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G. KENNETH JENKINS
COINS OF PUNIC SICILY *

Part 4 **

CARTHAGE SERIES 5-6

Introduction

As already stated in part 3 it seems clear from the evidence of hoards that Carthage series 5, Melqart head/horse head, should be roughly of the same phase as the Syracusan coins of Agathokles with Kore head/Nike and trophy, minted most probably after Agathokles' return from Africa and in fact between the years 305 and 295 B.C. For a summary of early third century hoards containing Carthage series 5 coins, see the table of hoards at the end of this instalment. It is evident enough that Carthage series 5 and the Agathokles «Nike» type tend to coincide. This conclusion is set off by a very slightly earlier hoard, Pachino 1957 (IGCH 2151), of the late fourth century, which contains neither the Agathokles Kore/Nike type nor the Melqart head/Horse head, but only the preceding phase of each mint – from Syracuse the quadriga tetradrachms of Agathokles and from Carthage series 3 Kore head/Horse head. On these general reckonings we may assume that Carthage series 5 should start about 300 B.C.

There is no easy way of deciding how long a series is involved; if it is accepted – as will presently be argued – that Carthage series 5 is to be envisaged as a parallel production by two separate mints, this will in any case tend to telescope the possible duration of the series. Provisionally we may think of a period of about a decade for the whole series, in which case it would come to an end by about the time of Agathokles' death (289 B.C.). Third century hoards containing series 5 do not, apparently, include any Sicilian coins later than Agathokles.

That in broad terms series 5 must be defined as two parallel series seems virtually inevitable. In the first place we have a definition by legends. Series 5 a is the mint of the army signed 'MMHNT' or 'MHMHNT' (People of the Camp). Series 5 b is the mint of the «quaestors» signed MHSBM. The only complication is that a few issues from the mhsbm mint are signed 'mmhnt' instead but these as we shall see are clearly exceptional and in fact form an integral part of the mhsbm mint series.

The relative representation of the two series in hoards gives little indication as to the relation between the two series. In the Cefalù hoard there are five specimens of each; in the Megara Hyblaia 1967 hoard there are eight 'mmhnt' and 14 mhsbm speci-

* Final instalment of the publication stated in SNR 50, 1971, 25 ff. (part 1) and continued in SNR 53, 1974, 23 ff. (part 2) and SNR 56 (1977), 5 ff. (part 3).

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mens; in the 1971 hoard there are four 'mmhnt and 12 mhsbm. From these samples there is no significant difference of wear between one series and the other, and so far as quantities go the presence of more mhsbm pieces in two of the hoards may simply reflect the fact that the latter was probably minted in greater quantity. While the figures for obverse dies are about equal, the reverse dies are twice as numerous for the mhsbm mint. Series 5 a – Obv. 20 Rev. 39. Series 5 b – Obv. 21 Rev. 81.

The division into two series seems further emphasized by a sharp distinction of both style and fabric. The flans of series 5 b are noticeably more compact than those of 5 a. The stylistic difference is most obvious from the reverse type. In series 5 a some horse heads here placed at the beginning as untypical have some connexion with a type which occurs briefly in series 3 a nos. 176 etc. where similarly the horse's shaggy mane is parted into two lines. But the dominant style of 5 a is a horse head set on a rather long neck with curving outlines, the throat bulging out and the truncation usually deeply curved in to balance. The forceful and swaggering character of this horse head bears a relation to a type of head which had already appeared sporadically in some issues of series 3 (nos. 215–216) as there remarked. This style becomes the normal one of series 5 a, with many interesting variants. The contrast with series 5 b could not be more extreme. In 5 b the horse head has a much simpler and more austere aspect, the neck is short and has none of the curvaceous character of 5 a, the throat does not bulge out and the truncation though varying in shape from die to die is often a quite shallow curve. Moreover the head typical of 5 b has no resemblance whatever to any style known in the previous series 3.

The distinction between series 5 a and 5 b is finally completely confirmed by the different styles of the Melqart-Herakles heads. In neither series is the head of so entirely homogeneous a style as the reverse, but on the whole it is clear that series 5 a has all of the more exuberant and lively examples, matching the style of the horses, while the heads of series 5 b are quieter and more restrained. All this goes to show that we have the work of two quite separate groups of engravers. Obviously enough, for the Melqart-Herakles heads they were drawing largely on prototypes from the coinage of Alexander the Great though without slavish imitation. The difference in the taste of the two groups of engravers may of course simply reflect the chance of which types of Alexander coins happened to come into their hands. In series 5 a the models tend to be those of eastern Alexander mints – Tarsus, Alexandria, Sidon, at all of which before Alexander's death a rather rich style developed; there is also some influence from Babylon. This contrasts strongly with the rather plainer style of Alexander's early Macedonian issues (also at first widely copied in the near east); Carthage series 5 b however shows more traces of these Macedonian styles, also with the addition of some elements from Babylon.

The clear differences between series 5 a and 5 b seem to speak for themselves. While there exists the bare possibility that the two series might be successive rather than parallel there is no indication as to how a transition could be made from one to the other. On the whole it seems much better to think of a parallel issue and of a

mint for the army and another for the quaestors (even allowing for the few exceptions mentioned).

As regards the legends, series 5 a has exclusively 'MMHNT/MHMHNT. This legend first appeared in series 3 and thus, as was shown in part 3 of this publication, at c. 320 B.C. Series 1 during the late fifth to early fourth century had by contrast only the simple MHNT. 'MMHNT «people of the army» is an expression involving the term M (people) used in the same way as it is in Phoenician inscriptions to denote the population of a named city; examples can be cited for Tyre, Sidon, Carthage, Gaulos, Ebusus, Lepcis, Caralis, Sulcis, Bithia, Lixus¹. In one inscription it is a term used not for a city but for a temple, the people of the temple of Melqart at Carthage². Acquaro³ has lucidly distinguished between the significance of the term 'M as in 'M QRTHDST, and the term B'L as in the legend B'L ŞYŞ (and perhaps B'L 'GDR etc.)⁴. 'M conveys the sense of the people in its capacity as a popular assembly; B'L on the other hand should signify the individual citizen with full rights. Thus in the case of 'MMHNT we gain the impression that the army in Sicily appears to have been constituted at this period somewhat on the lines of a city or republic with a popular assembly, almost a separate entity within the Carthaginian territory⁵.

In series 5 b by contrast we have the first and indeed the only use on coins of the term MHSBM. How is it to be interpreted? That it means basically «financial controllers» is not now in doubt⁶. But are these officials purely and simply the «paymasters of the army»⁷? – if so it seems strange that the army is not mentioned; and although there is the brief interpolation of a few 'MMHNT issues in the series (nos. 360, 370–374) otherwise exclusively signed MHSBM, this hardly seems a conclusive reason to determine our reading of the legend MHSBM as such. The word MHSBM was not attested otherwise than on the coins until the discovery in 1966 of

¹ Cooke, *Textbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions* no. 9, 10; Moscati, *Riv. Studi Orientali* 43, 1968, 1–4; Fantar, *Antas, Les inscriptions* p. 58 ff.; Acquaro *RIN* 1974, 77–81.

² CIS 264. 'M is also used more generally for «people of the land» ('M 'RŞ) in the rather older Yehawmilk inscription from Byblus, Cooke *Textbook* no. 3 (V–IV century B.C.).

³ Acquaro *RIN* 76, 1974, *Note di epigrafia punica* I pp. 77–82. For B'L = citizen(s) cf. CIS 120 (a citizeness of Byzantium); Cooke *Textbook* no. 10 (citizens of Hammon), no. 54 (a citizen of Maktar); also RES 163–164, 505, 679, 942. – Moscati, *Riv. Studi Orientali* 43, 1968, p. 2, points out the distinction between an élite (viz. a senate) and people clearly shown in inscriptions from Lepcis (Levi della Vida, *Rend. Lincei* 1955, 550–561).

⁴ However the term often read as B'L on coins of Gades, Sexsi, Lixus, Tingis, is interpreted by Solá Solé as P'L («obra, obra acunada» thus = mint or coinage), cf. *Sefarad* XXVII 1967, 16 ff. and *Numisma* VIII 35, 1958, 17.

⁵ Acquaro *RIN* 1974 p. 80 note 20 notes as a parallel a resolution by the army in an African inscription (Fevrier, *Cahiers de Byrsa* 6, 1956, 22. 25).

⁶ Bisi, *Annali* 16–17, 1969–1970, 95 note 96, citing the derivation of the word, which incidentally was not given by Müller.

⁷ Bisi *op. cit.* 93 says «mhsbm – magistrati incaricati della paga alle truppe simili ai quaestores romani»; but it is difficult to see why they have to be military.

a new inscription at Carthage, dating probably to the early second century B.C.⁸; this inscription records the opening of a new street in the city, mentions the collaboration of diverse classes of the people, and imposes fines for damage to the inscription which would be payable to «our MHSBM». The latter are clearly officials charged with the public finances, on the general analogy of Roman quaestors, as Dupont-Sommer remarks. It is known from Livy that there were at Carthage magistrates to whom he refers precisely as «quaestors» and whose importance in the state was such that they had the right of automatic entry on expiry of office to the all-powerful *ordo iudicum*⁹. Were the MHSBM of our coins these same «quaestors» or were they some purely local officials?

