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G. KENNETH JENKINS

COINS OF PUNIC SICILY*

Part 3 **

CARTHAGE SERIES 2-4

Abbreviations

ANSCV American Numismatic Society, Centennial Volume (New York 1958)

Bisi Stele Bisi, A. M., Le Stele Puniche (Studi Semitici 27, Rome 1967)

Cintas Manuel Cintas, P., Manuel d'Archéologie Punique I (Paris 1970)

CIS Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum (Paris 1881–)

Crawford RRC Crawford, M., Roman Republican Coinage (Cambridge 1974)

El Hofra Berthier, A. and Charlier, R., Le Sanctuaire Punique d'El Hofra à Constantine

(Paris 1955)

Gsell, S., Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord (Paris 1913–1928)

Harden, D., The Phoenicians (London 1971)

Hours-Miedan Hours-Miedan, M., Les Représentations figurées sur les stèles de Carthage, Cahiers

de Byrsa I, 1951

Kraay ACGC Kraay, C. M., Archaic and Classical Greek Coins (London 1977)

Moscati, S., The World of the Phoenicians (London 1973)

Introduction

The present article continues the treatment of the Carthaginian silver coinage, of which series I (horse/palm-tree) belonging to the years 410–390 B.C. was covered in the previous instalment (SNR 1974, 23 ff.). Here will be dealt with three further series: series 2 (head of goddess/horse with palm-tree, plates 1–9), series 3 (head of goddess/horse head with palm-tree, plates 9–21) and finally series 4 (head in Phrygian cap/lion and palm-tree, plate 22). Series 4, as discussed below, represents a parallel issue with part of series 3 and not a continuation of it. The final series 5 (Melqart head/horse head and palm-tree, here Fig. 1) will be covered in a subsequent article.

Series 1 terminated about 390 B.C., as was established in SNR 1974, 23 ff. A considerable interval must have followed before minting was resumed. It will be shown from hoard evidence that the coinage of series 2 can hardly have begun before about 350/340 – and thus more or less at the same time with the beginning of the regular gold series from the mint of Carthage itself. The size of the issues of series 2 and 3, which together form the bulk of the present article, while considerable is not extraordinary; and it may well be that the total resources of the Carthaginian state in

^{*} Publication started in SNR 50, 1971, 25 ff. (part 1) and continued in SNR 53, 1974, 23 ff. (part 2). The present instalment (part 3) will be followed by the final article (part 4).

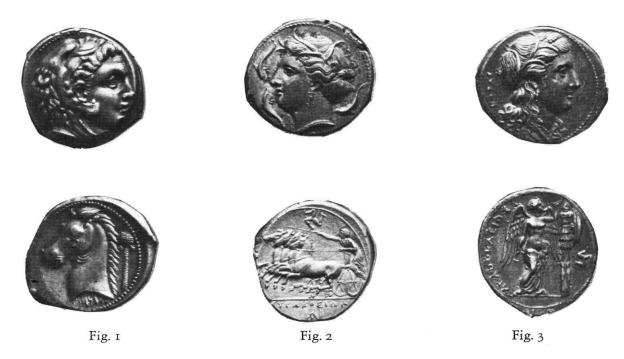
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Sicily were further augmented by the coinage of the city mint of Rsmlqrt (SNR 1971, 53 ff.) which also began to operate at about the same time. In addition, the mint of Panormos – SYS (SNR 1971, 38 ff.) – was active continuously from the late fifth to the late fourth century.

The period in question, 350/340 B.C., was that of the great Greek revival in Sicily under Timoleon who refounded Syracuse in 344. On the other side, Carthage was quick to see the challenge and mounted several great armadas in Sicily, remaining at open war with Syracuse until the battle of the Krimissos in 339. Perhaps even more significantly it was at this same period that Carthage concluded the second treaty with Rome (348 B.C.) in which her policy of «mare clausum» in the western Mediterranean appears to have been reasserted and strengthened – a sign that Carthage was in any case mobilising herself to a more active policy concerning her whole strategic position ¹.

After 339 conditions in Sicily returned to the status quo, with the Carthaginian frontier at the Halykos (mod. Plátani). There is no further sign of open conflict until the time of Agathokles at Syracuse (317–289) when once again Carthage was embroiled with the Greeks in a varied and dramatic series of hostilities including Agathokles' invasion of Africa, until once again peace was restored in 306.

From the beginning of series 2 of the Carthaginian coinage, minting continued without a break into series 3 which is marked by the appearance of the legend 'MMHNT (people of the camp), a variant of MHNT which was common in series 1; this comes in around the time of the rise of Agathokles at Syracuse (317) and this series, though not always the full legend, continued until towards the end of the century, at least until the peace of 306. Coin hoards buried at the end of the fourth



¹ Diodoros XVI. 66 ff. - For the treaty cf. Moscati 163 f.

century represent the coinage of Carthage as far as the end of series 3 along with the «quadriga» tetradrachms of Agathokles (Fig. 2). The subsequent phase both of Carthage and Syracuse is to be found only in later hoards containing together the Agathokles Kore/Nike and trophy coins (Fig. 3) and those of Carthage series 5 (Fig. 1).

Types

The basic type of the horse or horse's head with palm tree was discussed for series I (SNR 1974, 27) as symbol of Ba'al Hammon; this does not exclude the horse as symbol of Tanit as recently emphasised by C. Picard (Karthago XVII 1976, 104). The obverse of series 2 and 3 consists of the head of a goddess. She has often been identified as Tanit, the chief female deity of the Carthaginian pantheon 2; for instance, Harden calls her «Tanit in the guise of the Sicilian Persephone» 3. This may be so, though others prefer to regard her simply as Kore-Persephone 4. Tanit «Pene Ba'al» (= the face of Ba'al) was the consort of Baal Hammon and by her title might be thought to have been inferior to him. That she was in fact the more important of the pair is clear from the religious dedications from Carthage itself and from numerous other sites, in which she is named first, before Ba'al (the opposite being exceptional, as at El-Hofra near Constantine) 5. Were the head on the coins to be regarded as Tanit, it would seem at first sight to offer a convenient expression of the same concept, the supreme goddess accompanied on the reverse by the symbols of Ba'al Hammon, the horse and palm.

In fact the matter is far from simple. A preliminary caution seems imposed by our comparative ignorance of how Tanit could be expected to be shown, at this period, in terms of any Punic iconography; here there is a considerable dearth of evidence, allowing for the fact that the sign so commonly represented on the numerous stelai is generally regarded as a symbol of Tanit, whether in its more geometrical form or a more humanised form. In any case that sign has been much discussed and good authorities have expressed great reserve as to its precise origin and significance. Anyhow the so-called «sign of Tanit» hardly helps to envisage any possible iconography in terms of figured art. What is clear however is that in Greek terms we have little option but to think of the goddess whose head is shown on the coins as being any other than Kore-Persephone, as Acquaro has recently argued ⁶. At least in series 2 there are a number of issues, including the first ones of the series, where particular

² However Cintas, Manuel 313 questions whether Tanit and Ba'al Hammon were necessarily the chief deities of Carthage: cf. J. G. Fevrier, Cahiers de Byrsa VI 1956, 13 ff., for the view that the supreme deity was Ba'alsamin as the equivalent of Zeus in the «oath of Hannibal».

³ Harden 158.

⁴ Müller; recently Acquaro, note 6 below.

⁵ El-Hofra, passim, esp. p. 183.

⁶ E. Acquaro, Sulla lettura di un tipo monetale punico, RIN 1971, 25 ff.

emphasis is given to the corn-ears of the wreath; and this makes the point very clear, especially by contrast with the rarity of this feature at Syracuse whence most of the prototypes are derived ⁷. The same head with corn-ears dominates the important gold coinage which started at the Carthage mint in the mid-fourth century and continued to be the exclusive form of the deity on all subsequent Carthaginian coinage ⁸.

As regards Kore-Persephone, it is further to be recalled that these deities were worshipped at Carthage after 396 B.C., presumably in their Greek cult ⁹. If Persephone was given a Punic name, we do not apparently know it; on the well-known stele from Carthage showing a figure of Persephone in Hellenistic style, dedicated by Milkyaton the suffete, the goddess is identified purely by the cornucopiae which she carries, and is not named in the accompanying inscription ¹⁰. We lack evidence apparently as to which precise Punic deity would have been regarded as the nearest equivalent to Persephone. Tanit herself included a definite element of the fertility goddess and to that extent might conceivably be represented in Greek terms as Kore. But evidence is lacking.

A further point is that in the coin series here covered many of the most typical heads are evidently not of Kore after all, being imitations of the Syracusan Arethusa type in very varying degrees of faithfulness. It is possible to wonder whether these can necessarily be deemed to signify much more, intrinsically, than for instance the Athena heads on coins of the Himyarites ¹¹, namely the continuance of a customary coin design simply as such.

The types of series 4 will be discussed separately below (p. 25).

Legends and mint

Before considering the question of the mint, it is necessary to summarise the occurrence of the legends on the coins. First comes an issue inscribed QRTHDST (series 2a, 49–60). Next is an issue bearing only the single letter mem (series 2a, 60–67). After this there is no legend for the rest of series 2 (the only exceptions being the unique btw'l on series 2a, 85, and the pair of letters beth beth on series 2c, 91–100; all of these are most probably abbreviations of personal names). In series 3a there is the regular legend 'MMHNT' («people of the camp»), varied only on 176 and 187–189 to S'MMHNT; series 3b has M M (mem mem); series 3c is a single issue with the letter 'ayin; and then series 3c has the single letter mem. Series 4 has once again the S'MMHNT legend found on series 3a with which, as will be shown below, it is in any case closely associated.

- ⁷ Tudeer 46, 47, 66 are the only heads with corn-ears in the Syracuse series.
- 8 Jenkins-Lewis group 2 and especially group 3 onwards.
- 9 Harden 81.
- 10 Harden pl. 45; CIS I. i, 176.
- 11 BMC Arabia etc. pl. VII.

The legend QRTHDST had been fairly regular in series 1 (for which see Part 2 of this publication) but now appears only at the very beginning of series 2 and then never again in the entire Carthaginian coinage. The legend MHNT (= «camp») was likewise common in series 1: the form 'MMHNT (= «people of the camp») 11a now dominates series 3 which is thus clearly designated, as was series 1, as the mint of the «camp», that is of the army. It seems highly probable that this designation belongs by extension to the rest of the coinage, even where, as in series 2 largely, there is no legend of any kind. The continuity of the mint at least is sufficiently assured by the die-link which joins series 2d to series 3a (O46) and again the link from series 3a with 'MMHNT to series 3b with M M (O 63). Moreover it seems overwhelmingly probable, in default of any other plausible suggestion, that the single letter M in series 2a and in 3d should also stand for the word MHNT. The letters M M of series 3b are not at first sight quite so simple to explain; Müller suggests that these stand for mhnt and mbsbm respectively 12, but this seems unconvincing, and I understand that there is little reason why the first mem should not be regarded as a prefix to the word mhnt for which the second *mem* could be the initial letter, thus $mm(hnt)^{13}$.

It seems clear enough that the mint is that of the «camp» throughout. A coinage so specifically named as a military issue is something virtually unique in the ancient world. Of course there must have been many other coinages at various times and places which were in fact military issues, without this being expressly stated ¹⁴. For instance it is virtually certain that a number of military coinages were issued under the Roman Republic, though none of them is labelled as such in so many words ¹⁵. There is one possible analogy, from Parthian coins of the first century B.C. attributed to Gotarzes I (c. 90–80 B.C.) ¹⁶ which carry a supplementary legend KATAΣTPATEIA – an otherwise unattested word but one which conveys a clear suggestion of a «camp mint», even if it should be the name of a town so named after the royal camp.

To find perfectly explicit and unquestionable parallels for the Carthaginian MHNT however, it is necessary to go to the later Islamic world. There coins bearing the formula «darb urdu», viz. the Royal Camp Mint, is to be found on coins of the

^{11a} Acquaro in RIN 1974, 79 f., discusses the distinction between 'M («popolo») as in 'MMHNT and B'L (cittadino») as in B'L SYS etc.

¹² Müller II p. 21; $mh\ddot{s}bm$ (= quaestores) does not occur except in series 5, the Melqart head/horse head coinage (Fig. 1), to be dealt with in the subsequent instalment of this publication.

¹³ Advice from L. Mildenberg; cf. Friedrich, Phönizische Grammatik, p. 198–200.

¹⁴ E.g. Kraay ACGC 280–281 for issues by Persian satraps one of which with the type of a hoplite comes close to being an explicit military issue. Naturally the coinages associated with Hannibal in Italy, though less explicit, can be regarded in the same light (for these, cf. Robinson, NC 1964, 37 ff.). Another coinage of a military nature was that of the «Libyans», associated with the revolt of the mercenaries (241–238 B.C.); on some of those the letter *mem* appears, which it has been suggested may stand for MHNT (Robinson NC 1953, 30).

¹⁵ Crawford RRC 604 etc.; the phrase «moneta castrensis» belongs solely to literature (Lucan), cf. Babelon, Traité I, i 850.

¹⁶ Sellwood Parthia, type 30/12 (p. 79).

Mongol Great Khans in the thirteenth century, on coins of Shah Isma'il the first Safavid monarch of Iran (1502–1524) and further on coins of the Mogul Empire ¹⁷. Something of an analogous mint organisation is also to be found in the later Roman empire, where after 368 the coinage of gold was carried out not by the regular local mints of the empire but was concentrated on the imperial *comitatus*. In these circumstances the mint would not have had a permanent fixed location but would have moved about with the imperial court ¹⁸. This would of course apply equally to the Camp mint in the Islamic instances cited.

Naturally these later parallels, interesting as they are, come from quite other times places and circumstances from those which concern us in the case of the Punic coins. If they have any relevance, it must be simply by suggesting that a military mint is not by definition one which has a permanent fixed location, serving a particular locality for general purposes, in the way that a city mint was designed to do. This need not necessarily imply that the Carthaginian camp mint was forever on the move and indeed it is much more probable in the historical circumstances that it would normally have resided at Lilybaion, the main Carthaginian base in Sicily. However it seems useful to keep in mind the notion that the camp mint was not of its nature tied to a particular place, and this helps to envisage the possibility, mentioned in Part 2, that it may originally have been set up at Carthage itself and only later transferred to Sicily. If so, the question at what point the move occurred is still an open one. In Part 2 it was suggested that the move could have occurred in the course of series 1 and thus before c. 390 B.C. On the other hand such a move may only have effectively taken place when the mint resumed operations at about 350/340 B.C. with series 2 and the introduction of the «Kore» head. The legend QRTHDST which there appears need be no argument to the contrary, since the name, denoting «New city» 19, most obviously and basically can be taken to describe the authority under which the coins were struck without necessarily implying anything as to the place of mintage. It is also possible that «New city» may be an expression of some ambivalence conveying not exclusively the notion of «Carthage» but that of Lilybaion, the new city founded after the destruction of Motya in 397 B.C.

In fact, if it is correct to suppose that the prolific gold coinage of the Carthage mint was likewise being started at about the same period as our series 2, c. 350/340

¹⁷ For this information and references I thank my colleague Nicholas Lowick: Mongols – C. J. Rodgers, Catalogue of the Indian Museum Calcutta, part IV, 1896, no. 9759; Iran – twelve-tankah piece, B. M. Yearbook 1975 (forthcoming); Moguls – Whitehead, Punjab Museum Catalogue II, p. xxxviii.

¹⁸ J. P. C. Kent in Essays Harold Mattingly 190 ff. – I thank him for information and discussion of this point.

¹⁹ Originally the «new city» in Africa as the name of Carthage, founded 814 B.C., as contrasted with the «old city» ('TYQH) as the name of Utica, founded in 1110 B.C.; cf. Albert Dietrich, Phönizische Ortsnamen in Spanien, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Leipzig 1936, 31 citing Movers etc.

B.C. ²⁰, it becomes at once clearer that the latter must have been minted in Sicily and not at Carthage, if only because of the total disparity in style and in every way between the gold issues and the silver coinage here discussed.

It seems on the whole most probable then that the Camp mint was, at least for the period here under discussion, operating in Sicily and in practice this should mean normally at Lilybaion. It was argued in Part 1 that this should exclude the possibility of another mint, which would be that of the city, having been in operation also at Lilybaion. It seems difficult to prove anything about this one way or the other, but it is appropriate to mention here the suggestion, made recently by Robinson 21, that perhaps the mint named RSMLQRT, often in the past attributed to Herakleia Minoa or to Kephaloidion, might in fact be of Lilybaion. The question of its location remains a difficult one and evidence is still lacking. It need only be remarked further that the die-link between a coin of the Carthaginian type (Part 1 plate 21.73) and the Rsmlqrt series can prove nothing to the point; the «Carthaginian» type in question, with a walking horse and palm-tree on the reverse, is such that it will not fit at all into the Carthage series 2 and seems unlikely even to belong to the same period. It must be regarded as something quite irregular.

Commentary

Series 2a (49-85) Plates 1-4

This sequence as here arranged begins with a «Kore» head, equipped with prominent corn-ears, though from 77 onwards this is replaced by an Arethusa head of the Syracusan type. The first «Kore» heads may be thought to reflect somewhat the style of the Kimon decadrachms, at some remove; and a similar style is found on gold coins (whose date as given by Jenkins-Lewis may need to be a little lowered if the dating of the present silver series is acceptable ²²). After the first dies O 13–O 15 appears a head of much more «punic» style (O 16 etc.); then O 21–22 are again more Greek. With O 24 we have a fairly close derivative of the Euainetos Arethusa type, followed by other versions of the same; O 24 itself gives much the same sort of relation to the Euainetos original that we find in the fourth century in mainland Greece as at Pheneus, Messene or the Locrians of Opus ²³, a relatively faithful copy of the prototype but reinterpreted in typically fourth century style.

The internal sequence of this series is not much attested by die-links and could in principle be varied if there seemed any particular reason to do so. The placing first of O 13 etc. is in accord with the fact that these are the only coins (49–60) of series 2 –

- 20 Jenkins-Lewis group 3, and p. 22 ff.
- 21 Robinson, Gulbenkian Catalogue (Lisbon 1971) p. 70.
- 22 Jenkins-Lewis group 2 «375/360».
- 23 Kraay ACGC 321-322, 406.

and indeed the only ones in the whole Carthaginian coinage after series 1 – to show the legend QRTHDST. The letter *mem* present on 61–67 is as discussed above (p. 9) plausibly to be regarded as an abbreviation for MHNT, as later in series 3 d. The only other inscription present in series 2 a is the BTW'L of 85; this seems best regarded as a personal name, though there is no exact parallel for it among the Carthaginian personal names collected by Halff ²⁴. Müller ²⁵ rightly rejects a theory that it stands for the name of a city, e.g. Eryx, and supports the interpretation as a personal name from the Old Testament Betuel, a nephew of Abraham (in Genesis 22, 22).

