550 (Pignone-SP).

<sup>39</sup> Casale Monferrato (AL), Balzola Road, 1806. It was said

that there was one or two hoards with Padana drachmas in two small urns. 240 Celtic Padana coins are housed at Vercelli: one hundred and twenty-nine are of Type VII (Arslan, op. cit. (n.3) (1991-1992), fifteen of Type VIII, forty-eight of Type V, twenty-one of Type VI, two of uncertain type, five are obols (Pautasso, op. cit. (n.1) (1966), Types 17-18, 22/Arslan, op. cit. (n.3) (1991-1992), Types XXIII-XXIV); F. Barello, ‘Monetazione preromana nella Liguria interna’, in *Ligures celeberrimi. La Liguria interna nella seconda età del ferro, International Congress Papers Mondovì 26-28 April 2002* (Bordighera, 2004), pp. 117-20; op. cit. (n. 2), no. 4570. The Pautasso specimen (op. cit. (n. 1) (1966), no. 481 (1.72 g), housed at Bergamo, appears analogous but with the “spotted panther” to the left; Arslan, op. cit. (n. 3) (1991-1992), Types V-VI, with the lion-scorpion and “naturalistic” lion, VII-VIII, with the lion-scorpion.

panther) to the left or right, the bird underneath and characteristics similar to those described above<sup>40</sup> (Fig. 6) on the reverse, seem to be emissions of the same period. The model has now been identified at Vigasio-VR as well, with a specimen of 1.67 g<sup>41</sup>. The greater weight and “naturalistic” design of the reverse could indicate their appurtenance to the Insubrian emissions as divisions of the Type V-VI drachma,<sup>42</sup> definitely in the pre-Hannibal age or even their relation to initial models of uncertain collocation between the transalpine and Padana Italian areas.



**Figure 6: Obol with virile head and “spotted panther”. Pautasso, 1966, no. 487 (Paris, Bibl. Nat., no. 2311; 1.65 g)**

A further type, with a virile head on the obverse and the “spotted panther” to the left on a base and traces of a symbol overhead<sup>43</sup> on the reverse, seems to be more difficult to place even though the relation with models with the triangle symbol would appear to be possible. This could be a previous type from the area of the Apennines.

All that which has been hypothesised so far, which still requires further study, does not complete the picture of the presence of minor silver nominals, in my opinion, diobols, related to the Cisalpine Celtic groups between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. In this long chronological phase, corresponding to the second Iron Age, the Massaliot “à la Croix”<sup>44</sup> obol, both as an official emission as well as imitative ones, was in circulation. These obols have been found in Liguria, at Ventimiglia, with eight specimens in a hoard dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC<sup>45</sup> and at Bergoggi (SV) with two specimens of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC<sup>46</sup> at Aosta,<sup>47</sup> in the Veneto area at Vittorio Veneto-Monte Altare (VI)<sup>48</sup> and at S. Giorgio in Valpolicella-VR,<sup>49</sup> in Emilia, at Casalecchio-BO with five specimens,<sup>50</sup> at Marzabotto-BO,<sup>51</sup> and at San Cesario al Panaro-MO<sup>52</sup> with five specimens.

The documentation accumulated up to the present time does not seem to favour the hypothesis of local emissions of the model which seems to have recurred from the Marseille area towards Liguria and Emilia, from the Helvetic area towards Aosta and the Norico area towards Veneto. In Liguria and Veneto the “à la Croix” model seems to have coexisted in circulation with the “spotted panther” model but whether this was in the same context or not, is not known. In Emilia and the Valle d’Aosta, the “à la Croix” model seems to have been the only one present. However, the subject will be dealt with further in monograph when the Bergoggi specimens are published.

<sup>40</sup> Pautasso, op. cit. (n. 1) (1966), nos. 487 (1.67 g), 488 (1.62 g), 489 (1.65 g), 490 (1.34 g), 491 (1.29 g). Arslan, op. cit. (n. 3) (1991-1992), Types XXIII-XXIV.

<sup>41</sup> Op. cit. (n. 2), nos. 7908 and 7980 (uncertain whether from Vigasio or Soave). F. Biondani, ‘Vigasio. Necropoli celtica in località La Pietà di Isolalta’, *Quaderni di Archeologia del Veneto* 14 (1998), pp. 74-5.

<sup>42</sup> Arslan, op. cit. (n. 3) (1991-1992), Types VI-VII, with “naturalistic” lion.

<sup>43</sup> Arslan, op. cit. (n. 3) (1991-1992), Types I-II. The design of the heads of the obverse of nos. 488 and 489 is striking and calls to mind the obverses with ΜΑΣΣΑ and ΣΑΣΣΑ (Pautasso, op. cit. (n. 1) (1966), nos. 361-370). The two specimens, both in Paris in the Bibliothèque Nationale (nos. 2312-2313), with the “spotted panther” to the left and right, are difficult to collocate. The over-heavy weights (2.27 and 2.22 g), the quality of the engraving, several anomalies in the models would suggest 19<sup>th</sup>

century counterfeits. There are still a few doubts about the Pautasso specimen (op. cit. (n. 1) (1966), no. 487; Pautasso, op. cit. (n. 1) (1966), nos. 484 and 485 (1.47 and 1.62 g), in Paris, Bibl. Nat., nos. 2154a and 2310. Arslan, op. cit. (n.3) (1991-1992), not distinguished from Type XXVI.

<sup>44</sup> The finds are listed in op. cit. (n. 2). The issue was discussed in Arslan, op. cit. (n. 14) (1998); Arslan, op. cit. (n. 14) (1999); Arslan, op. cit. (n. 14) (2004).

<sup>45</sup> Op. cit. (n. 2), no. 2470.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., no. 2625. Unpublished specimens.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., no. 6450.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., no. 7390.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., no. 7885.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., no. 0430.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., no. 0470.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., no. 0670.