It is of course known that most of the Phoenician cities in the west had similar constitutional features and that for instance there were suffetes (shofetim) not only at Carthage but at Gades and elsewhere, including many smaller towns in Africa; there is also mention of a «quaestor» at Gades¹⁰. Likely enough the Punic cities in Sicily had similar institutions. However there is no indication from the coins that the MHSBM we are concerned with were any kind of local magistrates, and it seems unavoidable to reflect that the coins are those of the Carthaginian state and not of any local city. Should it not therefore follow that the MHSBM on the coins are indeed the «quaestors» of the Carthaginian state? No doubt it fell within their scope to provide pay for the army, *inter alia*, but there seems little indication that they were merely «army paymasters» and they must surely have had wider responsibilities as civil magistrates also. If it were otherwise, there seems little point in the distinction of the two kinds of legend on the coins.

While a coinage in the name of the «people of the army» still went on (series 5 a), it is perhaps relevant to observe that it was at precisely this time, c. 300 B.C., that the civic coinages of ŞYŞ and RSMLQRT had apparently come to an end. At the same date we have the appearance of the Carthaginian coins signed MHSBM. We can only speculate whether these events were at all connected – as if the «quaestors» of the Carthaginian state were in a general financial sense somehow filling the place left by civic authorities which had ceased to emit coins? If so, it may be a sign of some closer and more direct control of the Sicilian territory by the Carthaginian state.

Types

There is little need to discuss again here the type of the horse's head the main and most consistent type of the present and preceding series (ser. 3). In part 2 it was mentioned that, following Ferron and others, the horse's head is to be regarded as an

⁸ Dupont-Sommer, CRAI 1968, 116–132; the date of the inscription is suggested in a final note by Carcopino.

⁹ Gsell II, 201, 275.

¹⁰ Gsell II, 193 ff.

emblem connected with Ba'al Hammon ¹¹; in part 3 reference was made to a more recent discussion by C. Picard where it was argued that the possible connection with Ba'al Hammon does not of course exclude the connection with Tanit-Juno as indicated by Vergil ¹². So far as concerns series 5, we now find the horse head coupled with the head of Melqart, with whom it has no direct connection. This underlines the fact that we must evidently regard the horse head as it appears on the coins as an element of symbolism which is used independently and by no means as intimately linked with the corresponding obverse type, such as the Kore of series 2–3. The horse is not a representation often found on Punic stelai, though there are a few examples from El Hofra; the commentary on those stresses the solar nature of the horse ¹³, also mentioning its relevance to Hadad (Ares).

As regards the head of Melqart-Herakles which dominates series 5, there is at least no problem. It is well known that Melqart, the chief god of Tyre, was assimilated by the Greeks to Herakles, and there are plenty of subsequent examples of a purely Greek Herakles serving as equivalent for Melqart. The present coin series must be the first example of this. It seems doubtful however whether we can see any specific historical or cult reasons for the adoption of the Herakles type – from the coinage of Alexander, as mentioned above. It seems unlikely that historical developments at Carthage at the end of the fourth century which could help us to account for the Melqart type; there appears to have been some political change after the defeat of Bomilcar's attempt at tyranny (308 B.C.), which resulted in the supersession of the kingship and brought in the heyday of oligarchic power which made Carthage «a sort of Venice of the ancients, an aristocratic republic» ¹⁴. But it seems difficult to use this as any kind of explanation for the production of coins with the new type in Sicily, especially as at Carthage itself the coinage continued to make use of the Kore type as before.

The cult of Melqart had always been followed at Carthage as at other Phoenician cities in the west, notably Gades ¹⁵. Although the bulk of our evidence on the cults of Carthage is that derived from the tophet stelai mainly concerned with Tanit and Ba'al Hammon, this may give a one-sided view when considering the importance of other cults, among which that of Melqart certainly held an important place. The temple of Melqart is mentioned in one inscription ¹⁶, and personal names which are compounds of Melqart are very frequent at Carthage (Abdmelqart, servant of Melqart – whence Hamilcar; Bodmelqart, in the hand of Melqart, whence Bomilcar) ¹⁷. Each year the Carthaginians sent offerings to the temple of Melqart at Tyre; a special

¹¹ SNR 1974, 27.

¹² Karthago, XVII, 1976, 104.

¹³ El Hofra 197 ff.

¹⁴ Picard 1968, 125.

¹⁵ Gsell IV, 301 ff.

¹⁶ CIS 264.

¹⁷ Halff, Karthago XII, 1963–1964, 130 ('bdmlqrt); do., 95 (bdmlqrt).

offering was sent in 310 after Agathokles' landing in Africa as in the panic of the moment the Carthaginians feared they had neglected the cult¹⁸. It seems likely, as Picard thinks, that the Melqart cult attained a special importance at a later period and especially under the Barcids in Spain. However none of this suggests any special reason why the Herakles-Melqart head should suddenly appear on Punic coins minted in Sicily around 300 B.C.

Since in fact it is beyond question that the type of the coins was adapted from the coinage of Alexander (and not from any other Greek prototype) the explanation is probably quite a simple and practical one. Earlier Carthaginian coins (series 2-3) were largely modelled on the prototypes provided by the coins of Syracuse, the great western power. Before the end of the fourth century, the impact of Alexander's conquests had changed the world and his coinage quickly came to dominate Greece and the near-east. Carthage remained in close touch with her metropolis Tyre – where a Carthaginian embassy was present at the time of Alexander's siege¹⁹ – and must have been fully cognisant of the new developments. Possibly too the fall of Tyre gave the Carthaginians some impulse towards regarding themselves as now in a sense filling the vacant place as leader of the Phoenician nation. At all events they seem at this period to have had a wider vision of themselves as a Mediterranean «great power» dominating the west, complemented in the early third century by an alliance with Ptolemy in the east²⁰. In the circumstances, what could be more logical for Carthage than to use for their own coinage the new model of «great power» coinage, that of Alexander himself?

The new prototype coins were not hard to seek in any case, as a number of Sicilian hoards of the period contain specimens, showing that the Alexander coins were reaching Sicily as well as other regions of the mediterranean. In view of Carthage's wide commercial connections, not least with Phoenicia, where several mints had been pouring out Alexander tetradrachms for some time, it is not a little tempting to think that Carthaginian trade may have done much to bring such coins to the west. Sicilian hoards of our period containing some Alexanders are:

- IGCH 2151 Pachino 1957 (3 Amphipolis; 3 Babylon, two of which are after 317 B.C.; Myriandros; Arados)
- IGCH 2154 Cefalú (Amphipolis c. 318)
- IGCH 2180 Megara Hyblaia 1966 (Babylon; Lycia-Pamphylia)
- IGCH 2183 Capo Soprano (Myriandros)
- IGCH 2191 Syracuse 1927 (Amphipolis; Tarsos)

Other hoards containing Alexander tetradrachms, of which we do not have details, are:

- IGCH 2159 Buccheri 2160 Aidone 2186 Pachino 1921

¹⁸ Diod. Sic. XX. 14.

¹⁹ Picard 1968, 167.

²⁰ Picard 171 ff.

In addition to these, a new hoard has been reported («Sicily 1976/77»), which contained a number of Carthage series 3 and 5, Agathokles quadriga tetradrachms, Athens IV c tetradrachms, but most of all a large number («300 +») of Alexander tetradrachms, among which the Alexandria «rose» issue (Demanhur 4610) was said to be very prominent, though there is reason to believe that numerous other varieties of Alexander coins were probably included also. This new hoard of which few details are yet known is of special interest simply on account of its profusion of Alexander coins, never before met with in a Sicilian hoard. Another new hoard («S. E. Sicily» 1977) also contained many Alexanders of a variety of mints, and at least one Alexander came in a very recent hoard («S. Sicily 1978»). From the information we have so far, then, it is clear that there was an abundance of possible prototypes from numerous Alexander mints for the engravers of Carthage series 5 to draw on.

Commentary

Series 5 a (Plates 1–6)

Nos. 273–275

It is not easy to find any plausible position for this short sequence and it is here given at the beginning of series 5 a largely for convenience. The die-linkages are as follows:

O 86 O 87 O 87
R 227 — R 227 R 228

The Herakles head of O 86–87 are not particularly close to any others of series 5 a although it would be clear from the style alone that it is to this series that they must belong. The peculiar rendering of the horse's mane on R 227 with a parting is a feature that recalls the horse head of 176, 178 in series 3, though without any close stylistic resemblance apart from that. The sudden contrast with the «curvaceous» horse of R 228 is very striking. The latter, anticipated in series 3 (R. 187) is the typical rendering in series 5 a. The general shape of the horse head, also the palm tree with raised branches, recall perhaps those of 224 (series 3).

The die-links of this group are as follows:

O 88	O 89	O 90
R 229	(caduceus)	
(fulmen)		
R 230 ————— R 230		
(triangle of dots)		
R 231 ————— R 231 — R 231		
(triangle of dots)		
R 232 ————— R 232		
(triangle of dots)		

In this die-linked group two of the reverses (R 229–230) are of the normal style of series 5 a. The other two are totally different (R 231–R 232); their appearance is rather like that of 267, 268 in series 3 d. There as in the present case, the confident sculptural modelling of the normal type is absent and the effect is flat and scrappy. Again like 268 of series 3 our R 231 changes direction to the right. On both R 231 and 232 it is characteristic that the hair on the horse's forehead is shown parted to left and right below the rising tuft on top of the head; this arrangement is strongly reminiscent of the treatment found in many of the series 3 dies of various styles (e.g. 148, 254) but one which is never seen with the curvaceous style either in series 3 (216) or in series 5. The stylistic diversity of R 229, 230 as against R 231–232 is further emphasised by the comparable difference in the style of the epigraphy, the neat lettering of the former and the rather sprawling letters of the latter in both of which the final *tau* overlaps on the horse's truncation.