Confirmation that series 2 a should in fact be placed first of series 2 may be obtained from the evidence of hoards. The hoards which are relevant are: Nissoria (= Leonforte, IGCH 2133), Gibil Gabib (IGCH 2132) and a new find here referred to as hoard G ²⁶. The burial date of each of these is approximately the same, namely c. 340/330 B.C., and each of them contains the first issues of Corinth period V – Nissoria has the E and N issues, Gibil Gabib the N issue, hoard G the E issue. The date of these hoards is the same as for the hoards from Centuripe (IGCH 2131) and Licata (IGCH 2130). The Nissoria hoard included a specimen of Carthage 75, Gibil Gabib specimens of Carthage 70 and 74, while hoard G had specimens of 17 (series 1) with 57,71 and 74 of series 2a. This means that c. 330 B.C. is the terminus ante quem for Carthage down to no. 74. That being so we could not plausibly extend the beginning of series 2 further back than the decade 350/340. The coinage may thus well be connected with the preparations for war which belong to that decade.

Series 2 b (86–90) Plate 4

By contrast with the final group of series 2a, we now have a return of the «Kore» head with corn-ears, and the same time wearing a pendant necklace of the kind adopted definitively for the gold and electrum issues of the Carthage mint. At the

²⁴ Halff, G., Onomastique punique de Carthage, Karthago XII 1965, 63 ff.

²⁵ Müller II 81 f. Bisi in Annali 16–17, p. 94, n. 94, doubts Müller's explanation and suggests that b t k 'l would be equally acceptable as a reading.

Rsmlqrt coins but one (Jenkins part 1, SNR 1971, p. 63 no. 18) and two Thermai (Jenkins part 1, p. 72, no. 1). — Hoard G appears in essentials to have contained the following: Motya: as Jenkins part 1, no. 47. Panormos-sys: as Jenkins part 1, nos. 20, 23, 27, 37, 38, new combination of obv. 10' rev. 30, new combination of obv. 11 rev. 33 (an important item which provides a definite link between the «swan» group nos. 36–39 and the sys group nos. 40–41), 44, 46, 48, 50. Rsmlqrt: as Jenkins part 1, nos. 26, 27, 29. Thermai: as Jenkins part 1, no. 4. Carthage: as Jenkins part 2, no. 17 and part 3, nos. 57, 71, 74. — It was reported that the same hoard contained a number of fifth century Sicilian coins and some decadrachms, also specimens of the Syracusan tetradrachms of the Kimon (Tudeer 105) and Euainetos (Tudeer 106) types; whether or not this was so, the burial date should be of the 330's, allowing for the presence of Corinthian pegasi down to period V letter E (see above).

same time, on the silver coins, the head is accompanied by dolphins, deriving no doubt from the Syracusan prototype 27. On two of the dies we also have the wellknown «sign of Tanit», a religious symbol familiar from the numerous Punic stelai of Carthage and elsewhere (e.g. Figs. 5-7) 28. The symbol occurs either in geometrical forms, as here 29, or sometimes on the stelai in a more humanised form (Fig. 4) holding up a caduceus in one of the «arms» 30; the origin and significance of the symbol have been much discussed. The present occurrence of it is the only one in the series of coins here studied though there are rare and isolated occurrences of it elsewhere in the Carthaginian coinage, and at Panormos 31. It might be thought that the presence of the sign of Tanit beside the head on our coins should indicate that the head is to be identified as that of Tanit. This would not be strictly logical, in view of the comparative obscurities surrounding the possible significance of the sign, as also the fact that elsewhere it can, on the coins, accompany a quadriga (at Panormos) or a horse (at Carthage). At El-Hofra, where exceptionally Ba'al Hammon takes precedence consistently over Tanit, it seems to be as much a sign of Ba'al Hammon as of Tanit 32. Above all, the spasmodic manner in which Punic religious symbols seem to be placed on the coins hardly permits us to associate this sign with the head exclusively in such a sense as to identify the head as Tanit.

At the same time on no. 86 we have a rayed disk, a definitely solar symbol which is the attribute of Ba'al Hammon ³³, in this instance supporting the interpretation of the horse type already discussed in part 2, series 1 of this publication. Then the flower (a lily?) also seen on no. 86 finds a partial analogy to various such flower symbols on Punic stelai, for instance the lotus ³⁴. Most frequent in its appearances on the stelai is the caduceus, here present beside the horse on nos. 87–90. On the stelai it often accompanies the «sign of Tanit» and is undoubtedly an important symbol in Punic religion, associated with Tanit and Ba'al Hammon (Figs. 4–7).

Returning to the head, the other characteristic here is the pendant necklace, a feature not developed further in the present coinage (and one which, like the cornears, only recurs at nos. 120–121), where generally a «Hellenising» head copying the

- ²⁷ It is interesting that the dolphin is also found on Punic stelai and thus has its place in the symbolism of Punic religion (cf. Hours-Miédan p. 52 and plate xxiii, El-Hofra p. 202 f.).
- ²⁸ Hours-Miédan p. 26 ff.; El-Hofra p. 181 ff.; Bisi Stele passim; Cintas in Archaeologia Viva «Carthage, its birth and grandeur» vol. 1, no. 2, Paris 1968/69, p. 4-11.
- ²⁹ The form shown in coin 86 (O 29) is that of Hours-Miédan plate VII, 9; that of coins 88–90 (O 31) that of her plate VII, 0.
 - 30 E.g. El-Hofra plate VI, A.
- 31 Jenkins-Lewis nos. 2-3; Ferron, Africa I, plate II, 2, 5, 6; Paris Luynes 3773 (mid-third century), do. 3779 (second century); Panormos, Jenkins part 1, plate 10, 39.
 - 32 El-Hofra p. 183.
- ³³ El-Hofra p. 190; a sun above a «Tanit», El-Hofra plate XXIV, D. a sun-disk with sixteen rays is shown within a crescent on one stele from Carthage, Hours-Miédan plate XIII, g, but this seems unusual, the normal crescent and disk standing for the moon and planet Venus, cf. note 54 below.
 - 34 Hours-Miédan plate XXI.

Euainetos prototype holds the field, in company with a number of «Punicising» adaptations. The style of the head with both corn-ears and pendant collar was however taken up and constantly used for the gold coinage of the Carthage mint ³⁵, and became the established iconography for almost all the later Carthaginian coinage.

The place of series 2 b in the series as a whole is here deduced merely by inference from the likely positions of the other series. Series 2a, as we have seen, is satisfactorily indicated as such by hoard evidence; while series 2c and 2d are attested as such by the Megara Hyblaia 1949 hoard, and series 2d must in any case come last owing to its die-linkage with series 3a. Series 2b however is not represented in any relevant hoard ³⁶. At first sight one might wish to connect the corn-ears and pendant necklace of series 2b with nos. 120–121 of series 2c; but we have placed that latter in series 2c as continuing the crescent symbol from 114 ff. of series 2c and the prominence of the caduceus in series 2b is equally an argument for placing these coins, as here, directly before series 2c where also the caduceus is at first prominent.

The sequence of this group hinges on the connexion between 112 and 113, where the relative condition of the reverse seems to give a clear indication. The rather pure style «Euainetos» head of O 39, associated with reverses having the crescent symbol, is thus preceded by other obverses of a rather rich fourth century style. Of these the first are O 32 and O 33, with the thymiaterion symbol, corresponding to reverses with the Nike, caduceus and letters H B. A strange offshoot of the latter is 100, of inferior style and with Greek letters added on the reverse; an issue which hardly fits comfortably anywhere. At the end of this series have been placed 120 and 121 on the grounds that they continue the crescent symbol from the preceding issues, though otherwise the heads with corn-ears and pendant collar would seem naturally closer to series 2b (86–90).

The relative place of series 2c in the coinage as a whole seems clear enough. The next series, 2d, joins directly to series 3a (141–142), and the Megara Hyblaia 1949 hoard ³⁷ gives a homogeneous representation exclusively of series 2c and 2d together, which seems to show that 2c must be adjacent to 2d and if so before it.

In this series occur some symbols which, although not without Greek parallels, are really of significance for Punic religion, as is shown by the symbols which are constantly used on Punic stelai connected with the worship of Tanit and Ba'al

³⁵ Jenkins-Lewis group III onwards.

³⁶ Specimens of coin 89 in the Palermo hoard (cf. p. 24), of coin 90 in the Megara Hyblaia 1966 hoard (IGCH 2180) and of coin 86 in the Mineo hoard (IGCH 2184) give no indication; all these being hoards of the end of the fourth or early third century.

³⁷ Megara Hyblaia 1949 (IGCH 2135): series 2c, 91, 91, 94, 106, 116; series 2d, 124, 126, 126, 129. The tenth coin is a problem, and could be an unofficial imitation.

Hammon. Most of the stelai of this kind appear to be of the fourth century and later, though the close chronology of this class of material is by no means so precise as that of for instance the coins ³⁸. One symbol, the so-called «sign of Tanit», has already been mentioned in connexion with the coins of series 2b, where this sign makes its appearance. The precise significance and derivation of such symbols is often far from clear.

The *thymiaterion* appearing on coins 91–100 is an incense-burner of similar kind to the Greek equivalent as depicted for instance on coins of Corinth ³⁹. In origin it seems to be an object which can be traced back at least as far as seventh-century Assyrian art ⁴⁰. Its first appearance on Punic stelai is apparently not earlier than the fourth century ⁴¹. There are good examples of it on stelai of the fourth century from





Fig. 4 Punic stele from Constantine (after Moscati L'Epopée des Phéniciens, pl. 16; in the Louvre).

Fig. 5 Punic stele from Lilibaion (after CIS 138: in Palermo).

- 38 In general, see the works of Bisi, Hours-Miédan and the El-Hofra publication.
- ³⁹ Ravel Corinth period IV series vii, xiii, of the fourth century.
- ⁴⁰ E.g. on the relief of Asshurbanipal (669–626 B.C.) from Kuyunjik: Frankfort, Art and architecture of the ancient orient, London 1956, pl. 114.
 - 41 Bisi 95 etc.; Picard as quoted by Bisi 64.

Carthage and of the third century from Lilybaion (Fig. 5) ⁴². It is of interest to note that the name of Ba'al Hammon is interpreted as «Lord of the incense altar» ⁴³. This might suggest that the thymiaterion is specially connected with Ba'al Hammon. But it is to be noted that on the coins (91–100) it is shown beside the female head of the «Arethusa» type – who as mentioned above is unlikely to stand for Tanit. As in the case of the «sign of Tanit» included on coins 86 and 88–90 of series 2 b we have really to dissociate the symbol from the type as having its own separate significance.

The *caduceus* is seen on coins 91–98 (as previously on 87–90), here specifically in conjunction with a flying Nike. The caduceus as such, in its Punic context, has been seen by some as having extremely ancient origins and possible connexions with Babylonian symbols ⁴⁴. Others allow that it may after all have been taken over from



Fig. 6 Punic stele from Carthage (after Antonielli, Notiziario Archeologico 1922, tav. 3). Fig. 7 Neo-Punic stele from El-Hofra (after Berthier-Charlier pl. xxii).

⁴² Hours-Miédan plate XIX a has one flanked by palm-trees. Bisi fig. 45 shows a stele from Carthage depicting a priest sacrificing before a thymiaterion (IV–IIIc); the Lilybaion stele CIS 138 is of the third century.

⁴³ Moscati 178.

⁴⁴ Hours-Miédan p. 35.

the Greeks ⁴⁵. In any case it is a symbol of the greatest importance and frequency on the Punic stelai (Figs. 4–7) often associated with the sign of Tanit; sometimes the handle of the caduceus takes the form of the trunk of a palm-tree ⁴⁶. On some monuments the caduceus is held in the hand by a figure of Ba'al Hammon, or by a semi-humanised (Fig. 4) Tanit. Those who admit a possible classical origin for the Punic caduceus have usually assumed that it is taken over as an attribute of Hermes ⁴⁷. This is possible, of course, but it is interesting to note that it is equally possible as an attribute of Nike. On the present series coins 91–100 have the caduceus exclusively in conjunction with Nike, and this connexion is even more apparent in the coins of series 1 where the flying Nike (as on O 3) carries a caduceus with her wreath. The caduceus as an attribute of Nike is further attested on Greek coins such as those of Kamarina and Terina ⁴⁸.

Also seen on coins 91–100 are an enigmatic pair of Punic letters H B, which are almost impossible to elucidate. Müller's suggestion ⁴⁹ that they are in some way mint names (e.g. = «Hybla» and «Abakainon» – both towns in eastern Sicily and far from the Punic zone!) needs to be mentioned only as a curiosity. On the whole it seems more likely that these letters stand for a personal name ⁵⁰ as in the case of BTW'L on coin 85; if so perhaps the Greek letters which are added on coin 100 stand for some Greek equivalent. Once, on coin 99, the Punic letters are written BH instead of HB but this may be due to the fact that here the whole type is reversed. It may be mentioned that single letters which are found on certain stelai, among them B, H and T have there been interpreted as the initials of deities – Ba'al, Hammon, Tanit ⁵¹; but this hardly helps with the coins, and in any case one could hardly imagine the name of Ba'al Hammon being written as HB (Hammon Ba'al).

The poppy is a prominent symbol on the obverse of coins 101–110 and again on the reverse of 117–119. It does not, apparently, occur as a symbol on the Punic stelai where there is quite a variety of other vegetable symbols such as the pomegranate ⁵². It is to be presumed that the poppy symbol is Greek, and if so perhaps as a symbol of

- 45 Bisi 204 note 4 (citing Picard); El-Hofra p. 184.
- 46 E.g. Hours-Miédan plate IX. It is interesting too to see that the sign of Tanit itself sometimes takes on the partial form of a caduceus, Hours-Miédan plate VII, v; an even more curious combination is shown there plate IX, h and XI, d, where a palm-tree trunk terminates at the top in form of a caduceus, with two «arms» each holding a sign of Tanit.
- ⁴⁷ On Hermes in the Punic context and his equivalent Sakon, C. Picard, Karthago XVII, 1976, 114 ff.
- ⁴⁸ Westermark-Jenkins, Coinage of Kamarina (London 1977) no. 167 and notes 347–348. Another caduceus beside the quadriga on Rsmlqrt coin 23 (part 1), whether or not connected with the Nike above.
 - 49 Müller II, p. 84.
- ⁵⁰ There does not seem to be a satisfactory example in Halff's repertoire, but in El-Hofra no. 23 there is a personal name on a neopunic stele provisionally read as Habdis (ḤBDS), of which the first two letters at least are clear.
 - 51 El-Hofra pl. XLII and p. 208 f.; Hours-Miédan p. 27 and plate VI, f.
 - 52 Hours-Miédan plate XX.

Persephone; for instance on the Syracusan head by Phrygillos which wears a wreath of corn-ears there is also a poppy head worked into the wreath ⁵⁸.

The *crescent*, on coins 114 etc. of series 2c, inevitably recalls the frequent presence on the stelai of a symbol consisting of a crescent containing a disk. This latter is interpreted as a symbol of Tanit, consisting of the image of the planet Venus surmounted by the lunar crescent ⁵⁴. A crescent alone, without the disk, is extremely rare on the stelai though there are examples; one of these, from El-Hofra ⁵⁵, shows a crescent with the points upwards, whereas on our coins the crescent always has the points downwards as is usually the case with the crescent-and-disk ⁵⁶.

Series 2d (122-141) Plates 8-9

This group is mainly characterised by an almost total absence of symbols letters or legends of any kind. Also characteristic is that the horse on the reverse is usually shown in action, either leaping, prancing or stepping, once merely standing. The goddess' head is mostly of rather good Greek style and of the «Arethusa» type; only O 44 has a more «punic» flavour. The only special marks are a pellet on O 43 recalling distantly the Euainetos decadrachms, Gallatin J III, though here the pellet is set in front of the face instead of below the chin as at Syracuse; an analogy for this is seen at Panormos ⁵⁷. Then there is on O 45 the shell symbol likewise deriving ultimately from Syracuse, Gallatin E I, but transferred from behind the neck to below the chin; a closely similar die again with the shell occurs in series 3a (O 49).

The relative positions of the various issues composing series 2d are not positively indicated by any links, each sub-group being discontinous with the others. But we know that the last issue, coins 135–141, must be the last because its obverse die O46 leads without a break into series 3a; and the close similarity of 133–134 to 135 etc. is such that it seems very plausible to put 133–134 directly before 135. The other issues 122–127, 128–130 and 131–132 would be susceptible of some variation, were there any reason for it. In fact the relative positions here given are well consistent with the

Tudeer rev. 29: the poppy is very clear in Hirmer 107. A poppy symbol occurs at Corinth, Ravel period V series i. – The poppy could be an attribute of Aphrodite, as shown by the statue at Sikyon by Kanachos (Pausanias II, 10, 5); to claim any Punic significance on that score would involve emphasising the equivalence of Aphrodite with Astarte, as attested by the cult at Eryx (cf. CIS 135, 140; cf. also CIS 115 mentioned below p. 29).

⁵⁴ Hours-Miédan p. 37; her plate XIII e shows a stele with a crescent-and-disk on the left and a rayed sun on the right. Her plate XIII g seems to combine the two concepts, showing a sun-disk within a crescent. – On a stele in G. C. Picard, Cat. Musée Alaoui I 1955 Cb 577, a «Tanit» forms a single entity with a crescent-and-disk above, the disk becoming the «head» of the Tanit.

⁵⁵ El-Hofra plate VI A.

⁵⁶ It appears on third century coins, e.g. SNG Copenhagen 271, 274.

⁵⁷ SNR 1971 plate 13, 63; cf. also Morgantina, E. Boehringer ZfN 1935, pl. IX, 3; perhaps also of this period.

showing of the Megara Hyblaia 1949 hoard, which as mentioned above (p. 14 and note 37) included specimens of series 2 c along with 2 d; and those from series 2 d are consistently from the earlier issues, namely 124, 126 (2) and 129. The same hoard is vital for our estimate of the absolute date of series 2 d. Consistently with the later stage of the Carthage coins included, as against the Nissoria hoard and others mentioned in connexion with series 2a above (p. 12), the Megara Hyblaia 1949 hoard also contained some later Corinthian issues, those with Δ and AΛ. The Nissoria hoard and others of that phase, it will be recalled, contained only Corinth E and N, the first issues of Corinth period V ⁵⁸, and are to be dated about 340/330 B.C. It would be appropriate to suggest for Megara Hyblaia 1949 a date of about 330/320 B.C. ⁵⁹. In that case, as the final issues of series 2 d are missing from the Megara Hyblaia hoard, it seems hard to think of a date before 320 for the end of series 2 d and the beginning of series 3a, and the transition could well be several years after that.

