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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 Robinson²¹, 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 Syracusean 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 acceptable²²). 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 Pheueus, Messene or the Locrians of Opus²³, 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 Halff²⁴. Müller²⁵ 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 G²⁶. 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.

²⁶ A small correction: the Gibil Gabib hoard (IGCH 2132) did not as there stated contain three 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 Syracusean 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 prototype²⁷. On two of the dies we also have the well-known «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 here²⁹, 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 Panormos³¹. 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 Tanit³². 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 Hammon³³, 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 lotus³⁴. 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 corn-ears, 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, o.

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 mint³⁵, and became the established iconography for almost all the later Carthaginian coinage.

The place of series 2b 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 hoard³⁶. 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.

Series 2c (91–121) Plates 5–7

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 hoard³⁷ 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'Epopee 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 Assurbanipal (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 symbols⁴⁴. 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 Greeks⁴⁵. 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-tree⁴⁶. 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 Hermes⁴⁷. 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 Terina⁴⁸.

Also seen on coins 91–100 are an enigmatic pair of Punic letters H B, which are almost impossible to elucidate. Müller's suggestion⁴⁹ 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 name⁵⁰ 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, Tanit⁵¹; 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 pomegranate⁵². 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 Westermarck-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 (HBDS), 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 wreath⁵³.

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 crescent⁵⁴. A crescent alone, without the disk, is extremely rare on the stelai though there are examples; one of these, from El-Hofra⁵⁵, 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-disk⁵⁶.

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 Panormos⁵⁷. 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 discontinuous with the others. But we know that the last issue, coins 135–141, must be the last because its obverse die O 46 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

⁵³ 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 2c along with 2d; and those from series 2d 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 2d. 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 ΑΔ. The Nissoria hoard and others of that phase, it will be recalled, contained only Corinth E and N, the first issues of Corinth period V⁵⁸, 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 2d are missing from the Megara Hyblaia hoard, it seems hard to think of a date before 320 for the end of series 2d 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 Eknemos 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 Carthage⁶⁰ 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 2d, 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 2d. In contrast to this series of fine Greek-style dies, from 166 onwards other styles, plainer and less elegant, take over;

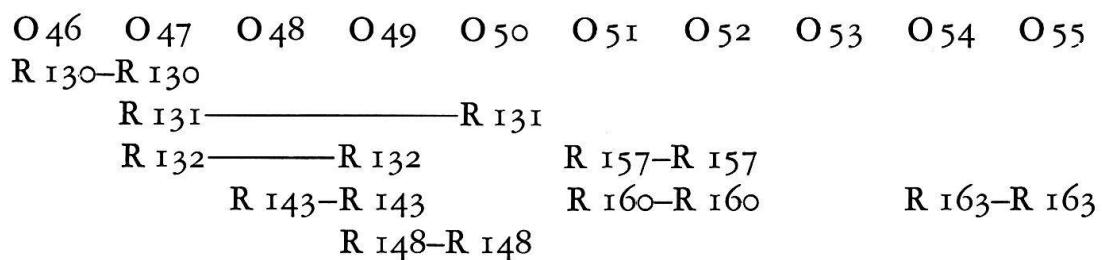
⁵⁸ The sequence of the issues of Corinth period V was already discussed by the writer in ANSCV, 367 ff. and on the whole seems confirmed by the synoptic evidence of hoards (among which that of Pachino 1957, IGCH 2151, is important as one of the very few sizeable hoards of which we have adequate details, published by di Vita in Annali 1958/59). With one small modification, I would repeat the probable sequence as follows: E N Δ ΑΔ Α Γ I AP ΔΙ ΑΥ 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'MMHINT, 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 3b. 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 3b attested by O 63.

Each of the main different obverse styles seems to have a corresponding style of reverse. The reverses which go with O 46–O 49 are quite distinctive and two of them overlap with O 50. However the style of O 50 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 O 51 (R 156, 158, 159). With O 56–57 there is another distinctive reverse style (e.g. R 168), and with O 58–60 yet another (e.g. R 172); the connexion between these however is demonstrated by the use with O 56 (no. 190) of a reverse (R 167) which could by style equally well belong with O 58–60.

Few incidental details seem to call for notice. There is a dearth of symbols except for the shell already mentioned (on O 49), and on O 56 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 Rhegion⁶¹, is not unexpected in a Punic context in view of the importance of Ba'al Hammon as sun-god 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 Région* (Paris 1957), 98.