With the reverses appear marks in the field. On R 229 is a fulmen symbol, never found elsewhere on Carthaginian coinage, nor in Carthaginian material of any other kind²¹. This was doubtless copied from Greek coinage such as the pegasi of Ambra-kia, Corinth and Syracuse, but is of a distinct form²². On the other three dies of this group we have in the field a triangle of dots, such as that which was typical of the gold coins minted at Carthage in the middle and later fourth century. Such a mark does not remain exclusive to the gold however and was also used on bronze coins minted in Sicily during the early third century²³. Outside the sphere of Carthaginian coins it is difficult to cite the use of such marks except from certain of the eastern mints of Alexander – Tarsus (Demanhur 1974, 2187 etc.), Amathus (Demanhur

²¹ It is apparently unknown on the stelai. – If the fulmen had any connexion with Punic religion, it could be related either to Baal Shamin or to Resef (cf. Gsell IV 294, 326–327) whose very name signifies the «flame» or «lightning-flash» and who was incidentally identified with the Greek Apollo (especially in Cyprus, cf. CIS 89, trilingual inscription from Idalion).

²² Cf. Cammann, ANS NNM 53, no. 47.

²³ Jenkins-Lewis group III, also (bronze) appendix 3.

2708, 2710) Damascus (Demanhur 2904) and Aradus (Demanhur 3460 etc.). The triangle of dots as we have it on the tetradrachms (277) cannot in fact form any significant link with the gold minted at Carthage (Jenkins-Lewis group III) and which according to the dates adopted by Jenkins-Lewis (350/320 B.C.) was abandoned after group III for other forms of marking by the time this tetradrachm was minted.

With O 89 the caduceus symbol makes its only appearance in this series below the Herakles head, though it is prominent in series 5 b as a symbol on the reverse. The importance of the caduceus as a Punic religious symbol has been commented on in part 3, relating to this symbol as it comes in series 2/3. In series 5, as will be discussed below, the symbols which occur seem more probably related to the symbols which are typical of Greek coinage practice than of Punic religion, and this may be the case here. At all events there is no obvious connection of the caduceus with the cult of Melqart.

The style of O 89 seems strongly influenced by the Alexander coins of e.g. Alexandria and Sidon of a generation earlier. Note the shape of the lion's mouth as it curves around Herakles' ear, and projecting forward on to the cheek, a central feature of many of the eastern mints of Alexander. Around the lion's mouth is a stylised «frill» of loose flesh; this corresponds to a real feature of the lion's mouth in nature, visible when a lion's mouth is open as a frill of dark flesh contrasting with the lighter colour of the fur; it is a feature well noticed by Greek artists and emphasised e.g. in the lion-head spouts from Himera and elsewhere²⁴, on the lion-head coins of Leontinoi²⁵ and elsewhere, also on the lion-skin worn by Herakles at Kamarina²⁶. This «frill» is much emphasised in the dies of series 5 a but is by contrast a rarity in series 5 b where different Alexander prototypes are being followed.

O 89 is followed by O 90, closely derivative from it, and by O 91, 93 where the general pattern is remarkably similar.

Nos. 284–295

The die-links are as follows:

O 91	O 92	O 93	O 94
R 235			R 242
club			corn ear
R 236—R 236		R 240	R 243
corn ear		R 241	double corn ear
		corn ear	
	R 237		
	corn ear		

²⁴ Langlotz-Hirmer, *Art of Magna Graecia* pl. 76–80.

²⁵ Kraay-Hirmer, *Greek Coins*, 16.

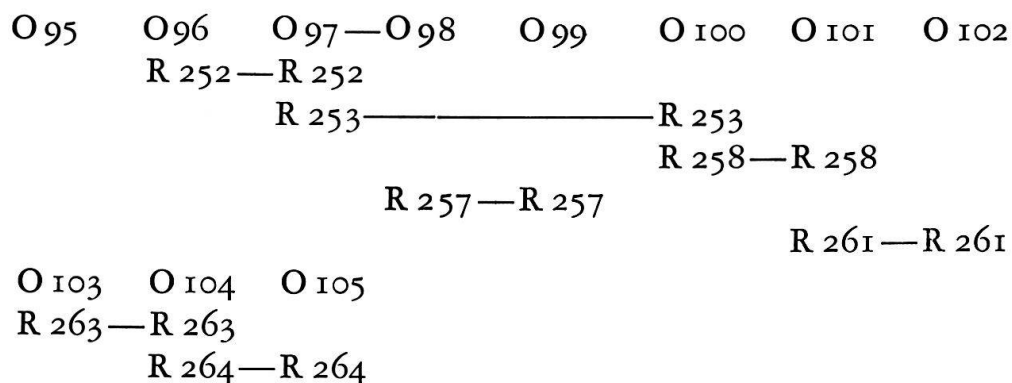
²⁶ Westermarck-Jenkins, *Coinage of Kamarina*, esp. pl. 12–16.

In this group the majority of the reverses are marked by symbols. The club on R 235 here makes its only appearance in series 5 a whereas it is typical of many dies in series 5 b (nos. 326–346). The club would be apt enough in connexion with Herakles-Melqart but perhaps essentially as an attribute belonging to his Greek iconography. But the predominant symbol in the present group is the corn ear²⁷, usually standing up prominently in the left field, though once very unobtrusive (291) and once in the form of a double corn ear on a reverse which is also unusual in that the horse head faces right and is of divergent style (295). Another exceptional detail is one die where the extra foliage is placed around the trunk of the palm tree (294).

The Herakles heads O 91 and O 93 as mentioned already follow closely the pattern of 89–90 with its «Alexandrian» influence (pl. 14, B, C). O 94 has some resemblance to certain late Babylon issues e.g. Oxford 1406 A.

Nos. 296–324

Summary of die-links:



In this phase of series 5 a there are no symbols. The legend is normally 'mhmhnt varied only once to 'mmhnt (nos. 310–311). It is not easy to find plausible Alexander prototypes for the obverses of this group. In O 95–97 we find a rather heavy-featured fleshy style that really has no close parallels in the Alexander coinage: it has something, but not much, in common with some late examples from Sidon of the years 311, 310 B.C.²⁸ O 98 is almost certainly nothing else than O 97 with a number of details re-engraved. With it is linked a strange die, O 99, which is exceptional in representing the lion scalp in a pattern where the row of tufts protrudes from a scalp cut off in a vertical straight line instead of in the usual curved form; this may reflect the characteristics of certain Phoenician mints of Alexander such as Aradus and Carne (pl. 14, E), though the scheme is one which, as initially at many other eastern mints, derives ultimately from the early issues of Macedonia (pl. 14, A). Quite another style appears at

²⁷ The corn ear though rare is not entirely unknown on Punic stelai, C. Picard, *Karthago* XVII, 1976, 109 s. v. *épis* (examples of III/II c. B.C.).

²⁸ Newell, *Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake*, pl. IV. 16, 18.

²⁹ E.g. Jenkins-Lewis group X b, with dot on leaf..

O 100; here the smooth part of the lion's scalp surface from which the tufts depend has more prominence than on most previous dies. O 101 and O 102 are again different, the arrangement of the lion scalp is less rigid but has a restrained array of tufts, O 101 having a rather small face and weak nose, whereas O 102 is far more powerful and expressive. These obverses are linked to the foregoing «heavy» group by means of R 253 and R 258. Finally there is the work of O 103–105 which is far more exuberant; in O 103–104 the curls above the forehead as well as the tufts of the lion-skin have a certain abandon. To these O 105 is closely related though the facial forms and expression come close to those of O 102. In none of these is it really useful to try to seek parallels from the Alexander coinage, and one can only point to the later issues of Babylon for something of a general analogy (e.g. Copenhagen SNG Macedonia, pl. 22).

The style of the reverses, including their epigraphy, remains comparatively regular apart from variations which merely facilitate the distinction of individual dies.

Series 5 b – MHSBM (Plates 6–14)
Nos. 325–375

Summary:

O 106	O 107	O 108				
R 266–268						
(club)						
R 269 — R 269						
(club)						
	R 270–271					
	(club)					
	R 272 — R 272					
	(club)					
	R 273–274					
	(club)					
O 109	O 110	O 111	O 112	O 113	O 115	O 114
R 275, 278				R 289, 290	R 298	R 297
(club)				(caduceus)	(poppy)	(caduceus)
R 279 — R 279					R 298'	
	R 281				(astragalos)	
	(pellet)				R 299, 300	
	R 282 — R 282				(astragalos	
	(club)				+ pellet)	O 116
		R 283 — R 283				R 304
		(caduceus)				('mbmbnt)
		R 284 — R 284				R 305
		(astragalos)				(mhsbm)
		R 285 — R 285				
		(caduceus)				
		R 286–287				
		(astragalos)				
		R 288 — R 288 — R 288				
		(astragalos)		R 292		
				(astragalos)		
				R 293 — R 293		
				('mbmbnt)		
				R 294–296	R 301–303	
				(caduceus)	('mbmbnt)	

O 117	O 118	O 119	O 120	O 121	O 122	O 123	O 124	O 125	O 126
		R 317—R 317			R 330—R 330				
		R 319—319					R 335—R 335		
							R 342—R 342		

Series 5 b falls into two distinct phases. The first is marked by the occurrence of a number of symbols and other marks on the reverse – club, pellet, caduceus, astragalos, poppy (recut as astragalos), astragalos and pellet. The legend in series 5 b is always MHSBM except that towards the end of the first phases come a few intrusive issues marked 'MMHNT'. The second phase has no symbols or other marks, but continues to bear the legend MHSBM without exception. In principle there is nothing that enables us to decide whether this second phase might not in fact precede the first phase as we have arranged it. However the arrangement as given seems plausible; it seems natural to place near to the abnormal 'MMHNT' issues an obverse O 116 which is coupled with a reverse 'MMHNT' reverting to MHSBM and next to O 116 has been placed a very similar obverse which has only MHSBM with the remaining no symbol issues following this.