Series 3a (142–206)

As just stated, the transition to series 3, which develops directly out of series 2 using the same obverse die (O 46) should be dated to about 320 B.C. or the years following, in other words to the first period of Agathokles' tyranny at Syracuse (317–314). At first Carthage under Hamilcar seemed the abettor rather than the opponent of Agathokles, until the treaty of 314; but then there was a change, when Hamilcar was overthrown and replaced by another Hamilcar, son of Gisgon, who seems to have started on active preparations against the Syracusan tyrant, culminating in the victorious battle at Eknomos in 311 which left all Sicily, apart from Syracuse itself, in Carthaginian control for the time. In the light of the new active policy at Carthage 60 it is significant that the prolific series 3 begins with the issue where the legend 'MMHNT' comes into prominence as if to underline the purpose of this new coinage. As will be shown below (p. 25) at this same time belong the coins of series 4, which may well have been connected with the same occasion.

The first obverse die O 46, carried over in worn condition from series 2 d, is of an elegant Greek style followed on subsequent dies until 166; in one case (O 49) with the same shell symbol found on die O 45 of series 2 d. In contrast to this series of fine Greek-style dies, from 166 onwards other styles, plainer and less elegant, take over;

⁵⁸ The sequence of the issues of Corinth period V was already discussed by the writer in ANSCV, 367 ff. and on the whole seems confirmed by the synoptic evidence of hoards (among which that of Pachino 1957, IGCH 2151, is important as one of the very few sizeable hoards of which we have adequate details, published by di Vita in Annali 1958/59). With one small modification, I would repeat the probable sequence as follows: E N Δ AΛ A Γ I AP ΔI AΥ ΔΟ.

⁵⁹ IGCH 2135 «350/325» would now seem to me to suggest a date a shade too early, as indeed does that of Vallet-Villard, «vers le fin du 3^{me} quart», viz. c. 325; cf. part 1, p. 43 for a mention of this same hoard with regard to the Panormos series.

⁶⁰ Cf. e.g. Gsell 3, 18 ff.

of these it seems clear that O 50, 52 and 55 might be by one hand, and O 53, 54 are closely related to these. O 51 stands somewhat apart in style, being the only die in the whole of series 3 where the head faces to the right; simultaneously the horse's head on R 156 also turns to the right and on this and two other reverse dies the legend is given in the form S'MMHNT, otherwise without parallel in this series. As will be seen below, there are analogies with one of the issues of series 4.

The scheme of die-linkages shows that the plainer style of O 50 was brought into use at the same time with the finer Greek style of O 46–49:

Following on this group come O 56–57 (linked by R 171) and then O 58–60 all of which display an arid and formal style different from all the previous dies. Finally the good Greek style returns briefly, linking on to series 3 b. Although both obverse and reverse of 203–205 would intrinsically go better with the earlier part of the series it seems impossible to fit them in there, quite apart from the fact of the direct connexion with series 3 b attested by O 63.

Each of the main different obverse styles seems to have a corresponding style of reverse. The reverses which go with O46–O49 are quite distinctive and two of them overlap with O50. However the style of O50 must correspond with that of the reverse (R 149) which comes in at no. 168; it is considerably less elegant and notably has the legend written in quite a different hand and in larger letters. This style of reverse is typical until 189, with the exception of the reverses which must be by the same hand as O51 (R 156, 158, 159). With O56–57 there is another distinctive reverse style (e.g. R 168), and with O58–60 yet another (e.g. R 172); the connexion between these however is demonstrated by the use with O56 (no. 190) of a reverse (R 167) which could by style equally well belong with O58–60.

Few incidental details seem to call for notice. There is a dearth of symbols except for the shell already mentioned (on O49), and on O56 a sign that is probably rightly described as a «swastika». The latter in a more normal form is not unknown on other Siculo-Punic coins (e.g. Panormos tetradrachm 70), and, as a recognised solar symbol appearing for instance with the head of Apollo at Rhegion 61, is not unexpected in a Punic context in view of the importance of Ba'al Hammon as sungod in Punic religion. However this sign as it occurs here has a very peculiar form, almost like a letter mem but if so strangely deformed; in fact the interpretation as a swastika is almost certainly correct though it is difficult to find a parallel except from

⁶¹ Herzfelder, Les monnaies d'argent de Rhegion (Paris 1957), 98.

a much later period – a stele from El-Hofra of the neopunic period ⁶² does show a swastika symbol rendered as a reversed S with a crossbar, similar to the sign on our obverse O 56 (Fig. 7).

These issues lead directly out of series 3a, the first reverses with the letters M M being linked by a common obverse to the 'MMHNT coins. For the rest of series 3b there is no further revival of the Greek style seen in O 63, the die which links the two series, and the remaining issues show little homogeneity. O 64 initially appearing in an unfinished state with only one dolphin, then completed by the addition of two more, is a rather chubby and agreeable style, while O 65 and 66 though not dissimilar look rather more serious and formal. The odd proportions and expression of O 67 are such as to prompt the description «Punic» style while O 68 and O 69, more expressive, seem likewise more Greek. These three dies are all marked by the appearance of a caduceus on the obverse; which as remarked above regarding series 2 c is an important religious symbol frequently found on Punic stelai, though very possibly of Greek origin. Finally O 70 is again of a style that can only be called Greek, though more meticulous and detailed.

Among the reverse dies there seem to be three main styles. The first is exemplified by R 182, the horse's head rather small and compact; the second by a more exuberant treatment as in R 187–188 with the throat of the horse bulging forwards in a strong curve; the third by the dies such as R 192, of very large proportions, which evidently go with the rather large heads of that group, 223–228. It is the second of these styles which catches the attention since it anticipates one of the fine and strong styles of horse head to be met with in the coins of series 5, Melqart head/horse head (fig. 1). If this were the only indication it would be tempting to place the M M series at the end of the whole series 3 in order to bring these horse heads closer to those of series 5. However the connexion with series 3 a must remain the determining criterion. In any case there need, in all probability, be an interval of not much more than a decade or so between series 3 b and series 5 – on the assumption that the latter began not far from 300 B.C. This will be discussed further in part 4 of this publication.

The scheme of die-links for series 3 b is as follows:

62 El-Hofra plate XXII A and p. 185 f. – It is interesting to note a rather similar form of the Lykian diskelis, shaped like an S with a stroke added at the middle (e.g. the coin of Uteve, Babelon, Traité plate 93, 13): another version of the same basic solar symbol.

Series 3c (229) Plate 18

This consists of a single issue (229) for whose position in the series as a whole there is no real evidence. It is isolated both from the MM and the M issues, and shows only a letter 'ayin in the equivalent position below the horse's head. On the other hand this coin is clearly of the same approximate period as the MM and M issues, and there was for instance a specimen in the Palermo hoard where the two latter groups were prominent. The head has some analogy with some of those in series 3d – e.g. O 72, O 75 – but hardly resembles any others. The possible meaning of the letter 'ayin is a matter for speculation. It would presumably be legitimate, if so desired, to regard this coin as of a different mint, but this too would be purely speculative.

This series on which the letter M (=MHNT?) appears is rather varied and prolific and in fact falls into two groups; linkages as follows.

The first obverse O 72 is of a reasonably Greek style, not far from for instance O 70 in the previous series; it seems probable that there are really four dolphins round the head of O 72 though this is not clear on extant specimens apart from a vestige of something below the head on the London specimen of 232 which may be a fourth dolphin. Four dolphins would be expected from the other dies of this series. O 72 also has a dot below the chin recalling Syracusan prototypes. This die goes through three phases with some recutting; the most remarkable being the final phase where the die takes on an appearance strikingly similar to the Syracusan tetradrachms of Aga-

thokles ⁶³ – with which it is indeed contemporary (fig. 2). After this come two dies of what we can only call a more «Punic» aspect, O 73, O 74. These are followed by O 75 which is closer to O 72. This group then closes with a die which is much more authentically Greek, elegant and expressive (O 76). In the second group distinctively Greek styles are again at first rather prominent; O 77 is again close to the type of O 72 etc., though the treatment is somewhat weaker, and again there is a dot below the chin. The next die O 78 is an astonishing manifestation of Greek artistic quality, clearly in the Praxitelean tradition; it somehow recalls the head from a drachm of Corinth ⁶⁴. For the rest of this group however things are very different. After O 79, which – if competent at its own level – is stolid and rather expressionless, O 80 is a peculiar and mannered little head; then O 81 is coarse and vapid, while the last die O 82 seems as «punicized» as any other head in the series.

With the strange array of heads in series 3d there are linked, in the first group, horse heads of considerable competence and consistency; whereas in the second group there are as many contrasts as with the obverses. For instance, there is the small short-nosed horse of R 210 etc. with three prominent tufts on the forehead; the very large R 211–213 with heavily furrowed nose – these perhaps by the engraver of the generously proportioned head O 78? –; and finally the very odd and somewhat feeble dies like R 221-2-3 presumably by the engraver of O 82 (the last two R 222 and R 223 seem to lack any form of legend).

As we have seen above series 3 started during the early years of Agathokles at Syracuse (c. 317–314 or so). The entire duration of series 3 can hardly have been very much more than a decade. As mentioned above (p. 7) the series 3 coins are fully accounted for in hoards which belong to the final decade of the fourth century. For practical purposes, the most important of these is the Pachino 1957 hoard 65 , in which the coins of Corinth period V were virtually all represented and only the ΔO issue which belongs to the Ptolemaic occupation of Corinth (308–306) 66 is missing. The date of this hoard is c. 305/300. Also represented in the Pachino hoard were the «quadriga» tetradrachms of Agathokles. The presence of these, again together with a significant number of our series 3, is a pattern exactly repeated in a pre-war hoard from Palermo of which the data are preserved in the British Museum. The relative date of both the Agathokles quadriga type and the Carthage series 3 is attested by the fact that it is only in a number of later hoards 67 that there appear the Agathokles

⁶³ Cf. below 24. – The style of the Agathokles tetradrachms (e.g. here p. 6, Fig. 2) seems reflected also in the Panormos issues 75–83 (SNR 1971 plate 14).

⁶⁴ BMC Corinth 225 pl. IX, 7.

⁶⁵ IGCH 2151.

⁶⁶ IGCH 85, Chiliomodi (Ravel's publication).

⁶⁷ E.g. IGCH 2180, Megara Hyblaia 1966; IGCH 2182, Cammarata; IGCH 2184, Mineo; IGCH 2185, Camarina-Scoglitti; also IGCH 2154, Cefalú, which must be later than «c. 300» owing to the presence of the Melgart/horse head type (Carthage series 5). Cf. also Essays Robinson, 151.

Kore head/Nike type together with the Carthage series 5 (Melqart head/horse head – to be dealt with in part 4 of this publication).

The coins of Carthage included in the Pachino hoard are: series 2, 81; series 3, 142, 157, 188, 189, 206, 237, 242; series 4, 271, 272. Those from the Palermo hoard are: series 2 – 89, 132, 139; series 3 – 148, 170, 186, 209, 223, 224, 227 (3 specimens), 229, 230, 248, 257 (2 specimens), 265 (2 specimens). Also from the Palermo hoard were two *Ršmlqrt* coins – 37, 47 (not, as stated in part 1 p. 59, only no. 47). The date associated with the Palermo hoard in the B. M. material is 1936, but this can only signify the date at which the information came to hand, and the hoard must in fact have been found by 1933, since the specimen of Carthage 148 was available in time to appear in the Hamburger sale 98, April 1933 (see catalogue).





Fig. 8 Dido supervising the building of Carthage: Tyre 3 c A.D. Fig. 9 Head of Mithras (?): Amastris 4 c B.C.

Series 4 Nos. 270–272: Head in Phrygian tiara / lion and palm-tree

The fact that this group has been placed here is merely for convenience and is by no means intended to signify its true position in the coinage. Clearly we are here confronted with several special issues marked by the use of exceptional types. The evidence of hoards confirms some loose association of these issues with series 3, and hoard X ⁶⁸ perhaps suggests that the series 4 coins belong in the area of the first part of series 3. Such evidence is not very conclusive but is at least consistent with stylistic indications which definitely seem to put these coins near to those of series 3a or even the final phase of series 2 d.

Each of the issues 270–272 is a distinct entity and was struck from a single pair of dies without any connexion between issues.

68 Hoard X included: Carthage series 3a, 139, 206; series 4, 270, 271, with Corinth V groups Δ I Γ AP – if complete it is therefore slightly earlier than that of Pachino 1957 (A. di Vita, Annali 1958/59, 125 ff. = IGCH 2152) which contained: Carthage series 2a, 81; series 3a, 142, 157, 188, 189, 206; series 2d, 237, 242; series 4, 271, 272, with Corinth V all groups except Δ O, therefore buried in the last decade of the fourth century, or c. 300 B.C. (di Vita). Hoard X is therefore more indicative for series 4.

The fine and sensitive head of no. 270 is evidently close to that of O 46, the obverse which links series 2d with series 3a, and could well be by the same engraver. The palm-tree on the reverse is close to what we see with the prancing horse in series 2d, and the whole conception of the lion reverse seems to derive from that of the current horse and palm-tree and to form a variant of it ⁶⁹. The style of writing in the legend is close to that of the reverses of 142–152 which correspond with obverses O 46 and O 47.

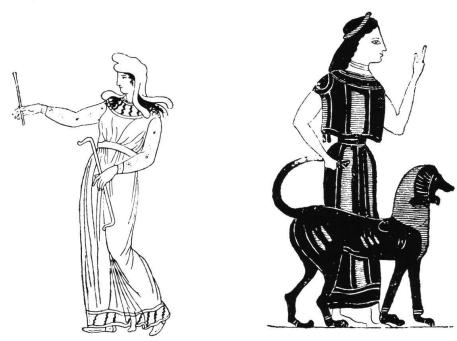


Fig. 10 Artemis in Phrygian dress (after Daremberg-Saglio fig. 2380). Fig. 11 Artemis with lion (after Daremberg-Saglio fig. 2372).

No. 271 does not afford any close analogies of this kind though in general the style of the head is also comparable more with that of O 46 and kindred dies than with others. The palm-tree with its flat spreading branches may recall that of 128 (in series 2d) or of 168 (series 3a) but is not entirely similar to either. The writing of the legend is quite without parallel and betrays confusion, since while reading, as it should, from right to left each letter is reversed as if to read in the other direction.

Finally no. 272 where the head is turned to the right seems closest to the head O 51 in series 3a, also exceptionally turned to the right, as if to suggest that this was the direction that came naturally to this particular engraver. Style and expression have much in common. Much the same may be said of the reverse of 272, comparing it with R 156 of series 3a, 176 and equally with R 157–158 of 178–179, all of which one might reasonably attribute to the engraver of O 51. There is the same slightly shaggy aspect of the lion as well as of the palm-tree of 272, which closely parallels

69 The lion and palm-tree type at Velia (e.g. SNG Oxford 1319 ff.) has little bearing on the Carthaginian type, as it forms but one of a number of types with the signature ΦI and varying symbols – cicada, pentagram, dolphin, corn-ear, palm-tree, grapes, triskelis, trident.

the horse head and palm-tree of 176. The palm-tree of 272 might by itself be compared with that of an earlier coin, 132 (series 2d) but this is probably less indicative since the head of the obverse of 272 is unquestionably so closely akin to O 51. The connexion with the latter is further underlined because of the legend. The legend of 272 is strikingly close to the epigraphy of 176, which, even more important, also uses the form S'MMḤNT instead of the normal 'MMḤNT otherwise constant in series 3. In 176 then we have a close stylistic and epigraphic parallel for 272.

Thus we must conclude that the approximate date indicated for the series 4 issues should be the same as that of the earlier part of series 3, perhaps even the latter part of series 2 d. A date around 320 or during the following years seems to be indicated, in accordance with the chronology of series 2 und series 3 discussed above (p. 20). If it is possible to envisage dating the beginning of series 3 as late as 314 or so, when Carthage adopted a new active policy against Agathokles under the leadership of Hamilcar son of Gisgon, it may be that the special issues of series 4 may also be connected with his preparations for war. The coins under consideration might then be considered as possibly presentation pieces for the elite battalion of 2000 citizens which headed the new armada ⁷⁰.

The interpretation of the types used for series 4 has been varied, and it cannot be said that any really positive or satisfying result has so for been reached.

In the first place, the idea that the head in the Phrygian tiara stands for Dido = Elissa the foundress of Carthage is rather a charming one and not in itself by any means implausible 71. Her true name Elissa, etymologically = «Dieu-femme» or «virago» (female warrior), is considered to begin with the element *Ela* = divinity; the name Dido, later popularised by Vergil, is evidently a sobriquet of uncertain significance but possibly bearing some analogy to that of David, the most famous king of Israel, a name likewise suspected of being a title rather than a true name. Elissa was a perfectly real historical figure, sister to Pygmalion king of Tyre (825–813 B.C.), and incidentally great-niece to Jezebel, the wife of Ahab king of Israel 875–853 B.C. 72. Elissa was married to Pygmalion's high priest Acharbas; the latter having been murdered by the king, Elissa with a band of supporters fled the country, eventually arriving in Africa where she founded the city of Carthage. The foundation date, 814 B.C., is firmly based on a perfectly consistent tradition and in spite of other theories which have been advanced is now strongly supported by the eminent Punic archaeologist, Pierre Cintas 73.

If the coins were intended to represent Elissa, this would be a usage which can be well paralleled from that of various Greek colonies. Examples of founders depicted

⁷⁰ Diodoros XIX, 106.

⁷¹ Supported by e.g. Hill, Sicily 145 (with the proviso «purely conjecture»); Boston catalogue addenda 36 («a queen»).

⁷² Harden 48 gives a useful family tree showing the connexion of the royal houses of Tyre and of Israel.

⁷³ For most of this paragraph, see Cintas, Manuel, esp. pp. 11-21, 463-470.

quite explicitly on Greek coins include that of Leukippos at Metapontion and Pheraemon at Messana; others are not explicitly named. Many of the Greek examples are indeed of purely mythological and non-historical figures ⁷⁴, but the practice of portraying a founder on the coins was well-established and thus makes it perfectly possible and plausible for the same usage to be envisaged in the case of the Carthaginian coins in question, for which there can be little doubt that Greek or at least Greek-trained engravers were employed.