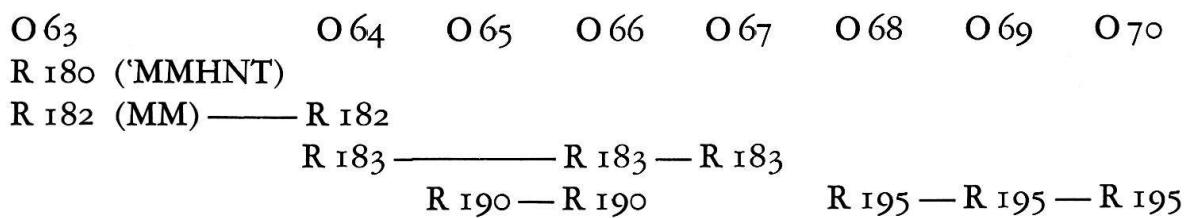
a much later period – a stele from El-Hofra of the neopunic period⁶² does show a swastika symbol rendered as a reversed S with a crossbar, similar to the sign on our obverse O 56 (Fig. 7).

Series 3b (207–228) Plates 16–18

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 2c 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 3a 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 3b 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 3b is as follows:



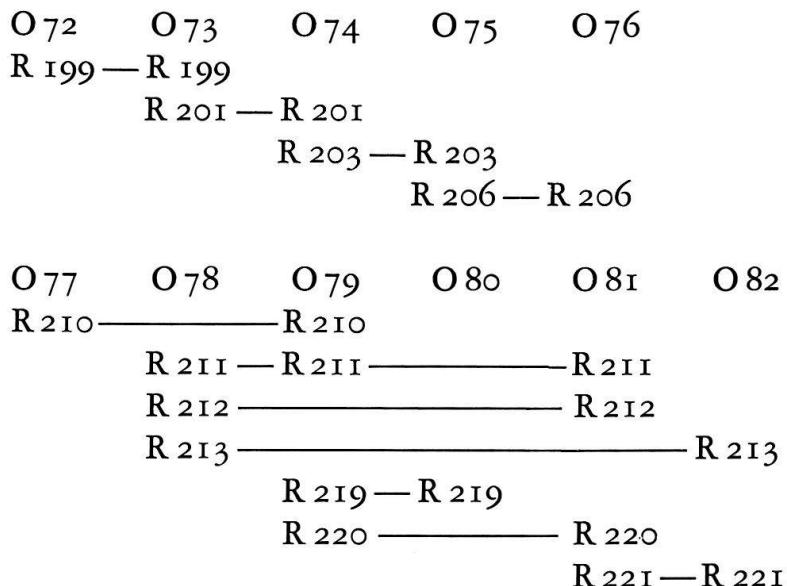
⁶² El-Hofra plate XXII A and p. 185 f. – It is interesting to note a rather similar form of the Lykian diskelis, shaped like an S with a stroke added at the middle (e.g. the coin of Uteve, Babelon, *Traité* plate 93, 13): another version of the same basic solar symbol.

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.

Series 3d (230–269) Plates 18–21

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-

thokles⁶³ – 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 Corinth⁶⁴. 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 hoard⁶⁵, in which the coins of Corinth period V were virtually all represented and only the ΔΟ 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 hoards⁶⁷ 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, Chliomodi (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 Melqart/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 *R̄sm̄lqrt* 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 X⁶⁸ 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 2d.

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 ΔO, 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 it⁶⁹. 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 Daremburg-Saglio fig. 2380).

Fig. 11 Artemis with lion (after Daremburg-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 ΦΙ 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'MMHNT instead of the normal 'MMHNT 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 2d. A date around 320 or during the following years seems to be indicated, in accordance with the chronology of series 2 and 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 far 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 figures⁷⁴, 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 Cyrene⁷⁹. 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 Eryx⁸⁰ – 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 headgear⁸¹. On an Apulian vase of the fourth century B.C. there is a young male head similarly attired who is identified as Adonis⁸². 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 Mēn, 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 be found among Attic and Tarentine terracottas of the fourth century, and elsewhere⁸⁴. 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 both⁸⁶. 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 elsewhere⁸⁸. 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 ('bdtn = «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 ('bdšmš = «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 Heliodorus. In another similar stele, the name of another Sidonian, Abdashart ('bd'srt = «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: ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΣΙΔΩΝΙΟΣ. Phoenician text: *mšbt skr bbym l'bdtn bn 'bdšmš bšdny*. 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 Hammon⁹⁰. 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 ΦΑΝΕΒΑΛ 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: ΛΑΔΟΥΝ ΛΥ ΒΑΛ ΑΜΟΥΝ ΟΥ ΛΥ ΠΥΒΑΟωΝ ΘΙΝΙΘ ΦΑΝΕ ΒΑΛ (viz. *l 'dn l b'l hmn w l rbtu 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).