The first phase, with symbols, is fairly well die-linked. First are placed three obverse O 106-108 where the reverse in most cases carries the club symbol. There is no die-link from this to the next group but there the club symbol continues with the first three obverses O 109-111. At O 111 there begin a number of issues with either the caduceus or astragalos symbol. One reverse first marked by a poppy (R 298) was recut to make an astragalos (R 298'), others have astragalos with a pellet half-concealed behind the horse's mane in a manner reminiscent of other Carthaginian coins. The general sequence is attested by the history of R 282 which appears more worn with O 111 than with O 112, and R 293 which is more worn with O 115 than with O 113. O 114 is an isolated obverse with its own single reverse bearing a caduceus and is to be placed in the same general context though not die-linked.

The abnormal 'MMHNT' of R 293 is used first with O 113 then after transferred to O 115 which then used three other 'MMHNT' dies (R 301-303), while O 113 finished its career by reverting to MHSBM issues. The abnormality of those 'MMHNT' issues in series 5 b is to be emphasised; only some five dies in all have this legend (R 293, 301, 302, 303, 304), and the last of them precedes a MHSBM die with O 116. This is a minute proportion out of a total of some eighty reverse dies used for series 5 b as a whole, all the remainder of which are signed MHSBM. The exceptional 'MMHNT' dies (nos. 360, 370-374) were certainly made in the same workshop as the great mass of the MHSBM dies; the style of the horse head is in every way characteristic of the mint of series 5 b. The temporary change of control of the mint which seems to be attested by the way in which the long series of MHSBM is interrupted by a handful of 'MMHNT' dies must presumably be allowed the mean some-

thing – possibly suggesting that for a moment the «civil» mint was required to produce coins for and the name of the army. It is of course quite impossible to guess why or in what circumstances any of this could have taken place.

In any case the two series 5 a and 5 b are clearly defined and distinct, and any notion of trying to arrange the whole of series 5 so as produce a first series with MHNT followed by a second group with MHSBM, in a simple succession, is quickly doomed.

The occurrence of the symbols on series 5 b in the main serves to add one more factor to the distinct character of the two series. In two cases it is true we find an occurrence of the same symbol in each series; there is a club in 5 a but only once (286) and there in a way that distinguishes it from the numerous club dies of 5 b, being shown with the handle downwards whereas on 5 b it is always upwards. Also the caduceus, common in 5 b occurs once in 5 a on O 89. For the rest the symbols in 5 b are distinct. By contrast with earlier series where symbols occur which seem to have a relation to Punic religion, those which are found in series 5 a and 5 b seem to be of another kind. The caduceus, as remarked above, is an important symbol in Punic religion and could so be regarded in series 2/3³⁰, but here it is merely one of other symbols, all of which are known in the repertoire of Greek coins but have no specific Punic connotation. Thus the corn ear and astragalos can be found at Gela, the latter also at Abdera; the club, cornear and astragalos at Ainos; the astragalos, club, cornear, fulmen and caduceus on various Corinthian coinage³¹. It seems that in series 5 we should regard the symbols as evidence of the adoption of Greek mint practice in line with the adoption of the Greek Herakles type from the Alexander coins to stand for Melqart. This fits well at a period when hellenisation was specially strong in Punic life and culture generally.

The distinction made above between two mints is born out by the fact that, as mentioned above, the Herakles heads in series 5 b differ widely from those of 5 a. On the whole the style of the MHSBM mint is simpler and less elaborate. The heads are smaller, the lion-skin is treated differently in several respects. For instance the mouth of the lion where it encircles the ear is not adorned with the stylised «frill» of flesh which is always prominent in 5 a, but is simply a plain edge – the single exception is O 115. Also it is quite usual in 5 b for the part of the lion-skin where it is cut off behind Herakles' neck to be depicted with emphasis and shown with folds as if of drapery, making the head almost into a draped bust – this neckpiece is specially noticeable on O 108 and also on O 109, 112, 115, 118, 121, 123. Even where it is not so clear this neckpiece still seems usually to be present, and it is a treatment quite distinct from that of series 5 a where there is simply an abrupt cut-off of the lion-skin with little attempt to make it into a drapery-like feature. (In this the only exception is O 95 of 5 a, which is indeed closer to the 5 b model). It is hardly

³⁰ Cf. SNR 1977, 16.

³¹ Jenkins, Gela, no. 205 etc., 541 etc.; May, Abdera group CXV; May, Ainos, no. 8, 125, 325, 442; Cammann ANS NNM 53, no. 12, 23, 26, 47, 67.

possible to comment on the treatment of the lion's paws as a criterion as this feature is often enough not complete on the flan, but in general we see only the nearer paw the other being indicated very sketchily if at all (e.g. 357, 367); whereas the opposite was the tendency (by no means regular) in 5 a (e.g. 281). The general difference in character, the treatment of the lion's tufts and the modelling of the Herakles face, are sufficiently different to call for little comment.

The treatment of the lion-skin in series 5 b is best exemplified by O 108 (334); it seems to suggest that coins of this type were influenced by prototypes from the early Macedonian mints of Alexander (notably Amphipolis, pl. 14 A). If so, the engravers of these Punic coins were simply making their own adaptation and the result is distinct enough from the Amphipolis coins in any case. Another prototype which seems to have had some influence on series 5 b would be the mint of Babylon, where in its earlier phase (to 317 B.C.) the typical treatment of the lion's mane is in a long swag curving downwards (pl. 14 F); and we see something like this on O 110, 116, 117. Then in the later (post 317) phases at Babylon there were quite other styles prevalent (pl. 14 G) which perhaps influenced Punic dies such as O 124, 125. Apart from these examples, it is not easy to find Alexander coins which are similar enough to our series to be worth mentioning. In series 5 b, only O 115 has some affinity to the «Alexandrian» model of series 5 a (e.g. O 91, 93).

Catalogue

Legends

'MMHNT

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310 360

371-373 see below

'MHMHNT

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MHSBM

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332 ነግታዎህ
 334 ነግታዎህ
 335 ነግታዎህ
 336 ነግታዎህ
 339 ነግታዎህ
 341 ነግታዎህ
 342 ነግታዎህ
 343 ነግታዎህ
 344 ነግታዎህ
 346 ነግታዎህ
 347 ነግታዎህ
 349 ነግታዎህ
 350 ነግታዎህ
 351 ነግታዎህ
 353 = 369 ነግታዎህ

 355 ነግታዎህ
 356 ነግታዎህ
 357 ነግታዎህ

360 = 370 ነግታዎህ

361 ነግታዎህ
 362 ነግታዎህ
 363 ነግታዎህ
 364 ነግታዎህ
 365 ነግታዎህ
 367 ነግታዎህ
 368 ነግታዎህ

 'MMHNT
 371 ነግታዎህ
 372 ነግታዎህ
 373 ነግታዎህ

 'MHMHNT
 374 ነግታዎህ

 MHSBM
 375 ነግታዎህ
 376 ነግታዎህ
 379 ነግታዎህ

380 ነገረዓለሁ
 381 ነገረዓለሁ
 382 ነገረዓለሁ
 383 ነገረዓለሁ
 384 ነገረዓለሁ
 385 ነገረዓለሁ
 386 ነገረዓለሁ
 387 ነገረዓለሁ
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 391 ነገረዓለሁ
 392 ነገረዓለሁ

393 ነገረዓለሁ
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 400 ገረዓለሁ
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 408 ነገረዓለሁ
 409 ነገረዓለሁ
 410 ነገረዓለሁ