In line with the interpretation as «Dido» is the interesting comment on her head-gear by the writer (P. S.) in the foreword to MMAG sale 43 (p. 6): «Une allusion transparente à son origine, la désigne comme une reine de Tyr, lorsque cette tiara prend par l'imagination d'un graveur la forme baroque du murex, coquillage à pourpre qui fit la richesse de cette ville.» The precise scheme of the rigid, crisp folds as shown on the obverse of 272 is not without parallel in earlier Greek art, as in the headdress of an Amazon on a vase by the Orpheus painter, c. 430 B.C. 75. We need only add that the single certain representation of Dido-Elissa to be found on ancient coins is that of third-century AD Tyre, where a female figure of the foundress is shown overseeing the construction of her new city in Africa (Fig. 8) 76.

Possible doubts about the identification of the head on our coins as that of Elissa may however arise; the identification does not coincidentally suggest any particular explanation for the exceptional type of the lion on the reverse. It is surely impossible to regard the lion as being a nationalistic symbol for Carthage, and especially in view of the use of the lion type on the mid-third century coins of the Libyans and mercenaries precisely at the moment of their great revolt against the Carthaginian state (241–238 B.C.) ⁷⁷. The possible significance of the lion as somehow standing for «Libya» has however been argued in support of the identification of the head as «Libya» ⁷⁸. It is of course by no means impossible to envisage a personified Libya in this way, and such a personification was indeed known from Greek art of the fifth century B.C., where such a figure formed part of a chariot group set up by the sculptor Amphion in honour of Battos I of Cyrene ⁷⁹. Yet this interpretation, for the coins we are considering, not only seems in itself comparatively banal (like Rizzo's «Carthago») but in any case perhaps hardly consistent with Carthaginian nationalism – the Libyans after all were an indigenous people subject to Carthaginian domination.

74 Such as: Iokastos (Rhegion); Aigestes (Segesta – see L. Mildenberg in CIN 1973 New York – Washington, Proceedings 1976, 113 ff.); Taras (Tarentum); Herakles (as Oikistes at Kroton); other possibly historical «founders» include «Archias» (Syracuse, Seltman GC² pl. XLV 9), «Antiphemos» (Gela-Jenkins, Gela p. 114 but see also do. p. 115 addenda for reference to an article by Manganaro considering the same figure as Leukaspis). The case of Leukaspis at Syracuse is somewhat different. On the whole topic, see Lacroix, Monnaies et colonisation dans l'occident grec (Brussels 1965).

- 75 Arias-Hirmer, History of Greek Vase-painting, no. 192.
- 76 BMC Phoenicia pl. XLIV, 8.
- 77 Robinson, A hoard of coins of the Libyans, NC 1953, 27 ff.
- 78 Robinson, Gulbenkian catalogue p. 122.
- 79 Pausanias 10, 15, 6.

It seems clear that we ought to consider the question of the head on these coins in conjunction with the lion on the reverse. There remains the obvious possibility that the head is that of a goddess and that this should be a goddess who has some special association with lions. Müller identifies her as Venus, while Gsell suggests the Phoenician Astarte or alternatively the divinity of Eryx ⁸⁰ – who too is Astarte in Phoenician but in Greek terms could only be Aphrodite. One may well feel uneasy about these suggestions. If it is Aphrodite, the Phrygian headgear and the lion are inappropriate; if Astarte, she had no significant place in the cults of Carthage at this period, having been supplanted by Tanit.

Since it seems clear in any case that the coins we are considering were executed by Greek engravers, it would seem proper to try to identify the types in terms of Greek iconography.

In the first place the female head is wearing an oriental tiara or Phrygian cap. Such a headgear is commonly used in Greek art, especially in vase-painting, to denote not only Amazons, but Trojans, Persians: Persians are also of course familiar enough from coins, wearing an equally distinctive headgear 81. On an Apulian vase of the fourth century B.C. there is a young male head similarly attired who is identified as Adonis 82. Another such appears on fourth century coins of Amastris, possibly Mithras (Fig. 9) 83, and later on imperial-period coins of Asia minor a similar head is common for the god Mên, once also for the legendary king Midas (Prymnessos). More relevant to the present problem however is another figure often shown in similar headgear, and that is the goddess Artemis (Fig. 10); examples are to ue found among Attic and Tarentine terracottas of the fourth century, and elsewhere 84. It does not seem to have been suggested before that the figure represented on our coins might, in Greek terms, be Artemis. The idea seems plausible, especially in view of the fact that Artemis is a goddess much associated with lions and very frequently so presented in Greek art in her role of Potnia Theron (Fig. 11) 85. Several fourth century terracottas from Sicily show Artemis with a lion or palm-tree or both 86. In fact one might say that the lion and palm-tree on the reverse of our coins serves to support the identification of the head as that of Artemis.

If this is correct, we may be able to take a further step, which in fact brings us back to the Carthaginian goddess Tanit. Now of course it is well known that the accepted

⁸⁰ Müller II, p. 75–76, nos. 16–17; Gsell IV, p. 273, n. 5; the goddess of Eryx, cf. n. 53 above. – Harden p. 292, note to plate 110, suggests «Tanit in Punic headdress».

⁸¹ Robinson NC 1948, 43 ff.; Schwabacher, Essays Robinson 111 ff. (Lykia); Cahn, SM 1975, 84 ff.

⁸² Arias-Hirmer, colour plate L and p. 391.

⁸³ Imhoof-Blumer, Monnaies grecques, 227 f. – Richter, Gems I no. 674 identifies a head similar to those of series 4 as being a portrait of Queen Amastris, on admittedly tenuous grounds.

⁸⁴ Higgins, BMC Terracottas no. 731, 1212, 1362 etc.

⁸⁵ Cf. H. A. Cahn, Kleine Schriften, p. 27.

⁸⁶ Archeologia classica 9, 1957, pl. XIV, 2.

equivalent of Tanit in the Greco-Roman pantheon is Juno Caelestis, and there is no question that this was so especially in Roman times. However the whole question of equivalences between Punic deities and the corresponding Greek and Roman ones is not entirely straightforward and direct clear-cut «translations» are not always to be expected – as witness the difficulty experienced in finding satisfactory equivalents in Punic terms for the deities mentioned in the famous «oath of Hannibal» 87. Naturally the question is not simplified by the fact that some Greek deities were also worshipped as such, and in their Greek cults, at Carthage (as Demeter-Persephone). However there is one guide which can prove useful, afforded by the evidence of theophoric names and their Greek equivalents. We have examples of these in certain bilingual (Phoenician-Greek) stelai from Athens and elsewhere 88. These stelai date to the Hellenistic period, as is indicated by the style of the Greek lettering. One of these is a stele dedicated by a man named Abdtanit ('bdtnt = «servant of Tanit»), a Sidonian, whose equivalent Greek name is given as Artemidoros. That such name-translations are by no means arbitrary is shown by other examples: the name of Abdtanit's father, mentioned on the same stele, is Abdshemesh ('bdsms' = «servant of the sun-god») and





Fig. 12 Goddess (Anat) sitting on lion: Hierapolis 4 c B.C. (Seyrig RN 1971). Fig. 13 Goddess enthroned between lions: Hierapolis 3 c A.D.

this is rendered quite literally – and not surprisingly – as Heliodoros. In another similar stele, the name of another Sidonian, Abdashtart ('bd'strt = «servant of Astarte») becomes in Greek Aphrodisios. By this evidence it seems clear enough that just as the sun-god Shemesh is in Greek Helios and Astarte is (as is well known) Aphrodite, so Tanit is here Artemis. It is true that Tanit was most important in the west and there had a position comparable with that of Astarte in the east: and the stele which provides the evidence here considered was dedicated by a Sidonian and not a Carthaginian. At the same time, it is obvious that Tanit had some meaning also for the Phoenicians of the east, as witness not only the name of Abdtanit in the inscription cited, but also from another inscription from Carthage itself mentioning

⁸⁷ Moscati 181 ff.: but now see J. G. Fevrier, Cahiers de Byrsa VI 1956, 13 ff.

⁸⁸ CIS I, i, p. 139 ff., no. 115; p. 141 ff., no. 116. – Stele no. 116 reads: APTEMI $\Delta\Omega$ PO Σ H Δ IO $\Delta\Omega$ PO Υ Σ I $\Delta\Omega$ NIO Σ . Phoenician text: mṣbt skr bhym l'bdtnt bn 'bdšm's bṣdny. Translation in CIS: «Cippus in memoriam inter vivos, Abdtanito, filio Abdsemesi, Sidonio».

Astarte together with «Tanit of the Lebanon» 89. With all necessary qualifications, the Tanit-Artemis equivalent provided by the Athens stele seems highly suggestive for our purpose.

If we may in Greek terms identify the head of the goddess in the tiara on our coins as Artemis, it is very tempting to apply the evidence here cited to make the «trans-







Fig. 14 Kybele riding on lion: Dokimaion 3 c A.D. Kybele in lion chariot: Kotiaion time of Caracalla Astarte (?) riding on lion: Sidon 3 c A.D.

lation» into Punic terms as Tanit. Artemis, viewed as in some sort a nature goddess, is in any case by no means inconsistent with the general concept of Tanit, especially when her close relation with the sun-god, her brother Apollo, is so clearly parallel to the relation of Tanit with the Punic sun-god Ba'al Hammon ⁹⁰. In particular, the close association of Artemis with lions – an association which she shares with



Fig. 15 Sekhmet (= Tanit?) as «Genius tutelaris Africae»: Roman 47/46 B.C.

89 Harden p. 79 f.: CIS 3914: P. Ronzevalle, Mélanges de l'Université de St-Joseph, Beyrouth, V, 1912, 75 ff. – One piece of evidence for an eastern cult of Tanit seems to be provided by coins of Askalon showing a warrior-like figure (often identified, though by no means conclusively, as male) accompanied by the legend Φ ANEBAA and even once by a «sign of Tanit» (BMC Palestine, p. 129, no. 187). It is presumably Tanit in some forme, and the title is precisely paralleled in an inscription from El-Hofra, written in Punic language but Greek letters (El-Hofra p. 167), the first lines of which read: Λ AAOYN AY BAA AMOYN OY AY PYBAO ω N Θ INI Θ Φ ANE BAA (viz. l 'dn l b'l bmn w l rbtn tnt pn b'l = «To the Lord Baal Hammon and the Lady Tanit face of Baal»).

⁹⁰ J. G. Fevrier, Cahiers de Byrsa VI, 1956, 13 ff.: J. Ferron, Africa I, 1966, 41 ff.

Apollo – once again finds a parallel on a larger scale with the oriental Astarte-Asherat-Atargatis-Anath etc., even Kybele the «Magna Mater» of Asia Minor; these too are typically associated with lions, as we know from fourth century coins of Hierapolis and from later coins of Sidon and of Phrygia (Figs. 12–14) 91.

Seen in this wider context, what has been said here may suggest the possibility of a satisfying interpretation of the coin types of series 4. If it is correct however it reflects back indirectly to the problem mentioned above concerning the «Kore» and «Arethusa» heads of series 2 and 3; by implication the possibility of those heads also conceivably standing in some sense for Tanit must be thought to be diminished if in series 4 we have the Carthaginian goddess represented as Artemis.

⁹¹ Cf. Cahn, Kleine Schriften, p. 27: Seyrig RN 1971, pl. II, 11: BMC Cappadocia etc. pl. XVII, 14: BMC Phoenicia pl. XXV, 8 (Sidon): BMC Phrygia pl. XXI, 4, XXIV, 6. – There is a further association of Tanit with lions, though of later date, if it is correct that this goddess is represented in the form of the Egyptian lion-headed goddess Sekhmet in statues from Thinissut (first century A.D. – G. C. and C. Picard, Life and death of Carthage, London 1968, plate 27). In this connexion compare the Sekhmet figure on Roman denarii minted in Africa 47/46 B.C. (BMC RR II, Africa 8–9), holding in the hand an object usually described as an «ankh» but which from its shape would be better described as a «sign of Tanit» (Fig. 15).

Catalogue

Summary

Series 2 a Plates 1–4: 49–85 Dies: obverse 16, rev	erse 34				
Head of Kore with corn-ears 49–60 QRTḤDŠT 60–67 M 68–76 nil	Horse before palm-tree, stepping to left				
Head of Arethusa (without corn-ears) 77–85	Horse stepping to right 85 BTW'L				
Series 2b Plate 4: 86–90 Dies: obverse 3, reverse	5				
Head of Kore with corn-ears and pendant collar, dolphins	Horse before palm-tree, standing to right				
86 sign of Tanit 87 nil 88–90 sign of Tanit	86 sun symbol, flower (lily?) 87–90 caduceus				
Series 2c Plates 5-7: 91-121 Dies: obverse 10, reverse 28					
Head of Arethusa (without corn-ears) 91-93 head left thymiaterion	Horse before palm-tree, stepping to right 91–98 Nike crowning horse, caduceus, Punic letters ḤB				
94–99 head right thymiaterion	99 do. but letters BH				
100 do. dot below chin	Nike crowning horse, caduceus, Punic letters ḤB, Greek ΣΩ				
Head of Arethusa (without corn-ears) two dolphins 101–110 poppy head	Horse before palm-tree stepping to right				
III-II2 nil					
Head of Arethusa, four dolphins	Horse stepping				
113–119	114-119 Horse standing				
	114, 116 crescent				
	poppy head poppy head, crescent				
Head of Kore with corn-ears and pendant collar, dolphin	Horse standing				
120–121	120–121 crescent				
Series 2 d Plates 8-9: 122-141 Dies: obverse 5, reverse 18					
Head of Arethusa (without corn-ears)	Horse before palm-tree				
122–127 empty field	122–127 leaping				
128–130 three dolphins, pellet	128–130 stepping				
131-132 head right, four dolphins	131–132 prancing				
133-134 head left, four dolphins, shell 135-141 do. (no shell)	133–134 standing 135–141 prancing				

Series 3 a Plates 9-16: 142-206 Dies: obverse 18, reverse 53

Head of Arethusa to left, four dolphins

Horse head to left, palm-tree

'MMHNT

160-165 shell

176-180 head right

176 horse head right

176, 178–179 S'MMḤNT

190-194 «swastika»

Series 3 b Plates 16-18: 207-228 Dies: obverse 8, reverse 15

Head of Arethusa to left

same type

letters M M

207-208 four dolphins

209 one dolphin

210-221 three dolphins 222-227 one dolphin, caduceus

228 three dolphins

Series 3c Plate 18: 229 Dies: obverse 1, reverse 1

Head of Arethusa, one dolphin

same type

letter 'ayin

Series 3 d Plates 18-21: 230-269 Dies: obverse 11, reverse 17

Head of Arethusa

same type

letter M

230-233 three (?) dolphins

234-260 four dolphins

261

three dolphins

262-269 four dolphins

268-269 head right

Series 4 Plate 22: 270-272 Dies: obverse 3, reverse 3

Head of goddess wearing Phrygian tiara

Lion walking before palm-tree

S'MMHNT

Dates

Series 2 c. 350-320/315 B.C.

Series 3 c. 320/315-c. 305/300 B.C.

Series 4 c. 320-315 B.C.

Legends etc.

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Plate I

Series 2 a 16.62 Oxford SNG 2157 = Lockett SNG III 1047 = Münzh. Basel 49 O 13 Head with triple-drop earring and 4, 1164 = Platt 3.4.1933,plain necklace, wearing wreath with 219 corn-ears. Legend QRTHŠT 16.99 Private collection Y = R 43 Horse walking in front of palm-tree; Jameson 912 = Montagu II double ex. line, linear border 448 17.02 Egger 45, 840 54 O 14 16.70 Guadan R 48 Similar, single ex. line (?), tree trunk 17.00 * London (PCG pl. 31, 20) thinner, drooping branches Palermo 17.35 * Copenhagen 75 50 O 13 17.05 Paris Luynes 1435 R 44 Similar; single ex. line? Pennisi (SNR 53, 1974, 16.80 * ANS pl. 6, B) 51 O 13 55 O 14 R 45 Similar; double ex. line R 49 Similar, branches of tree more 16.47 Lockett SNG III 1048 = spreading Egger 26. 11. 1909, 434 = 17.50 * Allotte de la Fuye 1727 SC 1927, 1152 16.66 * Naples 4780 56 O 14 R 50 Similar 52 O 14 Similar, smaller head, corn-ears more 16.21 Naples 4781 17.29 * Paris 2324 protruding; fragment of inner linear border near top of head and cutting legend; outer linear border. 57 O 14 Legend QRTHDŠT R 51 Similar R 46 Similar, double ex. line; more compact, * ANS branches of palm-tree less spreading 16.77 Schulman 264, 1976, 5088 16.25 Berlin 17.38 Boston 494 = Warren 420 58 O 14 16.49 Lloyd SNG II 1627 R 52 Similar, horse's head lower, hooves not 17.02 * London = Morgan 193 touching ex. line 16.75 * Paris Vogué 45 17.07 * Paris 2367 53 O 14 59 O 15 Similar to O 14 but smaller. R 47 Similar, thicker tree trunk Legend QRTHDŠT 17.00 Hirsch 21, 4664 R 53 Similar 16.88 * London 17.30 * Lewis = Leu Sicilia 1962, 148 Plate 2 60 O 15 R 55 Similar, horse standing more rigidly R 54 Similar, horse's hind hoof stretching with foreleg sharply bent; branches of back tree compact, trunk tapering. * Myers-Adams 5, 1973, 63 Single ex. line 16.88 * Glasgow Hunter 3

61 O 16 Taller head, wreath with corn-ears,

single-drop earring, plain necklace. No border. Letter mem in field (cat. pl. xciii. 9)

- O 16
 R 56 Similar, trunk of tree not touching ex. line
 17.05 * Berlin

 O 17 Closely similar to O 16 and possibly recut from it; triple earring. Letter
 - mem in field with longer tail
 R 57 Similar, hind legs closer together,
 tree trunk thicker; no ex. line
 16.20 ANS
 17.26 * London
 17.33 Oxford SNG 2156

 Paris 2347
- 64 O 17
 R 58 Similar to R 55-56, palm branches assymetrical, single ex. line
 17.13 Copenhagen 76
 17.02 * Gulbenkian 369 = Naville 6,
 581
- O 18 Similar to O 16–17 but larger and of more strongly «Punic» style; triple-drop earring, plain necklage, wreath with corn-ears. Letter mem in field R 59 Similar, foreleg very sharply bent,

tree trunk thick, no ex. line

16.95 Paris Luynes 1443

Pennisi

17.28 * Private collection Y =

Naville 6,582 = Prowe 1904,

1789 = Ciani 1955, 198

66 O 18
R 60 Similar, tree higher, no ex. line
16.94 Cambridge SNG 1478
16.97 * London
17.18 MMAG 43, 14

67 O 18
R 61 Similar, branches of tree more projecting, no ex. line
17.17 * Berlin
- Sambon 6. 7. 1921, 221

- 68 O 19 Similar but smaller and neater head, wreath with corn-ears, no letter in field
 - R 62 Similar but horse's foreleg doubly bent, no ex. line
 17.16 * Lockett SNG 1045 = Naville
 5, 3002
 16.50 Vienna 6738
- 69 O 20 Smaller variant of previous die R 62 16.97 * Berlin
- 70 O 21 Head of Greek style, hair compactly rendered, wreath with single leaf and corn-ears, single-drop earring, dotted necklace; dotted border
 - R 63 Horse with front legs crossed, hind hoof overlapping tree trunk, tree with compact branches, heavy ex. line 16.95 ANS = Hirsch 13, 4616 = Bourgey 15. 10. 1909, 63
 17.00 Cleveland = Hirsch 32, 622
 Glendining 9. 6. 1930, 605
 17.43 * London
 17.05 Syracuse 48299, Gibil Gabib hoard
- 71 O 21
 R 64 Similar with small variations
 16.78 * London Lloyd 1626 SNG =
 AC 14, 152
 17.36 Schulman 264, 1976, 5089

Plate 3

- 72 O 21
 R 65 Similar, horse's front hooves crossed, tree less regular
 17.23 * Naville 6, 591 = Hirsch 31, 649
 16.70 Vienna 6741
- O 22 Similar to O 21 except in detail, leaf of wreath points more upward

 R 66 Similar but palm-tree higher above horse
 16.39 * Berlin

74 O 22 78 O 24' Basically same die but after some R 67 Similar, horse's legs straighter, tall reworking, as on the upper outline of tree with wider spreading branches the hair and especially the upper leaf * Palermo of the wreath which is now more bent, and the eye and mouth Syracuse 48300, Gibil Gabib hoard R 71 Similar, horse's hind legs flexed 16.72 Cambridge McLean 3042 Schulman 1976 17.18 London Lloyd SNG 1625 75 O 22 17.15 * Private collection Y = R 68 Similar MMAG 13, 1225 * Syracuse 54548, Nissoria hoard O 24' Die now showing signs of wear in field R 72 Similar 76 O 23 Similar but two prominent leaves in 16.64 * Copenhagen 77 R 69 Similar to R 66 but horse's head more 80 O 25 R 73 Similar up 16.92 ANS 18.45 * MMAG 43, 17 16.83 * Cambridge McClean 3035 15.89 Naville 10, $363 = M\ddot{u}nzh$. 16.60 MMAG list 351, 3 =Basel 1948, 506 Naville 1, 3297 81 O 25' Recut? R 73 O 24 Head of strongly Greek style to right; 16.56 Berlin wreath with three prominent radiat-16.36 * Hague ing leaves but no corn-ears; triple 17.00 Hamburger 27. 5. 1929, 176 earring, dotted necklace Hirsch 33, 987 16.73 R 70 Horse to right, standing with one 16.28 Syracuse, Pachino hoard 1957 foreleg raised, tree of regular shape, (di Vita no 33) low above horse's back, single ex. line 16.58 Vinchon 3. 3. 1975, 18 16.92 * Hague 16.68 * Gulbenkian 370 = Naville 6, 82 O 25' R 72 16.81 * Leu-Hess 1956, 234 14.28 Leu-Hess 1957, 140 Plate 4 83 O 26 Similar but slightly plainer style, O 28 Similar, compact head 85 leaves of wreath simplified R 76 Similar, horse's foreleg raised high. Below along palm-tree, legend BTW'L R 74 Similar, horse's hind legs straight, 16.61 * Copenhagen 78 head erect Sicilian hoard, Zograph NC 18.01 * ANS = Naville 6,59017.04 Cumberland Clark 355 1928, p. 115 note 2 84 O 27 Similar, refined but slightly austere style Series 2 b R 75 Similar 16.50 Lockett SNG 1044 = AC 86 O 29 Tall head to right, triple-drop earring, 12, 1072 pendant necklace, wreath with corn-17.79 * London ears; in front, two dolphins. Behind in field, «sign of Tanit» 16.35 Paris Luynes 1438

- R 77 Horse standing stiffly in front of palm-tree, which has thick branches and large date clusters; on double ex. line, flower with central spike (lily?); above in field sun-disk with sixteen rays
 - Berlin 17.13 * London
- 87 O 30 Larger head with deepset eye, earring pendant necklace, wreath with cornears; in front two dolphins, behind a further dolphin (partly visible on Copenhagen specimen only); plain border
 - R 78 Similar, palm-tree with wide branches and very thick trunk; single ex. line; in front caduceus
 - 17.04 * Copenhagen 79
 - 17.07 Oxford SNG 2154
 - * SC 24. 3. 1902, 15 (SNR 1971 pl. 21 A)
- 88 O 31 Similar but more expressive style, wreath with corn-ears, earring and pendant necklace; in front and below, three dolphins; plain border; behind in field *sign of Tanit*
 - R 79 Horse standing with one leg flexed, palm-tree with thin trunk leaning slightly forwards relative to ex. line; in front in field caduceus (of which the head is partly obscured on many specimens by a die-break)
 - Berlin
 - 17.10 Cahn 80, 496 = Helbing 70, 540
 - 16.75 Hague
 - 17.03 * Hague
 - 16.88 Hirsch 15, 1346 = Merzbacher 1910, 895
 - 17.05 Hirsch 32, 624 = Egger 45, 837
 - 17.44 Leu-Hess 1962, 131
 - 17.15 MMAG 43, 16
 - 17.08 Naville 6, 592 = Hirsch 32, 623
 - Paris 2365
 - 15.98 Paris Luynes 1439
 - 16.56 * Private collection X

- Salton
- 17.11 Schulman 264, 1976, 5087 (not hoard)
- Syracuse 25283, Mineo hoard
- 89 O 31
 - R 80 Similar, horse standing higher, trunk of palm-tree thicker, head of caduceus smaller
 - ANS
 - 17.15 Berlin
 - 16.51 Egger 10. 12. 1906, 416
 - 17.19 * Gulbenkian 368 = Navil!e
 - 16.75 Hirsch 30, 628 = Hess 1935, 286
 - 17.10 Hirsch, 14, 597
 - 17.27 Leu-Hess 1964, 94
 - 16.53 Leu-Hess 1956, 230
 - 16.65 Lockett SNG 1039 = Naville 1,3299
 - 16.72 London Lloyd SNG 1619 =
 Benson 799 = SC 1927, 1154
 - 16.89 London Lloyd SNG 1620
 - 17.34 Naville 5, 3003 = Ratto 1909, Froehner 5730
 - 16.70 Paris Luynes 1440
 - Pennisi
 - 17.14 * Private collection X, Palermo hoard
 - 16.50 Ratto 1927, 446
 - 15.84 Vatican 939
- 90 O 31
 - R 81 Similar, horse's head slightly lowered, tree trunk slightly out of line above and below horse, caduceus leans towards horse
 - 16.49 Aberdeen SNG 98
 - 16.96 Egger 40, 855
 - 17.05 * Hague
 - 17.09 * London
 - 17.16 Naples 4784
 - Palermo
 - Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1966

Series 2 c

- 91 O 32 Head to left with earring and dotted necklace, wreath without corn-ears; no dolphins in field. In front, thymiaterion
 - R 82 Horse with front leg flexed and slightly raised, head level; at end of ex. line, caduceus, above which Nike flying to crown horse, her feet almost touching caduceus. On ex. line below horse, letters HB
 - 17.27 Lockett SNG 1040
 - 17.12 * MMAG 43, 20
 - 16.50 Syracuse 55851, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1949
 - 16.00 Syracuse 55852, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1949
- 92 O 32
 - R 83 Similar, horse's head lowered, Nike's knee touching caduceus; letters ḤB on ex. line
 - 17.21 Baltimore = Naville 6, 588
 - Berlin
 - 16.71 Cambridge McClean 3040 = Sotheby 19. 12. 1907, 507
 - 16.18 Hague
 - 16.63 London
 - 17.06 * Lloyd SNG 1621
 - 17.35 Paris Luynes 1446
- 93 O 32
 - R 84 Similar, caduceus smaller, touching horse's front leg, Nike higher up; letters ḤB on ex. line 17.04 * Niggeler 542
- 94 O 33 Head to right, with earring and necklace both linear and dotted; less refined style than O 32. In field thymiaterion. Dotted border
 - R 85 Similar, horse wearing collar, caduceus leaning forward, letters ḤB on double ex. line
 - Berlin
 - 17.30 Gulbenkian 367
 - Hirsch 8, 942
 - Hirsch 26, 119
 - 16.90 Hirsch 19, 648

- 17.16 Lewis
- 16.47 * London Lloyd SNG 1622
- 16.44 London
- 16.87 Naville 6, 585 = Bourgey 29. 5. 1911, 49 = Hirsch 29, 878
- 17.16 Naville 4, 997 = Hirsch 34, 535 = Sotheby 19. 12. 1907, 505
- 17.32 Paris Luynes 1444
- 17.22 Paris 2352
- 17.05 SC 1927, 1150
- 16.75 Sotheby 19. 12. 1907, 506
- 16.95 Syracuse 55846, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1949
- 95 O 33
 - R 86 Similar, horse stepping out with raised foreleg; single ex. line, on which letters HB
 - 16.95 AC 16, 931
 - 17.15 Brussels Hirsch 831
 - 17.25 Hirsch 13, 4615 = Hirsch 20, 469
 - 16.86 Hirsch 16, 695 = Münzh. Basel 4, 1165
 - * Myers 1971, 51
 - 15.70 SC 1927, 1151
- 96 O 33 Signs of wear on die
 - R 87 Similar, horse's movement more restrained, caduceus very tall; letters HB on ex. line
 - 17.27 * Hague = Hess 18. 3. 1918, 756
 - 16.30 Hamburger 29. 5. 1929, 498
 = Glendining 18. 4. 1955,
 - 17.28 Hirsch 21, 4673 = Merzbacher 2. 11. 1909, 3187 = Naville 12, 1071
 - 17.07 Lockett SNG 1041 Munich
- 97 O 33
 - R 88 Similar, letters ḤB above ex. line; Nike and caduceus off flan, but presumably present on die
 - 17.21 * ANS = Merzbacher 2.11.1909, 3188

98		Similar caduced HB on 17.01 — 17.11 17.20 *	ed wear of die , horse wearing collar, small as touching Nike's feet; letters ex. line ANS Berlin Jameson 910 = Leu-Hess 1956, 231 Leu-Hess 1968, 118 = Naville 5, 2999 London Naples 4819 Paris 2353 Platt, collection A 1930, 816	100		17.13 17.25 16.56 17.44 17.08 * 17.14 * Similar chin; po	Naville 5, 3000 Naville 6, 587 = Hess 207, 226 Private collection Y = Sotheby 21. 2. 1929, 37 Stockholm Smith 447 = Naville 6, 586 head but of cruder style; below ellet; in front thymiaterion
99	0 22	Die sho	owing increased wear		R 91		nd palm-tree to right generally to those of nos. 91 ff., horse
99		Type of before, horse's 17.20 17.26 — — 16.65	f left, Nike and caduceus as double ex. line, letters flanking foreleg BḤ AC 15, 433 = Hirsch 16,696 ANS = AC 16,930 Berlin Glendining 31. 1. 1951, 313 Hirsch 32, 621 = Luneau 936 Leu Sicilia 147			standing line, sm head, do Greek l 17.15 17.15 17.45 *	g on short thick (double?) ex. nall caduceus in front of horse's otted border. Letters HB below, etters $\Sigma\Omega$ in field above AC 15, 434 ANS Leu-Hess 1962, 132 London Lloyd SNG 1623 = Naville 10, 362
			Plate	e 6			
101	O 35	drop ea	losely similar to O 33, triple- arring, dotted necklace. In wo dolphins, behind poppy Dotted border	102	O 35	16.20 17.35	Paris Luynes 1437 Sotheby 19. 12. 1907, 502
	R 92	Very ta	ll horse standing stiffly, foreleg, tall palm-tree, double		R 93		horse's hind legs apart London Lloyd SNG 1624 Naville 4, 1001 = Hirsch 19,
		- 16.70	Berlin Guadan Hirsch 15, 1350 = Maddalena 628	1/03	O 35 R 94		
		17.24	Hirsch 14, 602 = Hirsch 29, 880	104	O 35	10.50	~~, ~~, ~~, ~~, ~~)
		17.13 *	London (NC 1926, pl. viii 6)	150		Similar	, horse's hind legs together
		17.10	Naville 6, 595 = Hess 207, 225			16.89 * 17.23	Leu-Hess 1956, 233 Lockett SNG 1043 =
			Leu-Hess 1957, 141				Naville, 1002
		16.83	Leu-Hess 36, 1968, 119 =			17.03	Naples S 8095
			Naville 5, 3007				Private collection Y
		-	Paris 2355			17.10	Schulman 16. 12. 1926, 213

105		Closely similar to O 35, dolphins in front, poppy behind Horse's front legs together	109	O 37 R 100	Similar, horse and tree taller 16.44 *Brussels			
		- 17.10 * Baltimore = Naville 6, 596 - Bourgey 25. 5. 1950, 91	110	O 37 R 101	Similar, tall slender horse, thick ex. line			
106	O 36 R 97	Horse has one front leg raised 17.20 * Sotheby 19. 12. 1907, 503 16.65 Syracuse 55845, Megara		00	17.10 Helbing 1930, 163 = Glendining 9. 3. 1931, 1181 17.20 * MMAG 43, 18			
107	O 36	Hyblaia hoard 1949	III	O 38	Head of similar refined style but large; dolphins in front but no poppy			
·	R 98	Similar 17.00 * Boston 493		R 101	16.96 * AC 15, 435			
108	O 37	Similar, a more refined version of preceding heads, dolphins in front			16.97 Cambridge SNG 1479 17.32 Lewis = Leu-Hess 1957, 142			
	R 99	and poppy behind Similar to R 96 17.16 Leu-Hess 1956, 232 17.16 * Lewis = MMAG 11, 503						
	Plate 7							
112	O 38 R 102	Similar but larger 16.95 AC 16, 933	115	O 39 R 104	Similar horse, leaning forwards on			
		- ANS - Berlin 16.95 Leu-Hess 1962, 129 17.35 Naples 4783 - * Private collection Y 16.80 Vienna 6737			the front legs; no crescent 17.31 * Cambridge McClean 3038 17.04 Copenhagen 81 16.35 London 17.06 Naville 12, 1073 = Hirsch 19, 649 = Baranowsky 4, 785			
113		- ANS - Berlin 16.95 Leu-Hess 1962, 129 17.35 Naples 4783 - * Private collection Y 16.80 Vienna 6737 Head to left, of the Syracusan Euainetos style, with four dolphins; dotted border	116		17.31 * Cambridge McClean 3038 17.04 Copenhagen 81 16.35 London 17.06 Naville 12, 1073 = Hirsch 19, 649 = Baranowsky 4, 785 Die showing signs of wear Similar to R 103; double ex. line, crescent placed sideways close to			
113		- ANS - Berlin 16.95 Leu-Hess 1962, 129 17.35 Naples 4783 - * Private collection Y 16.80 Vienna 6737 Head to left, of the Syracusan Euainetos style, with four dolphins;	116		17.31 * Cambridge McClean 3038 17.04 Copenhagen 81 16.35 London 17.06 Naville 12, 1073 = Hirsch 19, 649 = Baranowsky 4, 785 Die showing signs of wear Similar to R 103; double ex. line,			

117 O 39

R 106 Similar to last but horse taller; on ex. line poppy, in upper left field crescent (? – trace on ANS specimen)

16.72 ANS

16.85 * London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Salting SNG 14

118 O 39

R 107 Tall horse, body rising towards the front; on ex. line poppy (larger than on R 106), in upper left field crescent 16.97 * London

119 O 39 Die now at its most worn

R 108 Similar to last, horse's body stouter and more level; poppy on ex. line, crescent in field

16.90 Cambridge McClean 3039

16.35 Hess-Leu 1957, 139

17.09 * London Lloyd SNG 1618

Private collection Y

- Sotheby 26. 7. 1920, 34

- Syracuse, Gagliardi 1004

120 O 40 Head to left, of Punic style, wreath with corn-ears, triple earring, pendant necklace. Behind in field, dolphin

R 109 Horse standing rigidly before palmtree (as in R 103 etc.); double ex. line. In field, crescent

16.71 ANS

17.12 Berlin

16.95 Hirsch 15, 1348

16.91 London

16.94 * London = Lockett 1046

17.32 MMAG 43, 15

Pennisi

17.00 * Private collection X = Hamburger 98, 460

121 O 41 Head of a different style, but similar with corn-ears, pendant necklace and do!phin

R 109

Berlin

17.21 Brussels = Carfrae 354

17.27 * Cambridge McClean 3036

17.12 * Sambon 19. 12. 1907, 504

16.60 SC 1927, 1153

Plate 8

Series 2d

Greek style head, a rather plain version of the Syracusan Euainetos head; field empty; dotted border

R 110 Horse, in front of palm-tree, leaping up, hind legs together on the ground, front legs raised thick ex. line
17.11 * Cambridge McClean 3037
16.26 Ward 370

123 O 42

R III Closely similar, slightly smaller and front legs closer together

16.80 Hirsch 31, 651 = Sotheby 19. 12. 1907, 509

17.22 Leu-Hess 1956, 228

17.02 * London Lloyd SNG 1616

16.63 Merzbacher 2. 11. 1909, 3190

17.09 Niggeler 541

124 0 42

R 112 Similar to R 110 but horse's tail thicker, shape of palm-tree different and date bunches larger

17.13 * AC 16, 934

17.22 ANS = Hirsch 14, 603 = Hirsch 32, 626 = Delbeke 240

Berlin

17.02 Boston 488

16.50 Syracuse 55849, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1949

125 0 42

R 113 Horse and tree both taller, horse's tail with a pronounced wiggle, thin ex. line

17.07 * AC 15, 436 = Naville 10, 365

17.16 Leu-Hess 1962, 128

126 O 42 R 11

R 114 Similar to last, tail of horse further back and head slightly more up

Berlin

17.24 Brussels = Hirsch 20, 471

17.22 * Gulbenkian 363 = AC 13, 383

17.00 Paris Luynes 1433

17.05 Sotheby 19. 12. 1907, 508

16.95 Syracuse 55847, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1949

16.10 Syracuse 55848, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1949

 Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967

127 042

R 114' Altered form of previous die; horse's tail and ex.line thickened; horse's neck and mane cut back towards date-bunch