412 ገረዓለሁ
 413 ነገረዓለሁ
 419 ነገረዓለሁ
 420 ነገረዓለሁ

Series 5 a

- 273 O 86 Head of Melqart-Herakles in lion-skin with thick shaggy mane; dotted border. Long break across die.
R 227 Horse's head to left, with mane parted into two lines; on the right, palm tree with ascending branches; linear border. Legend 'mhmht.
Die break on neck.
16.78 * Glasgow Hunter 11
- 274 O 87 Head more compact, tufts of lion's mane parted.
R 227 Die of 273. Die break extended.
17.25 * Paris 2325
- 275 O 87 Die of 274.
R 228 Horse's head of different style with bulging throat, neat mane and more curving truncation; palm tree with compact bush of branches; dotted border. Legend 'mhmht.
16.76 * MMAG * 43, 36
— Syracuse
- 276 O 88 Head of refined style, tufts of lion's mane falling in a thick mass.
R 229 Similar, palm tree smaller; in left field, thunderbolt. Legend 'mhmht (partly off-flan).
16.88 * London = Sotheby
2. 5. 1905, 195
- 277 O 88 Die of 276.
R 230 Similar; three pellets in left field. Legend 'mhmht.
15.35 * Paris Luynes 1448
— Paris Vogué 650
— Platt collection A, 1930, 810
- 278 O 88 Die of 276.
R 231 Horse's head to right, flat sketchy style, very shallow truncation; palm tree on left; three pellets in right field. Legend 'mhmht.
— * Palermo
- 279 O 89 Similar, slightly smaller, tight curls on forehead, neck more exposed. Below lion's paws, caduceus. Bar-shaped die break at 2 o'clock.
R 230 Die of 277.
16.96 * Gustav VI Adolf, late King of Sweden, SNG 46 = Sotheby
6. 7. 1921, 222
16.32 * London
— Priv. coll. Y
— Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967
- 280 O 89 Die of 279.
R 231 Die of 278.
16.43 * Paris Luynes 1451
- 281 O 89 Die of 279.
R 232 Horse's head of sketchy style to left, locks parted on forehead, shallow curved truncation; on right palm tree; three pellets in left field. Linear border. Legend 'mhmht
— * Palermo
- 282 O 90 Closely similar to O 89 but tufts of lion's mane straighter; caduceus below?
R 231 Die of 278, 280.
16.66 Lewis (Jenkins-Lewis pl. 26, 10)
16.82 * London
- 283 O 90 Die of 282.
R 232 Die of 281.
17.30 Allotte de le Fuye 1925, 135
16.80 * ANS
16.82 ANS
17.12 Nav. 10, 353
— Priv. coll. Y
— Spink 1968

* MMAG = Münzen und Medaillen AG.

Plate 2

- 284 O 91 Similar to O 89–90, slightly larger, lion's mane with thicker tufts. No border.
R 233 Horse's head to left, similar to R 229–230, truncation pointed in front. Dotted border. Legend 'mhmhnt ? (incomplete)
16.51 * Priv. coll. Y = AC 12, 1075
17.00 SC 1927, 1160
- 285 O 91 Die of 284. Breaks around neck.
R 234 Horse's head smaller, truncation deeply arched. Legend 'mhmhnt
16.96 AC 12, 1074
16.37 Auctiones 5, 1975, 244
– * Berlin
– Philadelphia
17.28 * Priv. coll. X
- 286 O 91 Die of 284. More worn.
R 235 Similar, truncation is smooth shallow curve; club in left field. Legend 'mhmhnt
– * Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967
- 287 O 91 Die of 284.
R 236 Similar, palm tree larger; corn ear in left field. Legend 'mhmhnt
– Berlin
16.60 * Lockett SNG 1055 =
Nav. 10, 354
16.76 London
– Paris 2328
16.78 Pennisi
- 288 O 92 More expressive face, lion's mane in long vertical tufts. No border.
R 236 Die of 287.
16.82 * Boston 499
16.34 London Lloyd SNG 1654 (NC 1925 pl. VII), Cefalú hoard
- 289 O 92 Die of 288.
R 237 Similar, horse's throat more prominent, palm tree closer; corn ear in left field. Legend 'mhmhnt
– * Burlington Fine Arts 201, 207
- 16.65 Glasgow Hunter 13
– MMAG list 326, 15, 1971 hoard
16.73 MMAG 43, 37
16.78 Naples 4817
17.30 Schlessinger 26. 2. 1934, 375
- 290 O 93 Closely similar to O 91, lion's mane with thick short tufts downwards. Dotted border.
R 238 Horse's head massive, thick tufts on top, truncation in regular curve. Legend 'mhmhnt
– * Berlin
17.02 Cambridge McC 3047
17.08 Hamburger 29. 5. 1929, 497
16.76 LH * 1958, 116 =
Morgan 194
16.72 London
– Martinetti 805
14.30 (sic) Naples 4808
17.40 Pennisi
17.35 * seen 1977
- 291 O 93 Die of 290.
R 239 Closely similar, at front tip of truncation close to border, small corn ear. Legend 'mhmhnt
16.90 Cahn 68, 1763
16.38 Cambridge SNG 1495
16.13 London Lloyd SNG 1655
17.05 Münzh. Basel 8, 187
16.45 MMAG, 1971 hoard
17.29 * Nav. 6, 578 = Benson 800
17.15 Priv. coll. X
17.20 Schulman 30. 3. 1936, 48
– Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967
16.00 Yale = Ciani 17. 12. 1921, 99
- 292 O 93 Die of 290.
R 240 Similar, throat more bulging, palm tree taller; in left field large corn ear upright. Legend 'mhmhnt
17.12 * ANS

- 293 O 93 Die of 290.
 R 241 Similar, tufts of mane longer; in left field corn ear slightly slanting.
 Legend 'mhmhnt
 17.10 Glendining-Seaby III, 1185
 17.29 * Lewis CCCC SNG 428
 17.00 SC * 1927, 1161
 — Syracuse Gagliardi 1001

Plate 3

- 294 O 94 Compact head with tufts of lion's mane thick and short. Dotted border.
 R 242 Strongly bulging throat and curvaceous truncation, tall palm tree with extra foliage around trunk; in left field large corn ear.
 Legend 'mmhnt
 1742 * London
 16.92 Nav. 5, 2985
 — Paris 2329
 — * Glendining 24. 11. 1950, 1538
- 295 O 94 Die of 294.
 R 243 Horse's head to right, angular truncation; palm tree on left; double corn ear in right field.
 Legend 'mmhnt (?)
 16.53 * Naples 4818
 16.59 Nav. 5, 2986
- 296 O 95 Larger head; jaw of lion's mane with wide frill, compact row of tufts. Dotted border.
 R 244 Head to left; shallow arched truncation, long mane; palm tree very close. Legend 'mhmhnt
 17.12 Cambridge SNG 1497
 16.86 Feuardent 16. 11. 1937, 140
 16.54 Galerie Monnaies de Genève, New York, 1976, 702
 — Hamburger 11. 6. 1930, 653
 16.48 London Lloyd SNG 1647, Cefalú hoard
 16.70 * Naples 4807
 — * Private collection Y
 16.50 SC 1927, 1155
 * LH = Leu-Hess.
 * SC = Sambon-Canessa.
- 297 O 95 Die of 296
 R 245 Similar slightly larger, dense mane, taller palm tree.
 Legend 'mhmhnt
- 298 O 96 Closely similar, smaller eye, lion's jaw closer to ear.
 R 246 Similar, bulging throat, truncation more concave. Legend 'mhmhnt
 16.52 AC 12, 1060
 17.09 ANS
 16.49 Boston 498
 16.77 Copenhagen 90
 — Hamburger 20. 2. 1928, 210
 17.20 Hess 226, 164
 — Hindamian 293
 16.83 * Naples 4806
 16.93 Naples S 8087
 16.70 Paris Luynes 1452
 — Paris 2326
 — Platt 1921, 122
- 299 O 96 Die of 298
 R 247 Similar, palm tree lower.
 Legend 'mhmhnt
 16.80 Baranowsky 1929, 1565 = Brandis 381
 — * Bourgey 20. 12. 1921, 64
 17.16 London
- 300 O 96 Die of 298
 R 248 Similar, bulging throat, shallow truncation, palm tree not so close.
 Legend 'mhmhnt
 16.20 Cambridge SNG 1494
 17.28 * London
 — Myers
 16.85 Naples S 8088
 — Syracuse 24742, Mineo hoard
 — Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967
 — Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967

- 301 O 96 Die of 298
 R 249 Similar; legend ends beyond truncation. Legend 'mhmhnt
 — * Berlin
 — Berlin
 16.95 Princeton, Firestone

- 302 O 96 Die of 298
 R 250 Similar, truncation in regular curve, legend ending beyond.
 Legend 'mhmhnt
 16.33 Cambridge SNG 1493
 16.67 * Private collection X
 16.50 * Private collection X

Plate 4

- 303 O 96 Die of 298
 R 251 Similar, truncation in shallower curve, taller palm tree.
 Legend 'mhmhnt
 16.99 * Stockholm SNG 662
 — Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967
 — Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967
- 304 O 96 Die of 298
 R 252 Slightly smaller, truncation with deeper curve, shorter palm tree.
 Legend 'mhmhnt
 16.66 Nav. 5, 2987
 15.90 * Private collection X
 — Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967
- 305 O 97 Head with larger features, especially the eye; tufts of lion skin backward-turning.
 R 253 Head long-nosed, broad neck with truncation strongly curved; tall palm tree. Legend 'mhmhnt
 16.83 Naples 4804
 16.88 * Private collection X
- 306 O 97 Die of 305
 R 254 Compact shallow truncation, long mane tufts. Legend 'mhmhnt
 17.70 Hamburger 27. 5. 1929, 178 = Kondylis 207
 17.11 * London Lloyd SNG 1643
 16.34 London formerly (rev. die break on palm tree)
 16.28 MMAG 1971 hoard
 16.80 Vienna
- 307 O 97 Die of 305
 R 255 Long-tufted mane, broad-topped palm tree. Legend ?
 — * ANS

- 308 O 97 Die of 305. Breaks on eye (Hunter)
 R 256 Similar to R 249 but legend within truncation. Legend 'mhmhnt. Die-breaks by mouth.
 — Berlin
 16.77 * Glasgow Hunter 12
 Paris Smith-Lesouef 20
- 309 O 97 Die of 305
 R 252 Die of 304. Flaw in field low left.
 17.09 ANS
 16.70 Cambridge SNG 1496
 16.53 * Gustav VI Adolf, late King of Sweden, SNG 47
 16.99 Hague = Nav. 10, 352 = Nav. 5, 2984
 17.10 Hess 194, 166
 — Nobleman 232
 16.29 Naples 4809
 — Paris 2327
 16.50 Ratto 8. 11. 1928, 2926
- 310 O 98 Probably originally the same as O 97 but reworked, notably the details of the lion's jaw.
 R 257 Horse head upright, truncation curves to right.
 Legend 'mmhnt
 16.39 * Nav. 5, 2982
- 311 O 99 Lion's jaw has large smooth area, behind which straight tufts; large eye.
 R 257 Die of 310
 — * ANS
- 312 O 100 Smaller features, especially the eye, tufts of lion skin attached to broad smooth band behind ear. No border.
 R 253 Die of 310.
 16.79 ANS
 — Collignon 156
 16.77 * Nav. 5, 2983

- 313 O 100 Die of 312
 R 258 Similar to R 253 but head slightly higher, shallower truncation.
 Legend 'mhmhnt
 15.97 * Glasgow Coats 3457

- 314 O 101 Head smaller, wide open eye, lion skin more compact. Dotted border.
 R 258 Die of 313.
 16.04 * London Lloyd SNG 1645, Cefalú hoard

Plate 5

- 315 O 101 Die of 314
 R 259 Similar to R 256, legend ends beyond truncation.
 Legend 'mhmhnt
 17.00 Brandis 379
 15.43 * Naples 4799

- 16.96 Hess 1954, 208
 16.78 Hirsch 20, 446 = do. 14, 599
 16.97 LH 1960, 107
 16.74 London Lloyd SNG 1644, Cefalú hoard
 16.65 * Naples 4805
 16.93 Oxford SNG 2165
 16.95 Rosenberg 8. 9. 1924, 229
 16.89 Ward 361

- 316 O 101 Die of 314
 R 260 Similar to R 258 but larger.
 Legend 'mhmhnt
 — * Private collection Y

- 320 O 103 Die of 319
 R 263 Similar but more bulging throat and mane longer.
 Legend 'mhmhnt
 — Palermo

- 317 O 101 Die of 314
 R 261 Similar to R 259 but smaller and truncation less arched, palm tree taller. Legend 'mhmhnt
 16.75 Brandis 380
 16.44 Copenhagen 89
 — Glendining-Seaby II 253 = Helbing 8. 11. 1928, 3719
 17.14 LH 1956, 241
 16.22 London
 16.76 Naples 4802
 16.90 Paris Luyne 1449
 16.81 * Pennisi

- 321 O 104 Larger head, bolder details throughout.
 R 263 Die of 320
 — Bourgey 5. 12. 1932, 290
 — Feuardent 9. 6. 1913, 107
 16.46 Delbeke 243
 16.81 Gulbenkian 375 = Jameson 916 = Hirsch 19, 637
 16.84 Hirsch 29, 870
 17.19 * MMAG 43, 35
 16.84 Nav. 1, 3303 = Carfrae 357 = AC 13, 304

- 318 O 102 Larger than O 101, tufts of lion skin more spread. Dotted border.
 R 261 Die of 317. Flaw on lower neck.
 16.84 * London Lloyd SNG 1642, Cefalú hoard

- 319 O 103 Finer and richer in detail, especially curls above brow and tufts of lion's mane protruding sharply behind.

- R 262 Large horse's head similar to R.258 less bulging throat and truncation more curved. Legend 'mhmhnt
 — * Brussels
 16.65 Cahn 84, 470 = Hamburger 29. 5. 1929, 496

- 322 O 104 Die of 321
 R 264 More compact, truncation more regular curve. Legend 'mhmhnt
 16.77 * ANS
 16.21 * Naples 8084

- 323 O 105 Similar, heavy face, lion's skin all denser and more compact. Dotted border.
 R 264 Die of 322.
 17.00 London = Glendining 23. 11. 1928, 184

17.17 Montagu I 809
 16.04 Oxford SNG 2162
 16.75 SC 1927, 1156
 16.10 * Vatican 936

324 O 105 Die of 323
 R 265 Horse's head taller and nose held lower, steeply arched truncation, long tufts. Legend 'mhmhnt
 — Berlin

Plate 6

Series 5 b

325 O 106 Head of Melqart-Herakles in lion skin, which has regular radiating tufts, jaw without frill and flat neckpiece.
 R 266 Compact horse's head with shallow-curved truncation; palm tree on right; in left field, club sloping outwards. Legend mhsbm
 16.80 * Paris Vogué 649

326 O 106 Die of 325
 R 267 Similar, truncation more concave; in left small club sloping inwards. Legend mhsbm
 16.29 * Paris 2340

327 O 106 Die of 325
 R 268 Similar; in left field, club sloping inwards. Legend mhsbm
 — * Berlin
 17.14 Egger 46, 2771 = Merzbacher 1910, 893
 16.67 London
 — Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967

328 O 106 Die of 325
 R 269 Similar; in left field, short club sloping inwards. Legend mhsbm
 — Glendining-Seaby III 1186
 16.95 * Pennisi

329 O 107 Similar to O 106, face slightly taller, tufts of lion's mane stop short of neck in line with lion's paw.
 R 269 Die of 328
 16.61 * Naples 4815

330 O 107 Die of 329
 R 270 Smaller, front of truncation lower; in left field, club sloping outwards. Legend mhsbm

16.74 * London Lloyd SNG 1651, Cefalú hoard

331 O 107 Die of 329
 R 271 Normal size; in left field, club upright. Legend mhsbm
 — Berlin
 16.43 Cambridge SNG 1491
 16.46 * MMAG, 1971 hoard
 16.49 Ratto 1934, 262 = AC 12, 1061

332 O 107 Die of 329
 R 272 Large head, long nose raised, thick palm tree; in left field, large club sloping inwards. Legend mhsbm
 16.50 * Cambridge SNG 1492 = Nav. 1, 3305
 16.75 Copenhagen 92

333 O 108 Very compact head and lion skin with short tufts and neckpiece in folds.
 R 272 Die of 332
 16.82 Hamburger 27. 5. 1929, 179
 16.57 * Naples S 8086
 — Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967

334 O 108 Die of 333
 R 273 Small head, short palm tree; in left field, small club sloping outwards. Legend mhsbm
 15.64 * London Lloyd SNG 1650, Cefalú hoard

335 O 108 Die of 333
 R 274 Similar, club touching horse's neck. Legend mhsbm
 16.60 * ANS = Sambon 19. 12. 1907, 520
 16.10 Baranowsky VI 513

Plate 7

- 336 O 109 Similar but lion skin tufts longer, neckpiece less visible.
R 275 Truncation very shallow; club sloping inwards. Legend mhsbm
16.26 Cambridge SNG 1490
17.17 Glasgow Coats 3458
16.67 * Naples 4816
- 337 O 109 Die of 336
R 276 Larger, no symbol. Legend mhsbm
16.78 * Egger 40, 1270
- 338 O 109 Die of 336
R 277 Similar, head up more than R 276. Legend mhsbm
16.70 * Schulman 30. 3. 1936, 208
- 339 O 109 Die of 336
R 278 Similar, head less raised than R 277; in left field, club near horse's nose. Legend mhsbm
15.96 * MMAG, 1971 hoard =
Genève 10. 10. 1977, 127
– Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967 (rev. flaw across club)
- 340 O 109 Die of 336
R 279 Similar but no symbol, truncation down in front. Legend mhsbm
17.16 * MMAG, 1971 hoard
- 341 O 110 Broader head, tufts of lion skin cascading downwards, flat neckpiece, lion's jaw with frill.
R 279 Die of 340
– Baranowsky 1934, 4674
– Engel-Gros Paris 1921, 23
- 16.30 * Naples 4800
– Peus 280, 1972, 66 =
Baranowsky VI 512
- 342 O 110 Die of 341
R 280 Similar, truncation straighter. Legend mhsbm
16.68 London
16.00 * MMAG, 1971 hoard
16.99 Pennisi
- 343 O 110 Die of 341
R 281 Similar, truncation more curved; in left field pellet. Legend mhsbm
– * Private collection Y
- 344 O 110 Die of 341
R 282 Head held lower, palm tree close; in left field long club sloping outwards. Legend mhsbm
16.42 * MMAG list 326, 16, 1971 hoard
– Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967
- 345 O 111 Similar to O 109 but tufts of lion skin reach to neck touching paw, jaw without frill.
R 282 Die of 344. Signs of wear below truncation.
16.56 * London
- 346 O 111 Die of 345
R 283 Similar, smaller especially horse's nose, truncation straighter; in field left, caduceus. Legend mhsbm
16.74 * Paris Luynes 1455

Plate 8

- 347 O 111 Die of 345
R 284 Head of normal size, curved truncation; in left field, astragalos. Legend mhsbm
17.20 * Pennisi
- 348 O 112 Head broader, face more ample, lion skin tufts denser, neckpiece with folds.
R 284 Die of 347
– Berlin
– Hartwig 1910, 687
17.17 * London Lloyd SNG 1653
17.40 MMAG list 351, 6
16.97 Naples 4811