17.34 Gulbenkian 364 = Naville 6, 597

17.23 Hirsch 19, 653

17.20 Hirsch 14, 604

17.09 Jameson 913

1713 * Lockett SNG 1037 = AC 14, 153 = Naville 1, 3298

17.08 MMAG 43, 21

Greek style head of the Euainetos type, more animated than the last; pellet in front, three dolphins (flaw – not corn-ear – above)

R 115 Horse stepping in front of palm-tree, one forehoof and one hind-hoof off ground; branches of tree rather broad 17.00 Hirsch 14, 601

17.00 Illisch 14,001

16.68 London

17.01 * MMAG 43, 22

129 043

R 116 Similar, palm-tree has much broader branches and high top

16.86 Copenhagen 83

16.97 Hirsch 19, 651 = Leu-Hess 1966, 176

16.83 L!oyd SNG 1614 = Hirsch 20, 470 = Naville 4, 1000 = Hirsch 13, 4617 = Hess 18. 3. 1918, 757 = Merzbacher 2. 11. 1909, 3189

17.15 * London

17.21 Niggeler 540

17.25 Private collection Y = Hess 1954, 207

16.95 Syracuse 55843, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1949

130 O 43

R 117 Similar, branches of palm-tree intermediate between those of R 115 and R 116

17.24 AC 16, 932
- Berlin

16.38 Glasgow Hunter 2

16.66 Hartford, Conn. = Sotheby 1924, 6

16.88 * Lockett SNG 1035 =
Sotheby 19. 12. 1907, 510 =
Naville 1, 3296

17.23 Naville 6, 594
- Paris 2360

131 O 44 Head to right, a large and «punicized» version of the Euainetos scheme; four dolphins; dotted border

R 118 Horse prancing in front of palm-tree; the tree very tall with strongly splayed branches; double ex. line

17.05 Cambridge McClean 3043

17.21 Gulbenkian 366 = Naville 5, 3006

17.19 Hirsch 33, 986

17.19 London

17.04 * Private collection Y = Münzh. Basel 8, 329

132 O 44 Die showing signs of wear

R 119 Similar, palm-tree which much lower top and flatter branches, trunk leaning forward relative to ex. line

16.61 Berlin

17.50 Boston 492

17.09 * Copenhagen 82

16.72 Delbeke 242

17.02 * Lockett SNG 1038 =
Naville 4, 999 = Hirsch 19,
650

17.29 London Lloyd SNG 1615 =

	Naville 6, 593 = Late collector 499 - Palermo hoard - Paris 2363			16.74	Paris Luynes 1436 Platt 3. 4. 1933, 220 = AC 15, 437 Vienna 38909
	Plate	9			
133 045				_	Syracuse Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967
R 120	Horse standing, with raised foreleg, before palm-tree; thick exergua baseline; small pellet at tip of lower left branch 16.80 *ANS = Sotheby 19.12.1907, 511 16.60 Hart, Blackburn 16.97 * Leu-Hess 31, 1966, 177	137	O 46 R 123	togethe of left h hidden	horse's hind legs closer r, branches of tree wider, tip branch and date-bunch partly by horse's mane Lewis = Sotheby 21.11.1929,
	16.90 Lewis 17.02 Nanteuil 411 = Hirsch 33, 985 = Montagu 447 = Benson 796	138	O 46 R 124	in fron Similar	f wear beginning on dolphin t of nose , horse's head up a little, front ore apart Berlin
	Some signs of die-wear, as in the shell 'Same die with some alterations in the area above the horse's back, the date-bunches smaller and some alteration of the horse's mane 16.45 * Hague 16.61 MMAG 43, 23 17.00 Paris 2357				Gulbenkian 365 Hague Hindamian 286
*	17.31 * Private collection Y = Castro Maya 35	139	O 46 R 125		, horse's head a little more up, gs closer, tree leaning relative
135 O 46	Similar to previous with four dolphins but no symbol; dotted border			to ex. li	ne, tips of left branches by horse's mane; linear border Berlin
	Horse prancing to left, before palmtree, head well down; thick ex. line 16.98 Boston 489 16.99 * London				Hirsch 26, 120 Hirsch 29, 879 Hoard X, Plate 22 Leu-Hess 1958, 113 MMAG 43, 24 = Palermo
136 O 46 R 122	Similar, horse's front legs closer together 17.04 Carfrae 11	140	O 46	17.15	hoard Paris Luynes 1442
	17.21 * Cambridge SNG 1477 = Weber 1773 17.01 Lockett SNG 1036 = Locker-Lampson 115	-40		very clo	, horse's head down a little, ose to R 124 but date-bunches elative to horse; linear border London

		1/.33	Washing to the Control of the Contro	Serie	es 3 a		
			1349	142	O 46	Same di	ie carried over from series 2 d,
141	O 46			142	0 40		owing considerable signs of
	(0.0)	Similar,	horse's head right up, front			wear	<i>y</i>
			ll apart, palm-tree leaning		R 128	Horse's	head with palm-tree beside;
		relative	to ex. line and left branch-			deeply	curved truncation; linear
		tips hid	den by horse's mane; linear			border;	legend 'MMHNT
		border				16.78	AC 14, 150 = AC 15, 921
		16.59	ANS = Kondylis 206				= White King 262
		16.83	Leu-Hess 1959, 116			-	Berlin
		15.40	Naples 4785				Cambridge McClean 3044
			Paris 2358				Hirsch 29, 873
		SATISFIES TON	Paris 2359				London
			Paris Luynes 1434			16.95	Münzh. Basel 4, 1159
		16.99 *	Private collection Y =			_	Sotheby 25. 3. 1935, 31
			Münzh. Basel 8, 328			17.01	Syracuse, Pachino 1957 hoard (di Vita 30)
						_	Syracuse Gagliardi 1006
			Plate	70			byfacuse oughard 1000
	0.7		1 vare		^		
143	O 46	Horse's	head smaller, with very	146	O 47	Similar	but truncation arched, the
	K 129		s-curve truncation;		K 131		nd pointing down; legend
			'MMHNT			'MMH	
		17.16				Die of	
		_	Baranowsky 1934, 4678				* Sotheby 25. 5. 1925, 360 =
		16.93	Cahn 68, 1760			- 3-73	Hess 27. 10. 1902, 729
			London Lloyd SNG 1630			_	Syracuse, Syracuse 1955
		16.66	Private collection, Catania				hoard
144	O 46			147	O 47	1210 1121	
	R 130		, horse's head slightly larger,		R 132		, horse's nose more tapered
			curved truncation; legend				of tree much lower; legend
		'MMḤ				'MMH	
		-	Ansharalasiat and Transllas			Die of	19.0
		=	Archaeologist and Traveller			15./8	Sotheby 21. 4. 1909, 15 = Merzbacher 1910, 892 =
		17.10	Boston 490				Hess 7. 3. 1935, 285
		_	Glendining 14. 6. 1915, 117				11035 /. 5. 1955, 205
		17.01	Niggeler 545	т48	O 47		
			Oxford SNG 2158	140		Similar	, horse's head larger;
							'MMHNT
145	O 47	Similar	to previous die, but larger			16.79	.
		head an	nd dolphins closer			16.30	Cahn 80, 495 = Helbing
	R 130	Die of					17, 177 = Helbing 70, 539
			AC 16, 920				Bourgey 7. 6. 1909, 149
		16.95 *	Hirsch 15, $1345 = AC$ 13,				Leu-Hess 1956, 236
			382			16.44	Lloyd SNG 1631, Cefalú
		17.03	Num. Fine Arts 11, 1976, 82				hoard
		-	Sotheby 11. 7. 1899, 75			17.04 *	London

17.35 * Naville 5,3005 = Hirsch 15, Series 3 a

	17.08	MMAG 43, 25 = Hamburger 98, 450; Palermo hoard			17.07 * Brussels 16.95 Hess 18. 12. 1933, 46
	- 16.75 - 16.90	Palermo	152	O 47 R 137	Similar, truncation less curved; legend 'MMHNT' 16.91 * Schulman 265, 1976, 71
	- 16.40	1927 hoard Syracuse Gagliardi 1005 Uncertain, cast in B. M.	153	O 48	Similar generally to O 46-47 but more delicate and the dolphins more spaced out from the head, no small curls on the neck
149 O 47 R 134	smaller on top; - 17.05	similar to last, marginally, palm-tree taller and thinner legend 'MMHNT Berlin Cambridge SNG 1487 Hirsch 29, 876 = Naville 4, 1003 = Naville 10, 357		R 138	Horse's head much smaller, and palm-tree relatively lower, truncation with moderately shallow curve; legend 'MMHNT' 17.04 AC 16, 922 = Hirsch 26, 118 = Hirsch 30, 625 17.13 Brussels Hirsch 834 16.85 * Glasgow Hunter 9 Glendining 9. 6. 1930, 604
150 O 47 R 135	face, pa horse's	, horse's head turned more en lm-tree taller and closer to mane; legend 'MMḤNT Münzh. Basel 4, 1158			= Cahn 84, 473 = Ready 215 16.94 Jameson 917 = Bunbury 533 = Leu-Hess 1960, 104 16.61 London Lloyd SNG 1629, Cefalú hoard
151 O 47 R 136		, truncation more S-shaped; 'MMḤNT			16.88 Naples 4790 - Paris Vogué 651 - * Private collection Y
		Plate	II		
154 O 48 R 139	more an narrow	similar to last, truncation ched, branches of tree er; legend 'MMḤNT Brussels	-	200	16.65 Hirsch 30, 624 16.90 Leu-Hess 1957, 143 17.01 * London 17.00 Vienna 6743
0.0	14.79 16.82 *	London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Salting SNG 15 Naples 4787 Private collection X SC 19. 12. 1907, 513	156	O 48 R 141	Closely similar to R 139, horse's nose a shade larger and palm-tree taller; legend 'MMHNT Berlin 16.88 * Boston 491
155 O 48 R 140	with wi	similar to R 138, palm-tree ider branches and foot of elow horse truncation; 'MMḤNT			16.85 Glendining-Seaby I 582 16.70 Hirsch 29, 872 = 34, 534 = Naville 5, 2989 17.02 Leu-Hess 1964, 93 17.10 Naples S 8073

	_	Paris 2320			16.69	AC 16, 924
	_	Paris Smith-Lesouef 19			15	AC 12, $1069 = MMAG$ list
	17.00	Walcher Molthein 497				351, 4 = Hess 27. 10. 1902,
	52.4					728
157 O 48					16.97 *	AC 13, 380
R 14	2 Simila	r, horse's nose down more,			17.26	ANS = Egger 10. 12. 1906,
	palm-	tree very small; legend				410
	'MMF	INT			16.92	Hamburger 96, 223
	16.93	* Copenhagen 84			-	Martinetti 801
	17.06	Leu-Hess 1968, 117			16.61	Naples S 8080
	16.98	Lockett SNG 1050			17.01	Naples S 8076
	16.99	Maddalena 631, 18			_	Philadelphia
	17.00	Naples 4788			16.78	Sotheby 2. 5. 1905, 192
	17.10	Syracuse, Pachino 1957			16.85	Whitehead 13
		hoard (di Vita 28)				
			162	O 49		
158 O48				R 146		similar to last, truncation
R 14		r, palm-tree larger, horse's			-	more curved and palm-tree
		curves out more; legend				close; legend 'MMḤNT
		INT. Die of 159			17.03 *	* AC 13, 381 = Naville 10,
	10 (81)	ANS				356
		Courtauld $43 = AC 12, 1062$				Brussels
	17.10	* Hamburger 27. 5. 1929, 172				Cambridge SNG 1489
		= AC 15, 427				Hess 208, 803
	17.07	•				Hirsch 33, 981
		Ashburnam 249 =			1000 50	Hirsch 14, 593
		Schulman 7. 6. 1937				Glasgow Hunter 8
0	Classi				16.41	
159 O 49		y similar to O45 of series 2 d,				Naples S 8078
		s of earring and positions of ins slightly different; shell			1/.03	Naples S 8079
	below		762	O 49		
R TA	3 Die o		103		Die of	1.47
K 14		Bourgey 5. 12. 1932, 289		K 152		* Aberdeen SNG 99
		Hirsch 20, 467				AC 16, 923 = Münzh. Basel
		* London			10.93	8, 185 = Helbing 17, 176
	-/5	201401				= Helbing 70, 538
160 O 49					_	Berlin, Regling MaK 734
		ly similar but details of			17.05	Cambridge SNG 1488
		ation and mane/palm-tree			17.00	
		ent; legend 'MMHNT			_	Hess 1949, 33
		* ANS = Hirsch $13,4613$ =			17.27	
		Rosenberg 1914, 164				33, 980
	16.42	Naples S 8081			_	* Private collection Y
		=				
161 O 49						
R 14	5 Horse	's head has very shallow nearly				
	straig	ht truncation, tall palm-tree;				
	legen	TNḤMM' b				

Plate 12

			1 tare	12			
164	O 49						London Lloyd SNG 1635
	R 147	Similar	, truncation acutely arched,			16 98	Oxford SNG 2160
		small p	alm-tree; legend 'MMHNT			17.15	Paris Luynes 1459
		_	Leu-Hess 1959, 117			_	Paris 2322
			Leu-Hess 1962, 127 =			1721	Paris Delepierre
		1/.19	Num. Fine Arts 11, 1976, 81			17.14	Ratto 8. 11. 1928, 822
		(0					
		16.98	Lockett SNG 1051 = Ratto			16.81	Schulman I 206
			4. 4. 1927,450 = Hirsch 19,				
			643	169	O 50		
		16.84 *	London		R 150	Similar	, horse's neck narrower,
		17.40 *	Naville 6, 580 = Benson				es of tree narrower;
			795				'MMHNT
		17.12	Oxford SNG 2159			12:01	Hirsch 30, 623
		_	Paris 2323			17.00	11113011 30, 023
		_	Rollin-Feuardent 22. 5. 1908,				
			205 = H. Smith 372	170	O 50		
			Salton		R 151	Similar	, more arched truncation, tall
		17.11	Sarton			palm-tr	ee with tufty branches;
,	0					legend	'MMHNT
165	O 49					16.99	Boston 497
	R 148		, well curved truncation,			16.98	Lewis = Lockett SNG 1053
		larger p	palm-tree; legend 'MMḤNT				= Naville 12, 1065
		_	Berlin			COSON	Palermo
		16.68	Lewis				Palermo hoard
		16.94	Naples 4793				
		17.20 *	Paris Luynes 1469				Paris Luynes 1461
		-	Pennisi				Private collection Y,
		16.68					
		10.00	benwood	171	O 50		
	•	1		-,-		Similar	to R 149 but with truncation
100	O 50		f plainer style, wreath) -		more arched, very tall palm-
			ing only two main leaves,				gend 'MMHNT
			earring; four dolphins, dotted			199	
		border					Hamburger 98, 452
	R 148	Die of	165				Hirsch 34, 533
		_ *	* Hirsch 12, 64				London
						16.83	Merzbacher 2. 11. 1909,
167	O 50						3184
10/		Die of	146			17.22	Naville 4, $1004 = Butler 98$
	К 151		* Berlin			16.33 *	* Private collection X =
		-					Hamburger 98, 454
		17.07	Cambridge SNG 1485				
	_				^ ,	c 1	
168	O 50			172	0 50		ie with earring and necklace
	R 149		s head of completely different				; first, second and fifth
		style, lo	ong topknot and two tufts			specim	ens flaw on truncation
		below i	t, shallow V-shaped truncation,		R 153	Die of	174
		tall pal	m-tree with flat branches; in			Small 1	norse head with long plaits on
			etters, legend 'MMHNT				lm-tree not touching;
		_	Glendining 1953, 111				'MMHNT
		17.10	Glendining 1955, 230			1.0	Baranowsky VI 511
		85	* Hague				Brussels
		10.5/	Tiague			17.50	D1 (133C13

17.09 * London with truncation a little more arched, 17.95 MMAG 43, 28 palm-tree with flat spreading branches; legend 'MMHNT 17.08 * Brussels Hirsch 836 Plate 13 174 O 50" Same die with further alterations to 178 O 51 Die wear increased, flaw below chin earring necklace and truncation R 158 Small horse head to left, of shaggy R 153 Die of 172 style with very shallow truncation, * Sotheby 5. 7. 1910, 90 tall palm-tree close; linear border; legend S'MMHNT 175 O 50" **Baltimore** ANS R 155 Closely similar to R 152 16.48 * Num. Fine Arts 20. 3. 1975, 16.98 Benson 798 61 Berlin 17.22 Brussels Hirsch 838 17.12 Leu-Hess 1956, 240 176 O 51 Head to right, of another different 16.98 * London style, two-leaved wreath, earring and MMAG list 351, 5 necklace as before, four dolphins, Paris Vogué 652 dotted border 16.60 SC 19. 12. 1907, 517 R 156 Horse head to right, shaggy style, Syracuse 24743, Mineo hoard palm-tree on left with spreading branches; dotted border; legend **Š'MMHNT** 179 O 51 Die now considerably worn Baltimore R 159 Horse head of shaggy style but larger, 16.66 Brussels Hirsch 837 palm-tree not touching; linear border; Glendining 24. 11. 1950, legend S'MMHNT 16.98 ANS 1537 16.90 Hirsch 21, 4669 17.17 Hess 207, 224 15.28 Münzh. Basel 4, 1163 16.51 Hirsch 19, 642 = Naville 5, Paris 2319 2988 = Hirsch 29, 875 = 17.50 * Private collection X Helbing 70, 537 Private collection Y 16.96 Lewis Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia 16.85 Naples S 8083 1967 hoard Paris 2317 16.70 Vienna 6742 * Uncertain (cast in B. M.) 177 O 51 Signs of wear beginning in lower 180 O 51 part of die R 160 Die of 181 R 157 Die of 182 Similar to R 157, horse's nose more Large horse head to left close in style raised, palm-tree not so close; legend 'MMHNT to R 133 etc. with regular curve of truncation, palm-tree close with 17.05 AC 15, 430 = Ratto 1909compact branches; legend 'MMHNT Froehner 5728 16.91 * Berlin Berlin Paris 2318 17.20 Glendining-Seaby III 1184 17.32 * London 17.00 Schlessinger 26. 2. 1934, 374 17.15 Yale = Helbing 1927, 1811