- 349 O 112 Die of 348
 R 283 Die of 346
 – Helbing 8. 9. 1928, 3718
 16.57 Hess 202, 2682
 16.84 * MMAG list 326, 14, 1971
 hoard
 16.89 Naples 4813
 16.42 Naples 4814
- 350 O 112 Die of 348
 R 285 Horse with more protrusive throat;
 in left field, caduceus.
 Legend mhsbm
 16.92 * Paris Luynes 1456
 16.70 Vienna
- 351 O 112 Die of 348
 R 286 Truncation low in front, restless
 mane; in left field, astragalos.
 Legend mhsbm
 16.60 * Hague
 17.09 Pennisi
 16.69 Pennisi
- 352 O 112 Die of 348
 R 287 Similar, nose lower, neater mane;
 in left field, astragalos.
 Legend mhsbm
 17.10 * Private collection X =
 Hamburger 98, 458
- 353 O 112 Die of 348
 R 288 Similar to R 288 but truncation in
 smoother curve; in left field
 astragalos. Legend mhsbm
- 354 O 113 Similar but more compact and finer
 style, lion's mane with fewer short
 tufts, neckpiece flat.
 R 285 Die of 351
 15.91 * London Lloyd SNG 1652,
 Cefalú hoard
- 355 O 113 Die of 354
 R 289 Truncation sharply indented; in
 left field, caduceus.
 Legend mhsbm
 17.39 * ANS
- 356 O 113 Die of 354
 R 290 Similar, truncation shallower; in left
 field, caduceus. Legend mhsbm
 16.37 Naples 4812
 – * Private collection Y
- 357 O 113 Die of 354
 R 291 Truncation more angular; in left
 field caduceus, not so close.
 Legend mhsbm
 16.67 * Paris 2341
 – Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia
 hoard 1967
- 358 O 113 Die of 354
 R 288 Die of 353
 17.30 * Bourgey 14. 12. 1911, 48
 = Sandeman 265

Plate 9

- 359 O 113 Die of 354
 R 292 Similar but larger; in left field,
 astragalos. Legend ? (off-flan)
 17.13 * MMAG 1971 hoard
- 360 O 113 Die of 354
 R 293 Broad short neck like R 280 etc.,
 short palm tree; no symbol.
 Legend 'mmhnt
 – Baranowsky 1934, 4676
 16.85 * Hamburger 98, 457
- 361 O 113 Die of 354 (Signs of wear around
 nose, mouth and chin).
 R 294 Normal type with curved truncation;
 in left field caduceus sloping
 outwards. Legend mhsbm
 17.41 * London
- 362 O 113 Die of 354, worn.
 R 295 Similar, truncation low in front;
 in left field, caduceus upright.
 Legend mhsbm
 16.41 * London
 – Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia
 hoard 1967

- 363 O 113 Die of 354, worn.
R 296 Truncation in shallow curve; in left field caduceus upright, not so close. Legend mhsbm
– * Paris 2342
- 364 O 114 Compact head of beautiful style, lion skin tufts in restless mass, neckpiece with folds.
R 297 Similar but smaller; caduceus short, sloping outwards. Legend mhsbm
16.13 * Lewis
- 365 O 115 Broad head with refined features, small eye and mouth, lion skin rich in detail, thick interweaving tufts, jaw with frill, neckpiece with folds partly revealed.
R 298 Small head with narrow neck, S-curved truncation; in left field poppy. Legend mhsbm
17.04 * London Lloyd SNG 1649 = Feuardent 19. 12. 1921, 67
– Syracuse Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967 (rev. double-struck)
- 366 O 115 Die of 365
R 298' Die of 365 but poppy recut as astragalos.
- 16.72 * ANS = Benson 802
16.55 Brandis 377
– * Private collection Y
16.60 Schlessinger 26. 2. 1934, 376
– Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967
– Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967
– Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967
- 367 O 115 Die of 365
R 299 Similar, truncation low in front; = in left field, astragalos; between horse's mane and palm tree, pellet. Legend mhsbm
16.81 * Paris 2343
- 368 O 115 Die of 365
R 300 Horse's neck shorter; astragalos and pellet as R 299. Legend mhsbm
16.27 * London
- 369 O 115 Die of 365
R 288 Die of 353, 358
16.78 * Münzh. Basel 10, 148 = Hess 207, 223
- Plate 10*
- 370 O 115 Die of 365, signs of wear.
R 293 Die of 360 (legend 'mmhnt), more worn – breaks around horse's nose and throat (Hindamian).
17.40 HL 1960, 108
– Hindamian 290 = Luneau 940
– Mionnet cast (uncertain original)
16.37 * MMAG 1971 hoard
– Paris 2354
16.64 * Sambon 19. 12. 1907, 522 = Schulman 16. 12. 1926, 212
- 371 O 115 Die of 365
R 301 Similar to R 293
Legend 'mmhnt
16.69 * London (PCG IV. C. 19)
- 372 O 115 Die of 365
R 302 Similar. Legend 'mmhnt
16.52 ANS
16.66 * Hess 209, 47 = Rosenberg 72, 803
- 373 O 115 Die of 365
R 303 Similar, mane more restless. Legend 'mmhnt
– * Castro Maya 1957, 37
- 374 O 116 Very small head, lion skin has dense mass of tufts curving down to the neck and paws. Dotted border.
R 304 Compact horse head; die-flaw across neck gives the impression that horse is tethered to tree. Legend 'mhmhnt
– * Boudin 15. 4. 1912, 329
16.62 * Paris Luyens 1450

- 375 O 116 Die of 374. Signs of wear on the face.
R 305 Similar, head held lower.
Legend mhsbm
16.42 Egger 45, 839
17.10 * Hess 194, 168
- 376 O 117 Closely similar to O 116, slimmer face, lion skin tufts finish closer to neck.
R 306 Similar but a little larger, same shallow S-curve truncation, smaller tree. Legend mhsbm
17.59 Benson 803 = Morgan 195
— * Naples 4803
17.20 Paris Luynes 1453
- 377 O 117 Die of 376. Wear on face and in front.
R 307 Similar, truncation down more in front. Legend ? (small traces visible)
- 16.81 * Glendining 18. 4. 1955, 233
= Sotheby 9. 3. 1936, 149
= Helbing 8. 11. 1928,
3720 = Nav. 1, 3304
- 378 O 117 Die of 376. Cracks also above and behind.
R 308 Strongly curved truncation.
No legend
16.45 Copenhagen 93
16.65 * London = Münzh. Basel 4, 1157
16.98 London (formerly)
15.94 MMAG, 1971 hoard
- 379 O 117 Die of 376
R 309 Similar, truncation less curved.
Legend mhsbm
— * Private collection Y
16.79 H. Weber 1776 = Nav. 4, 1008

Plate 11

- 380 O 118 Face similar to O 116 but different lion skin neckpiece with prominent folds and tufts in looser arrangement.
R 310 Truncation almost straight.
Legend mhsbm
17.13 * Lewis CCCC SNG 429
- 381 O 118 Die of 380. Flaw in front.
R 311 Small short-nosed horse, larger palm tree, S-curve truncation.
Legend mhsbm
— Berlin (Regling MaK 836)
16.79 * Paris 2351
- 382 O 118 Die of 380. More worn in front.
R 312 Similar, truncation straighter.
Legend mhsbm
16.07 Ahlström 6, 1974, 88
17.01 * Stockholm SNG 661
- 383 O 118 Die of 380. Heavily worn in front.
R 313 Similar, palm tree taller.
Legend mhsbm
17.26 Glasgow Hunter 15
16.95 * London
- 384 O 119 Broader head, regular curls on forehead; lion skin with thick tufts, mouth plain, neckpiece with fold.
R 314 Similar, truncation with a different shallow curve. Legend mhsbm
16.76 * Ciani 20. 11. 1935, 87 = Allotte de la Fuye 134
16.65 Copenhagen 91
17.41 HL 1957, 144
16.58 Lewis = Glendining 19. 7. 1950, 62
— * Private collection Y
16.51 Schweiz. Bankverein Zürich 2, 1977, 280
16.63 Vatican
- 385 O 119 Die of 384
R 315 Similar but narrow neck, truncation down in front.
Legend mhsbm
17.44 * Cahn 71, 699 = Cahn 66, 483
16.95 Hess 194, 167
— Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967
— Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967

- 386 O 119 Die of 384. Break on nose.
 R 316 Horse with normal wide neck, truncation low in front.
 Legend mhsbm
 – Guadan
 – Mionnet cast (uncertain original)
 16.86 MMAG 1971 hoard = Münzschatze 5 (Bayer. Vereinsbank 1977), 78
 16.48 Naples S 8085
 16.91 * Pennisi
 16.90 SC 1927, 1158
- 387 O 119 Die of 384
 R 317 More compact, shallow truncation.
 Legend mhsbm
 16.42 ANS
 – Berlin
 16.99 Cancio
 16.84 * London Lloyd SNG 1646 Cefalú hoard
 16.68 London
- 388 O 119 Die of 384
 R 318 Horse's head lower, mouth open, truncation more curved. Die
- break across mane and palm trunk.
 Legend mhsbm (partly visible)
 – * Syracuse Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967
- 389 O 119 Die 384
 R 319 Similar to R 316.
 Legend mhsbm
 16.46 ANS
 – Bourgey 3. 12. 1928, 128
 17.13 Cahn 66, 484
 – Canessa 12. 6. 1928, 728
 – * Ratto 4. 4. 1927, 2927
 – Syracuse Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967
 16.70 Vienna
- 390 O 120 Flaw on eye. Closely similar to O 119, face larger, lion skin tufts looser.
 R 317 Die of 387
 – Luneau 939
 16.30 Riechmann 1921, 1120
 – St. Louis, Washington University, Wulfinck coll.
 – * Syracuse 25286, Mineo hoard