173 O 50'

R 154 Horse head a little larger than last

16.84 Lloyd SNG 1634, Cefalú

hoard

181 O 52 Similar style to O 50, more compact Palermo hoard and rounded outline, upper leaf of Platt 3. 4. 1933, 216 wreath across cranium; four 184 O 53 dolphins, dotted border R 162 Similar, truncation in smoother R 160 Die of 180 curve, palm-tree smaller; legend 17.14 AC 12, 1063 'MMHNT; linear border 17.23 AC 12, 1064 = Delmonte 17.15 ANS 18. 11. 1933, 205 16.79 Cambridge SNG 1481 Berlin 16.92 Hirsch 19, 639 17.30 Hess 202, 2678 = Benson 16.77 Glasgow Hunter 10 16.91 Leu-Hess 1959, 118 SC 19. 12. 1907, 515 17.10 Merzbacher 1910 = Ratto 17.00 * Vatican 932 4. 4. 1927, 448 16.94 * MMAG 43, 27 182 O 52 R 157 Die of 177 17.30 Naples 4786 16.91 Naville 4, 1006 = Weber 17.00 Cambridge SNG 1486 16.25 Helbing 8. 11. 1928, 3717 1775 = Headlam 181 17.25 Münzh. Basel 8, 186 16.92 Naville 5, 2990 17.15 Niggeler 546 Paris Chandon de Briailles 17.04 * Paris Delepierre 716 Pennisi Private collection Y 183 O 53 Head of more Greek style but without the refinement of O 46 etc., three Private collection Y prominent leaves in wreath; four 185 O 54 Style similar to O 52 etc. but three dolphins; dotted border R 161 Style similar to R 149 etc., shallow prominent leaves in hair, dolphin truncation, tree with flat branches; behind neck in line with necklace; legend 'MMHNT four dolphins; dotted border R 163 Similar to R 162 but smaller and Berlin horse's head more up, tall palm-tree; Burel 107 linear border; legend 'MMHNT 17.40 Hamburger 98, 455 = Schulman 31. 5. 1938, 107 17.04 * London Lloyd SNG 1636, Cefalú hoard 17.24 Glasgow Hunter 7 17.13 * London Lloyd SNG 1633 17.23 MMAG 1971, list 326, 10 Plate 14 17.09 * Cumberland Clark 356 = 186 O 55 Similar to O 54 but smaller face, one dolphin in front touching tip of Hirsch 16,694 = Mann 9nose, dolphin behind neck above 17.04 Egger 10. 12. 1906, 411 = necklace; four dolphins; dotted Egger 45, 838 16.85 Hamburger 98, 451 border R 163 Die of 185 17.10 Helbing 20. 3. 1928, 453 = 17.08 AC 16, 926 = O'Hagan 165 Hess 18. 3. 1918, 754 17.24 Boston 496 17.06 Hirsch 32, 615 16.40 Brandis 376 16.91 Munich 17.10 Cahn 35, 225 Myers 1971

17.29 Naville 6, 579

17.25 Paris Luynes 1460

17.36 Cahn 66, 480

17.07 Cambridge SNG 1484

187 O 55 R 164 Similar but taller and more arched truncation, tall palm-tree with compact branches; linear border; legend 'MMHNT			-	Syracuse 42956, Pachino	189	O 55		
Stands away from horse				1922 hoard		R 166	Similar	to R 161-162 but truncation
R 164 Similar but taller and more arched truncation, tall palm-tree with compact branches; linear border; legend 'MM'HNT							more cu	urved, palm-tree tall and
truncation, tall palm-tree with compact branches; linear border; legend 'MMHNT' 16.88 Cahn 84, 472 - ANS 17.07 Florange-Ciani 17. 2. 1925, 137 16.80 Hamburger 96, 222 = Glendining-Seaby III 1182 = Ratto 44. 1927, 449 17.14 Hamburger 98, 453 = Naville 10, 355 16.96 Leu-Hess 1956, 237 17.09 Naples S 8072 16.92 Private collection R 15.48 Private collection X Private collection Y 16.93 * Stockholm KMK 188 O 55 R 165 Closely similar to R 157, palm-tree has thicker branches and horse's head thicker hair on top; linear border; legend 'MMHNT 17.08 AC 16, 925 16.61 ANS Berlin 16.80 Brussels Hirsch 835 - *Cahn 1950/1 17.01 Cambridge SNG 1493 17.04 Delbeke 241 = Balmanno 43 16.98 Hague 16.99 London Lloyd SNG 1638 - Morgan 16.70 Private collection X 16.80 SC 19. 12. 1907, 514 17.11 Sandeman 264 17.27 Syracuse, Pachino 1957 hoard (di Vita 26) 16.85 Ward 363 190 O 56 R 169 Closely similar to last but true ation, reminiscent linear border; legend 'Marched true tree stands away from him tree stands away from him carborder; legend 'Marched true tree stands away from him carborder; legend 'Marched true tree stands away from him carborder; legend 'Marched true tree stands away from him carborder; legend 'Marched true tree stands away from him carborder; legend 'Marched true tree stands away from him carborder; legend 'Marched true tree stands away from him carborder; legend 'Marched true tree stands away from him carborder; legend 'Marched true tree stands away from him carborder; legend 'Marched true tree stands away from him carborder; legend 'Marched true tree stands away from him carborder; legend 'Marched true tree stands away from him carborder; legend 'Marched true tree stands away from him carborder; legend 'Marched true tree stands away from him carborder; legend 'Marched true tree stands away from him carborder; legend 'Marched true tree stands away from him carborder; legend 'Marched true tree stands away from him carborder; legend 'Marched true tree stands away from him carborder; legend 'Marched true tree	187	O 55					stands a	away from horse's neck;
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17.08 AC 16, 925 16.61 ANS 16.67 * London 16.59 Naville 4, 1005 16.80 Brussels Hirsch 835 - * Cahn 1950/1 17.01 Cambridge SNG 1493 17.04 Delbeke 241 = Balmanno 43 16.98 Hague 16.93 Leu-Hess 1960, 106 17.20 Locker-Lampson 116 = AC 15, 428 16.99 London Lloyd SNG 1638 - Morgan 16.70 Private collection X 16.80 SC 19. 12. 1907, 514 17.11 Sandeman 264 17.27 Syracuse, Pachino 1957 hoard (di Vita 26) 16.85 Ward 363 16.59 R 16.90 Closely similar to last but the stands and product the stands are stands as a similar to last but the stands are								
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- Berlin 16.80 Brussels Hirsch 835 - *Cahn 1950/1 17.01 Cambridge SNG 1493 17.04 Delbeke 241 = Balmanno 43 16.98 Hague 16.93 Leu-Hess 1960, 106 17.20 Locker-Lampson 116 = AC 15, 428 16.99 London Lloyd SNG 1638 - Morgan 16.70 Private collection X 16.80 SC 19. 12. 1907, 514 17.11 Sandeman 264 17.27 Syracuse, Pachino 1957 hoard (di Vita 26) 16.85 Ward 363 191 O 56 Die more worn, flaw be earring altered R 168 Horse's head of very dif rather fat and rounded, hair on top, arched trun tree stands away from he linear border; legend 'N 17.05 * Berlin 17.05 Castro Maya 36 17.10 Lewis = Hinda 16.96 * Salton = AC 1 17.27 Syracuse, Pachino 1957 hoard (di Vita 26) 16.85 Ward 363 192 O 56 R 169 Closely similar to last but								
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16.98 Hague Hair on top, arched trunkles 1960, 106 Hair on top, arched trunkles 1960, 106, 106, 106 Hair on top, arched trunkles 1960, 106, 106, 106, 106 Hair on top, arched trunkles 1960, 106, 106, 106, 106 Hair on top, arched trunkles 1960, 106, 106, 106, 106 Hair on top, arched trunkles 1960, 106, 106, 106, 106, 106 Hair on top, arched trunkles 1960, 106, 106, 106, 106, 106, 106, 106, 1						920 620		
16.98 Hague hair on top, arched trunk 16.93 Leu-Hess 1960, 106 tree stands away from h 17.20 Locker-Lampson 116 = linear border; legend 'M AC 15, 428 17.05 * Berlin 16.99 London Lloyd SNG 1638 17.06 Castro Maya 36 - Morgan 17.00 Hirsch 13, 4612 16.70 Private collection X 17.10 Lewis = Hinda 16.80 SC 19. 12. 1907, 514 Hirsch 32, 614 17.11 Sandeman 264 16.96 * Salton = AC 1 17.27 Syracuse, Pachino 1957 17.00 Schulman 21. 1 hoard (di Vita 26) 192 O 56 R 169 Closely similar to last but			17.04	Delbeke 241 = Balmanno		R 168		2
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AC 15, 428 16.99 London Lloyd SNG 1638 Morgan 17.06 Castro Maya 36 17.00 Hirsch 13, 4612 16.70 Private collection X 17.10 Lewis = Hinda 16.80 SC 19. 12. 1907, 514 17.11 Sandeman 264 17.27 Syracuse, Pachino 1957 17.00 Schulman 21. 1 16.85 Ward 363 192 O 56 R 169 Closely similar to last but								
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hoard (di Vita 26) 16.85 Ward 363 192 O 56 R 169 Closely similar to last bu			17.11	Sandeman 264			16.96 *	* Salton = AC 16, 927
16.85 Ward 363 192 O 56 R 169 Closely similar to last bu			17.27	Syracuse, Pachino 1957			17.00	Schulman 21. 10. 1935, 235
R 169 Closely similar to last bu				hoard (di Vita 26)				
			16.85	Ward 363	192	O 56		
truncation; legend 'MM						R 169	Closely	similar to last but flatter
							truncat	ion; legend 'MMḤNT

	O 57	17.61 Lanz V 1975, 98 17.12 * Lockett SNG 1052 16.68 Auctiones A. G. 6, 322 Similar but truncation has a deeper curve, palm-tree closer; legend 'MMHNT 17.38 * Copenhagen 88 - Engel-Gros 1921, 22 16.70 * Leu-Hess 1960, 105 Similar to last but a distinct die, the necklace parallel to the truncation, the dolphin below more curved Die of 193	195		16.59 * Cahn 60, 1226 = Cahn 66, 482 16.50 Glendining-Seaby III 1183 = Ratto 24. 6. 1929, 544 17.10 Hess 224, 1908 - Syracuse, Syracuse 1955 hoard Larger head, face and chin more elongated, more formalised treatment; four dolphins; dotted border Horse's head tall, like R 167 but truncation? (not visible); legend? (presumably 'MMḤNT) 16.78 * Hague
		Plate	15		
196	O 58 R 172	Similar, almost straight truncation, palm-tree away from neck; linear border; legend 'MMHNT' 17.08 * Sotheby 23. 5. 1900, 498		O 59 R 176	17.17 * AC 15, 429 Morgan 192 Similar, palm-tree closer to horse's neck; legend 'MMḤNT
197	O 59	Very similar but smaller, necklace parallel to truncation; four dolphins; dotted border			17.27 Cahn 61, 199 17.12 Cahn 80, 494 = Cahn 71, 700 = Rosenberg 72, 805
	R 173	Similar, horse's nose shorter and back of neck curved, palm-tree lower; linear border; legend 'MMḤNT 16.58 Lempertz 1926, 660	201	O 59	= MMAG list 326, 9 17.29 Lewis CCCC SNG 428 17.54 * London Lloyd SNG 1632 16.73 Naples 4792
		17.18 Lewis 16.13 * London 17.00 Münzh. Basel 4, 1160 16.95 Oxford SNG 2161 16.90 SC 1927, 1149 16.55 Vatican 362	2 01		Similar, slightly concave truncation, palm-tree not so close; legend 'MMHNT 17.03 * Naples 4789 Platt 3. 4. 1933, 217
		17.12 Ward 362	202	O 60	Closely similar to O 59 and
198	O 59 R 174	Similar, neckline straighter; legend 'MMHNT 16.56 ANS = Bourgey 15. 12. 1909, 59 = Sambon 19. 12. 1907,		R 177	possibly adapted from it; the roll of hair at the back of the neck enlarged, the earring and necklace altered Die of 201 15.72 * Private collection X
100	O 59	516 16.96 * Headlam 181	203	O 60 R 178	Similar, especially to R 176; legend 'MMHNT
199	500	Similar, palm-tree taller; legend 'MMḤNT			- * Uncertain original, Mionnet cast

204 O 61 Closely similar to O 47 but with small differences of detail and expression, dolphin behind neck closer to necklace; four dolphins; dotted border R 179 Similar to R 136, very tall thin palm-16.75 Paris 2321 * Private collection Y Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967 205 O 62 Similar, many differences of detail, dolphin behind neck higher than 206 O 63 Similar to O 61 with differences of R 180 Similar to R 179, truncation more arched; legend 'MMHNT

tree; linear border; legend 'MMHNT

necklace; die-flaws horizontally across hair and on brow

R 179 Die of 204

* Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967 (photo slightly small)

205 A O 62' Same die with same prominent flaw, but the face largely remodelled giving a cruder expression

R 179 Die of 204

ANS

16.89 * Paris Delepierre = Naville 1,3300 = SC 24.3.1902,9

Plate 16

detail, dolphin in front closer to nose 16.80 * Hague Hoard X Platt, May 1921, 121 16.88 Schweiz. Bankverein Herbst 1975, 128 17.11 Syracuse, Pachino 1957 hoard (di Vita 29)

209 O 64 Head of new and derivative but pretty style; one dolphin behind neck, none in front - unfinished die R 182 Die of 208

17.03 * Palermo hoard

210 O 64' Same die now finished by addition of two more dolphins in front

R 182 Die of 208 16.72 ANS 16.66 * Lewis 16.71 London

Series 3 b

207 O 63 Die of 206 (series 3 a) R 181 Large horse head with shallow curved

truncation, head up; similar to style of R 192 below; legend M M 16.24 * Private collection Y = Naville 5, 2997 (illust. = cast and original)

208 O 63' Same die, worn; pellet added below

chin R 182 Small horse's head of different style, stiffer treatment, palm-tree with branches and date-bunches splayed out; linear border; legend M M 16.85 ANS 17.16 * Copenhagen 87

211 064'

R 183 Fairly small horse's head, straight mane, compact palm-tree; linear border; legend M M * Cancio 16.38 Hirsch 20, 468

212 0 64'

R 184 Similar to R 182 but compact palm-16.73 * Paris Delepierre = 15,432

213 0 64'

R 185 Similar to R 183 but curving mane 16.52 Paris Luynes 1464 * Ratto 9. 10. 1934, 259

215	O 65	Similar to R 185 but head down 16.93 * London Larger head, similar in style to O 64 but differently proportioned; three dolphins; dotted border Horse's head of powerful expressive style with strongly curved throat, palm-tree tall and compact; legend M M	216	O 65 R 188	1728 = Feuardent 26. 5. 1914, 161 17.02 * Leu-Hess 1959, 119 16.09 Weber 1774 = Naville 5, 2992 Similar to last 17.02 Hirsch 19, 645 17.23 * London = Hirsch 19, 646
		Plate	77		
		1 1410	-/		
217	O 65		220	O 66	
	R 189	Similar, back of neck straighter;		R 183	Die of 211
		dotted border; legend M M			Berlin
		16.78 Paris Delepierre =			16.71 * London
		Baranowsky 1934, 4677			
		16.92 * Private collection X	22 I	O 66	
218	O 65			R 191	Similar to R 183 etc., straight mane,
	R 190	Horse's nose more detailed, throat			upward lock on top; linear border;
		less bulging truncation more vaulted;			legend M M (legend partly obscured
		linear border; legend M M			by die-break)
		- Ciani 1929, 185			16.72 * London
		16.73 * Gustav VI Adolf, King of			17.00 * Private collection X
		Sweden, SNG 44		0.6	rr i savar i i a sei
		17.03 Hague = AC 12, 1070 =	222	O 67	Head with tall neck and rather vapid
		Merzbacher 2. 11. 1909,			expression; in front, one dolphin
		3185		D -0-	and caduceus; linear border
		16.58 Leu-Hess 1956, 239		K 183	Die of 211, 220
		16.71 Naples S 8074			16.51 * Cambridge McClean 3045
		17.14 Paris Delepierre 16.86 Private collection X			17.50 Canessa (Brandis) 375
		16.86 Private collection X		06-	
		16.98 Private collection X	223	O 67	Home head of large expansive style
		- Private collection Y		K 192	Horse head of large expansive style, shallow-curved truncation; palm-tree
		- Filvate confection 1			short with flattish branches and
210	O 66	Closely similar to O 65, the head			prominent hanging date-bunches;
219	0 00	straighter on the neck, the earring			linear border; legend M M
		hanging back instead of forward,			16.46 Gulbenkian 374 = Naville
		dolphin behind neck further back;			6,584 = SC 19. 12. 1907,
		three dolphins			518 = Merzbacher 2. 11.
	R 190	Die of 218			1909, 1729
		16.43 * London Lloyd SNG 1637,			16.63 London
		Cefalú hoard			- * Private collection Y,
		17.05 Vienne 6744			Palermo hoard
		771			

16.70 Allotte de la Fuye 1925,

214 064'

224 O 68 Large head of exuberant Greek style; 225 O 68 in front, one dolphin and caduceus R 194 Similar, palm-tree of intermediate close to lips; linear border length, base of trunk below corner of R 193 Similar, palm-tree very tall; truncation; linear border; legend legend M M MM * Private collection Y Berlin 16.85 Hirsch 14, 596 17.22 Lewis = Nobleman 1955, 226 O 68 231; Palermo hoard R 195 Similar, with downward-arching 16.71 * London truncation, tall palm-tree with 16.77 Naples 4797 plume-like branches; linear border; 17.36 Naville 5, 2998 legend M M 17.07 * Boston 495 Plate 18 227 O 69 Closely similar to O 68 but numerous R 196 Horse head of neat compact style with slightly curved truncation; differences e.g. the earring, and palm-tree close, base of trunk above caduceus not so close to lips R 195 Die of 226 corner of truncation; linear border; ANS below letter 'ayin 16.68 Brussels Hirsch 839 17.10 ANS 16.78 ANS = SC 22. 6. 1906, 197 17.28 Leu-Hess 1956, 238 17.31 Berlin 17.21 Leu-Hess 1958, 114 16.73 * London 16.95 * London, BMQ 1938 XII, Palermo hoard pl. xlix. 3, Palermo hoard Palermo hoard Palermo hoard 17.03 Paris Delepierre = Allotte Series 3 d de la Fuye 1729 Paris Luynes 1463 Modest Greek style head; three 230 O 72 17.09 Pennisi (four?) dolphins; pellet below chin; dotted border (flaws by mouth and 17.00 Strozzi 1357 Martinetti-Nervegna, chin) R 197 Horse head with lowered nose and Sangiorgi 1907, 803 16.95 MMAG 43, 30 deeply arched truncation, tall palmtree; linear border; legend M 228 O 70 Neater Greek style; linear border; * Palermo hoard three dolphins 17.00 Paris Luvnes 1468 R 195 Die of 226, 227 17.09 Schulman 16. 12. 1926, 210 17.01 * MMAG 43, 29 23I O 72 R 198 Similar to last, different treatment of Series 3 c mane; legend M Berlin 229 O 71 Head of restrained Greek style; one 17.27 Cahn 66, 481 16.71 * Copenhagen 86 dolphin below truncation (crescentshaped mark in right field probably 17.03 Hague

a die-flaw)

Paris 2345

16.94 * Private collection X = Hess202, 2679 = NC 1925, pl. vi (o), Cefalú hoard 17.40 Private collection X 236 O 73 232 O 72' Same die with nose and mouth recut, also parts of dolphins and earring (on which flaw, first specimen) R 199 Similar to last, palm-tree stands more away from horse's mane and above corner of truncation; linear border; legend M 237 O 74 16.85 ANS 17.12 * London (PCG IV C 21) 233 O 72" Same die more extensively recut, especially the hair and wreath (flaw on earring remains from 232) R 199 Die of 232 16.85 * Schweizerischer Bankverein, Herbst 1975, 127

234 O 73 Tall compact head of formal style; four dolphins; dotted border R 199 Die of 232–233 16.99 Baltimore 17.00 * London

235 O 73

R 200 Closely similar to last, right corner of truncation curves back; linear

border; legend M 17.03 * Naples 4795

R 201 More compact with head up and nearly straight truncation, palm-tree tall with compact top; linear border; legend M
17.09 MMAG list 326, 11
17.00 * Private collection X

237 O 74 Closely similar to O 73 but slightly larger and fuller in the chin; four dolphins

R 202 Similar but head lowered a little, truncation in shallow S-curve; legend M

- ANS

17.30 Cahn 68, 1761 =
Glendining-Seaby II 252

17.12 Hirsch 32, 617 = AC 12,
1069

16.85 Paris Luynes 1467
- * Private collection Y

16.95 Ratto 9. 10. 1934, 260

16.82 Syracuse, Pachino hoard
1957 (di Vita 32)
- Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia

hoard 1967

Plate 19

238 O 74
R 203 Similar to R 201, truncation quite straight, palm-tree taller; legend M
17.16 Hirsch 19, 640 = Hirsch 29,
874
16.69 Lewis
15.75 * London Lloyd SNG 1640 =
Martinetti 802
Platt collection A, 814

R 201 Die of 236

- Berlin
16.92 * Hague
17.02 London
17.15 Naples 4794

240 O 75 Head of freer and prettier style comparable with O 72 but smaller; four dolphins; in field behind neck, pellet; no border

R 203 Die of 238

17.05 * Hamburger 27. 5. 1929, 173

241 O 75
R 204 Similar to R 203 with straight truncation but larger, and palm-tree with thicker trunk; linear border; legend M
16.55 Münzh. Basel 4, 1162
17.07 * Paris Delepierre =
Naville 6, 583 = Allotte de la Fuye 1726

242	O 75			245	O 77	General	lly similar to O 72 but more
	R 205	Fine sty	le head with S-curved			loosely	composed; pellet below chin;
		truncati	ion, palm-tree leaning			four do	lphins; dotted border
		inwards	s; no border; legend M		R 207	Not un	like R 206 but head lower
		17.02	AC 15, 431 = Naville 4,				ncation well arched; legend M London
		16.98	Glendining 31. 1. 1951, 315				Private collection X =
			Leu-Hess 1958, 115			20.72	Hamburger 98, 459
			Lockett SNG $1054 = AC 14$,				
			151	246	O 77		
		16.99	London	-4-	336 5	Similar	, larger, truncation in S-curve;
			Münzh. Basel 4, 1161			legend	
			Naville 5, 2993 = Montagu				Hirsch 30, 626
		Serie Detailed	453 = Prowe 1904, 1790				3.,
		16.85	Paris Luynes 1466	247	O 77		
			Private collection X	2017		Similar	to R 207 but truncation
		17.02 *	Private collection X				er, palm-tree leaning to left;
			Private collection Y			legend	
		_	Sartiges 386			_	Canessa (Brandis) 373
		16.96				NO.	
			1957 (di Vita 31)	248	O 77		
					R 210	Die of	new style, small compact
243	O 75	Worn d	lie			horse's	head with bulging eyes and
	R 206	Similar	to R 201, truncation in very			promin	ent locks radiating from the
		shallow	S-curve; linear border;			top, pal	m-tree tall with radiating
		legend	M			plume-	like branches; linear border;
		-	Berlin			legend	M
		16.93 *	London Lloyd SNG 1639			16.87	Cancio
		-	Paris 2346			17.16	Glasgow Hunter 4
		16.89	Stockholm			17.10	Lewis = Glendining
							13. 12. 1963, 198; Palermo
244	O 76	Head of	fine and delicate Greek style;				hoard
		four do	lphins; no border			_ *	Private collection Y
	R 206	Die of	8.000				
		_ *	Private collection Y				
			Plate	20			
240	0.78	Targe C	Greek head of fine expressive			17.02	Paris 2344
249	0 /0	100	our dolphins; dotted border			16.83	
	Ratt		rge, strong and detailed			_	Private collection Y
	K 211		head, truncation almost				Tivate concetion 1
			t, palm-tree close with bush-	250	O 78		
			o; dotted border; legend M	2)0		Similar	, slightly smaller and neater
			Egger 10. 12. 1906, 415		10 212		of R 211, palm-tree much
			Jameson 2437 = Hamburger				; dotted border; legend M
		- /	27.5.1929, 174 = MMAG				Gustav VI Adolf King of
			43, 31			20./9	Sweden SNG 45
		16.84	London			16.60	Hamburger 27. 5. 1929, 175
		16.91	Naville 5, 2996 = Ratto			16.95	100 N 100 N 100 N 100 N
		,-	26. 4. 1909, 5726			//	

251	O 78		256	O 79	
252	O 79	Large head with very broad nose turned almost en face, slim palm-tree; legend M 17.27 * Naples 4796 16.17 Naville 1, 3302 Head of formal and mediocre style; four dolphins; linear (?) border		R 210	Die of 248 16.90 Hague 16.82 Glasgow Hunter 5 17.12 Naville 5, 2995 16.60 Paris Luynes 1465 - * Private collection Y - Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967
	R 211	Die of 249 17.11 * Berlin		O 79	
	O ₇₉	Similar to R 210, smaller and truncation curving more downwards; linear border; legend M 16.78 * ANS 17.02 Lewis Similar to last, truncation more level; legend M		8.5	Similar but neater style, truncation in shallow curve; legend M 17.27 AC 17, 307 16.70 Ahlström 6, 1974, 87 Berlin 17.39 Egger 26. 11. 1909, 433 16.89 * London 16.94 Naville 5, 2994 16.11 Palermo hoard 1936 Paris Vogué 654 16.92 Private collection X
255	O 79	 Burel 108 17.02 * London Paris Vogué 653 			17.16 Schulman 31. 5. 1938, 110, Palermo hoard 16.40 Syracuse, Capo Soprano 1950 hoard 55889
-,,		Similar style but head very small, truncation lightly concave, palm-tree compact and close; legend M Berlin 17.22 * London 17.05 SC 19. 12. 1907, 519 Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967	258	O 79 R 218	Similar, topknot and palm-tree both smaller; legend M - * ANS - Berlin
		Plate	21		
259	O 79 R 219	Similar but straight truncation; legend M * Glendining-Seaby II 507 =	262	*	Die of 259 17.15 * Private collection X Large ugly head, roughly executed;
		Ciani 12. 12. 1921, 98 Similar to last, but horse's nose larger and held lower; legend M - * Arethuse supplement 1, Florange/Ciani 1924, 983		R 220	four dolphins; linear (?) border Die of 260 16.60 Cahn 60, 1227 16.72 London Lloyd SNG 1641, Cefalú hoard 16.91 MMAG list 326 1971, 12 16.83 Naples S 8075
261	O 80	Peculiar head, compact and stylised; three dolphins; dotted border			16.64 * Private collection X

263	R 219	- 16.85 17.32 16.39 16.61 *	259, 261 Baltimore Lewis London Naville 10, 359 Private collection X Ratto 9. 10. 1934, 261 Schulman 7. 6. 1937, 151 = Ciani 20. 11. 1935, 266	267	O 82 R 221	16.60 Paris Luynes 1470 16.62 Private collection X - Sotheby 1. 5. 1929, 32 16.84 * Vatican 934 Horse head of peculiar style, shaggy palm-tree; linear border; legend M 16.85 ANS 16.98 Lewis 16.62 * London - Syracuse, 25285 Mineo hoard		
72		16.58	250 Hirsch 32, 625 MMAG 43, 32 Private collection X	268	O 82 R 222	Horse head of similar style to last but facing right, deep-curving		
-(-	0 0-		Spink 1971 Lanz 5 1975, 101			truncation, palm-tree not touching; linear border; no legend — Berlin		
265		D: (NORTH MARKS CONTROLLED			16.98 * London		
	K 211		249, 252 Palermo hoard	262	000			
		_	Palermo hoard	209	O 82	Similar to last but shallower		
		- 16.90	Vienna 6745		K 223	truncation, palm-tree touching; linear border; no legend (some flaws		
266	O 82	Ill-prop	portioned and roughly			below truncation)		
		execute	d head; four dolphins; dotted			Berlin		
		border				17.10 * Hague		
	R 213	Die of a	251			17.13 Lewis		
		_	Berlin			16.74 * London		
			Egger 10. 12. 1906, 414			17.22 Naples 4798		
		10 	Fuller 1966			17.16 Naville 5, 2991		
		16.81	Lanz 5, 1975, 102					
Plate 22								
Serie	s 1					of 134–141 above; double ex. line,		
Female head wearing oriental tiara / Lion and palm-tree						linear border; legend Š'MMHNT 17.09 Gulbenkian 376 = Naville		
270	O 83	Head o	f fine sensitive style, the tiara			10, 358 – * Hoard X		
_, _	- 0,5		oosely and bound with a plain			16.82 Jameson 911		
			ed above the forehead, the			17.16 Lewis CCCC SNG 427		
			p revealing a mass of cork-			17.06 Lloyd SNG 1628		
		screw c	urls, also protruding behind,			17.19 * London		
		the far-	side flap also indicated;			16.77 MMAG 43, 33		
		dotted l				16.94 Naples 4821 (Regling,		
	R 224		alking with head erect and			Münze als Kunstwerk 837 /		
			led, reaching forward with			Rizzo lxvi. 6)		
		torepay	w; palm-tree similar to those			17.20 Paris Luynes 1471		

- 17.51 Pennisi (ZfN 1935, pl. ix 12)
- 271 O 84 The tiara has a larger overfold on top and is held by a band decorated with palmettes; mass of curls on the forehead; the neck-flap of the tiara hangs vertically and curls appear from below it; one curl shown on farside of neck; a simple necklace seems to be indicated; dotted border
 - R 225 The lion is shown in a stiffer pose, the head full-face, large paws; branches of palm-tree more spreading; single ex. line, dotted border; legend (in reversed letters but reading right to left) Š'MMHNT
 - Berlin
 - 17.27 * Num. Fine Arts II 1976, 80 17.17 * London PCG III. C. 41;

Rizzo lxvi. 7

- Paris 2350
- 17.02 Syracuse, Pachino hoard 1957 (di Vita 24)
- 272 O 85 Head to right; the tiara worn with side-flaps back to reveal the ear, long row of curls along the front edge; the tiara shown in stiff radiating pleats with a helmet-like visor in front and the neck-flap hanging

- below the truncation; simple earring, loose locks of hair visible behind the neck-flap; stand of hair and far-side flap of tiara shown in front of the neck; dotted border
- R 226 Lion and palm-tree to right; the lion's mane bristling and head held very low; palm-tree with radiating branches; wobbly ex. line, dotted border; legend S'MMHNT
 - 17.18 ANS (= Ravel, Falsifications pl. IV. 9; genuine coin)
 - Berlin
 - 17.34 Boston addenda 36 = Hess-Leu 1956, 235
 - 17.30 * Brussels Hirsch 832
 - 17.06 Brussels Hirsch 833
 - 16.65 Hirsch 14, 594
 - Hoffmann (cast in D. Akad.
 Wissenschaften)
 - 17.21 Leu-Hess 1962, 133 = Leu-Hess 1958, 117
 - 17.18 London
 - 17.97 MMAG 43, 34
 - Munich
 - 17.35 Paris Luynes 1472
 - 17.11 * Syracuse, Pachino hoard 1957 (di Vita 25)
 - Syracuse = Rizzopl. LXVI. 8
 - 17.50 Vienna 6735

Key to Plates

Plate	т	40	London			90 L	London
riace	1	49	ANS			90 L 90 H	Hague
		50				9011	Tague
		51	Naples London	Dlato		0.7	MMAC 43
		52 L		Plate	5	91	MMAG 43
		52 P	Paris			92	Lloyd
		53	London			93	Niggeler
		54	Copenhagen			94	London
		55	Allotte de la Fuye			95	Myers 1971
		56	Paris			96	Hague
		57	ANS			97	ANS
		58	Paris			98	Heu-Hess 1968
		59	Lewis			99 S	Stockholm
						99 Y	Private collection Y
Plate	2	60	Myers-Adams			100 LH	Leu-Hess 1962
		61	Glasgow			100 L	London
		62	Berlin				
		63	London	Plate	6	IOI	London
		64	Gulbenkian			102	London
		65	Private collection Y			103	Myers 1972
		66	London			104 LH	Leu-Hess 1956
		67	Berlin			104 Y	Private collection Y
		68	Lockett			105	Baltimore
		69	Berlin			106	Sotheby 1907
		70	London			107	Boston
		7 I	London			108	Lewis
		10				109	Brussels
Plate	3	72	Naville 6			110	MMAG 43
		73	Berlin			III	Ars Classica 15
		74	Palermo				,
		75	Syracuse	Plate	7	112	Private collection Y
		76	Cambridge			113	London
		77 G	Gulbenkian			114	Leu-Hess 1956
		77 H	Hague			115	Cambridge
		78	Private collection Y			116	London
		79	Copenhagen			117	London (V. & A.)
		8o	MMAG 43			117	London
		81	Hague			110	London
		82	Leu-Hess 1956			119 120 L	London
		02	Leu-11ess 1950				Private collection X
Plate		0.0	ANS			120 X	
Flate	4	83				121 S	Sambon 1907
		84	London			121 C	Cambridge
		85	Copenhagen	DI.	0		C1 -: 1
		86	London	Plate	8	122	Cambridge
		87 S	Sambon-Canessa 1902			123	London
		87 C	Copenhagen			124	Ars Classica 16
		88 H	Hague			125	Ars Classica 15
		88 Y	Private collection Y			126	Gulbenkian
		89 X	Private collection X			127	Lockett
		89 G	Gulbenkian			128	MMAG 43

		* - 1			D
	129	London		170	Private collection Y
	130	Lockett		171	Private collection X
	131	Private collection Y		172	London
	132 C	Copenhagen		173	Brussels
	132 L	Lockett	DI.	Nacional Tractings	Call
D1		ANIC	Plate 13		Sotheby 1910
Plate 9		ANS		175	Num. Fine Arts 1975 Private collection X
		Leu-Hess 1966		176	
	134 Y	Private collection Y		177	Berlin London
	134 H	Hague		178	Uncertain
	135	London		179	
	136	Cambridge		180	London
	137	Lewis		181	Vatican
	138	Hague		182	Paris
	139	MMAG 43		183	London
	140	Naville 5		184	MMAG 43
	141	Private collection Y		185	London
	142	London	Plate 14	186	Cumberland Clark
Plate 10	143	London	1 late 14	187	Stockholm
rate 10	144	Oxford		188	Cahn 1950
	145	Hirsch 15		189	Leu-Hess 1966
	146	Sotheby 1925		190	London
	147	Sotheby 1909		191 B	Berlin
	148	London		191 S	Salton
	149	Hirsch 29		192	Lockett
	150	Münzh. Basel 4		193 C	Copenhagen
	151	Brussels		193 LH	Leu-Hess 1960
	152	Schulman 1976	-	194	Cahn 60
	153 G	Glasgow		195	Hague
	153 Y	Private collection Y		- / /	
	23		Plate 15	196	Sotheby 1900
Plate 11	154	Private collection X		197	London
	155	London		198	Headlam
	156	Boston		199	Ars Classica 15
	157	Copenhagen		200	London
	158	Hamburger 1929		201	Naples
	159	London		202	Private collection X
	160	ANS		203	Uncertain
	161	Ars Classica 13		204	Private collection Y
	162	Ars Classica 13		205	Syracuse
	163 A	Aberdeen		205 A	Paris
	163 Y	Private collection Y			
			Plate 16	206	Hague
Plate 12	164 L	London		207	Private collection Y
	164 N	Naville 6	(A)	// <u>-</u>	(cast and original)
	165	Paris		208	Copenhagen
	166	Hirsch 12		209	Palermo hoard
	167	Berlin		210	Lewis
	168	Hague		211	Cancio
	169	Hirsch 30		212	Paris

	213	Ratto 1934		245	London
	214	London		246	Hirsch 30
	215	Leu-Hess 1959		247	Canessa
	216	London		248	Private collection Y
	210	Dondon		240	Tittute concensor 1
Plate 17	217	Private collection X	Plate 20	249 J	Jameson
	218	Stockholm		249 Y	Private collection Y
	219	London		250	Stockholm
	220	London		251	Naples
	221 X	Private collection X		252	Berlin
	221 L	London		253	ANS
	222	Cambridge		254	London
	223 L	London		255	London
	223 Y	Private collection Y		256	Private collection Y
	224	London		257 L	London
	225	Private collection Y		257 X	Private collection X
	226	Boston	,	258	ANS
Plate 18	227	London	Plate 21	259	Glendining-Seaby II
	228	MMAG 43		260	Aréthuse 1924
	229	London		261	Private collection X
	230	Palermo hoard		262	Private collection X
	231 C	Copenhagen		263	Private collection X
	231 X	Private collection X		264	Private collection X
	232	London		265	Palermo hoard
	233	Schweiz. Bankverein 1975		266	Vatican
	234	London		267	London
	235	Naples		268	London
	236	Private collection X		269 L	London
	237	Private collection Y		269 H	Hague
Plate 19	238	London	Plate 22	270 HX	Hoard X
	239	Hague		270 L	London
	240	Hamburger 1929		139 HX	Hoard X
	241	Paris		271 NF	Num. Fine Arts 1976
	242 X	Private collection X		271 L	London
	242 Y	Private collection Y		272 B	Brussels
	243	London		176 P	Paris
	244	Private collection Y		272 S	Syracuse (x 1.2)



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