Plate 12

- 391 O 120 Die of 390
 R 319 Die of 389
 17.21 * Hague
 17.33 Headlam 82
 16.75 London = Glendinning-Seaby III 1187
- 392 O 120 Die of 390
 R 320 Similar to R.319 but truncation in shallower curve. Legend mhsbm
 16.47 Hamburger 98, 456
 17.12 * Lewis
 – Ratto 8. 11. 1928 (Paris), 823
- 393 O 120 Die of 390
 R 321 Similar to last. Legend mhsbm
 17.44 * Private collection Sicily
- 394 O 120 Die of 390
 R 322 Similar to R 315 (385), small
- differences in palm tree and truncation.
 – Numismatica Toderi 4, 1973, 148
- 395 O 121 Closely similar to O 119–120 but altogether larger, tufts of lion's mane long and loose, neckpiece with folds more prominent, lion's mouth very wide open with thin edge.
 R 323 Horse head small, truncation shallow. Legend hardly visible (off-flan).
 – * Feuadent 18. 6. 1924, 54
- 396 O 121 Die of 395. Signs of wear in front on some specimens.
 R 324 Horse head larger. Legend mhsbm
 16.97 AC 16, 929
 – Brussels
 16.90 Glasgow Hunter 14

- Grabow 9. 6. 1930, 607
16.70 London Lloyd SNG 1648,
Cefalú hoard
16.28 * MMAG 1971 hoard
16.54 MMAG 1971 hoard
- 397 O 121 Die of 395
R 325 Horse head smaller than last, palm
tree larger. Legend mhsbm
16.36 * Private collection X
- 398 O 121 Die of 395. Breaks in front of face.
R 326 Similar, truncation more curved and
palm tree closer. Legend mhsbm
— Berlin
16.35 * MMAG 1971 hoard
17.29 MMAG 1971 hoard
16.84 Oxford SNG 2164
- 399 O 121' Die of 395, now partly recut,
especially the eye, brow and nose.
R 327 Truncation more deeply curved in
front, palm tree tall.
Legend mhsbm
17.14 * AC 16, 928
— Ahlström 14. 1977, 655
- 15.90 Helbing 24. 10. 1927, 3171
16.94 Naples 4801
— Ratto 1927, 447
- 400 O 121" Same die further recut — inlet below
lion's jaw wider. Breaks in front.
R 328 Similar but horse's neck narrower,
base of palm tree closer to mane.
Legend mhsbm
— * Palermo
- 401 O 122 Different style; face with short nose
and bulging brow; lion skin has
mouth in broad band, tufts fewer
but thicker, plain neckpiece, second
paw not shown.
R 329 Similar, straight shallow truncation.
Legend mhsbm
16.75 * Paris Luynes 1454
16.82 Paris Delepierre
- 402 O 122 Die of 401
R 330 Truncation more concave.
Legend mhsbm
17.10 * Paris Luynes 1457
16.95 Syracuse 13206,
Scoglitti hoard

Plate 13

- 403 O 122 Die of 401
R 331 Similar, truncation more curved,
mane more curly. Legend mhsbm
17.25 * Hague
- 404 O 122 Die of 401. Heavy flaw on cheek.
R 332 Similar, details and legend not
visible.
* Naples S 8089
- 15.76 London
16.70 * MMAG list 396, 12
- 407 O 123 Die of 406. Break across chin.
R 334 Similar to R 331. Legend mhsbm
— * ANS
— Sambon 19. 2. 1907, 521
— Santamaria 1934, 160
- 405 O 122 Die of 401
R 333 Smaller, truncation shallow.
Legend mhsbm
— * Ciani 14. 6. 1934, 88
— * Syracuse 25287, Mineo
hoard
- 406 O 123 Small compact head, lion skin with
short snaky tufts and very
prominent neckpiece with folds.
R 330 Die of 402
17.05 Glendining 21. 6. 1972, 108
- 408 O 124 Closely similar to style of O 122 but
more compact; lion skin has neck-
piece with folds, single paw. Die
flaw across head.
R 335 Horse's neck rather narrow, shallow
truncation. Legend mhsbm
16.93 * London
— Munich
- 409 O 124 Die of 408
R 336 Similar, more curved truncation.
Legend mhsbm

- Delmonte 18. 11. 1933, 207
Guadan
16.60 Helbing 70, 536
17.36 * Pennisi
- 410 O 124 Die of 408, neck narrow.
R 337 Horse's nose up, truncation very shallow. Legend mhsbm
– * Syracuse 25288, Mineo hoard
- 411 O 124 Die of 408
R 338 Horse's head not raised, neck wider, fairly shallow truncation. Legend mhsbm
– * Syracuse 48. 326, Camarina hoard 1928
- 412 O 124 Die of 408. Die-break worse.
R 339 Similar, horse wide-necked. Legend mhsbm
– Grabow 9. 6. 1930, 606
16.90 Helbing 1911, 796
17.14 Lockett SNG 1056
16.48 * MMAG 1971 hoard
16.85 SC 1927, 1157 =
Rosenberg 64, 1504 =
Brandis 378
– Syracuse Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967
- 413 O 124 Die of 408. Additional breaks in front of mouth.
R 340 Similar, horse's neck not so wide. Legend mhsbm
16.18 * London
16.95 Oxford, Miss., USA
- Plate 14*
- 414 O 124 Die of 408
R 341 Similar to R 338. Legend mhsbm
17.06 * Allotte de la Fuye 136
- 415 O 124 Die of 408
R 342 Similar, truncation down in front. Legend mhsbm
– * ANS
16.87 Oxford SNG 2163
- 416 O 125 Similar style to O 124, lion skin has fewer but thicker tufts, plain neckpiece and single large paw.
R 335 Die of 409
16.23 * Schweiz. Bankverein Zürich 2, 1977, 281
- 417 O 125 Die of 416
R 342 Die of 415
16.38 * London
- 418 O 125 Die of 416. Vertical flaws across middle and on right.
- 419 O 125 Die of 416
R 344 Similar to R 340, truncation more concave. Legend mhsbm
– * de Nicola, March 1972, 192
- 420 O 126 Closely similar to O 124 but the face quite different and neckpiece of lion skin smooth and without folds.
R 345 Very shallow truncation. Legend mhsbm
16.72 * London
- 421 O 126 Die of 420
R 346 Closely similar to R 345. Legend mhsbm ? (little visible)
– * Helbing 8. 11. 1928, 3722

Series 6
(Plates 15–20)

The following group of coins belongs to a later period than any of those previously discussed, and is included here on account of the apparent connexion with Sicily. One important element is the issue of electrum triple-shekels of low gold content which formed group VIII in Jenkins-Lewis and which are here re-listed with some revision and additions. The remaining coins are large silver denominations, a small issue of 6-shekels and 3-shekels, with another and larger issue of 5-shekels; a 1-shekel of the same types as the 6-shekel is also included on the assumption of being genuine. What may have been a half-shekel of the same types as the 3-shekel coins is noted by Müller³² from an older publication but the specimen has not come to light since and nothing can be said about it. The group as a whole has a certain stylistic homogeneity; its approximate date can only be deduced from a comparison with other Carthaginian coins, and there are no finds to give an association with other coins of known date.

At first sight there seems to be a division into two groups, first the 6-shekel and 3-shekel without legend, and second the 5-shekel and the electrum (Jenkins-Lewis group VIII *) which both have the legend B'RŠT. However the division is not so clear stylistically. Of the large silver, the 6-shekel has a head which is close to that of the Carthage shekels (pl. 16 E) in its rather plain aspect as in the general arrangement of the hair though lacking the curl on top behind the corn ears, and having a triple not single earring and a plain not pendant necklace; the truncation is however more or less S-shaped like the shekels. The 3-shekel coins seem to be by another hand and are closely related to the group VIII electrum, with a rich treatment of the curls above the forehead and behind the ear, a top curl (but no top spray as on the electrum), triple earring, pendant necklace and S-shaped truncation (the latter also similar to the Carthage shekels). The 5-shekel coins may be said to be linked to the Carthage shekels by having a single earring and a top curl (but no top spray) but the neck and truncation are markedly different as on the 5-shekels there is really no necklace and the truncation is mostly indeterminate (where visible), running into the dotted border and once (on O 4) making a shallow S-curve; the 5-shekels thus stand rather apart from the rest. However it remains true that the whole group seems to hang loosely together and that the only points of contact with other coins are formed by the Carthage shekels and the electrum staters of Jenkins-Lewis group VII; the latter have a general similarity to the coins we are concerned with though differing markedly in the form of the pendant necklace and truncation which remains convex as on previous gold and electrum issues. The Carthage shekels are not closely datable except to the earlier third century, the Group VII electrum

³² Müller II p. 92 note 2 «D'après Bull. Sardo IV p. 68 no. 3 il semble qu'il existe aussi une drachme aux mêmes types.»

* For a revised list see Appendices.

staters should be of about 270. For what this indication is worth, it should suggest that the group of large silver and electrum coins belongs to about the early years of the first Punic war (\pm 264 B.C.).

The legend B'RŠT on the decadrachms and electrum tristaters has been discussed many times. Older references are given by Müller and Gsell. One theory is that this legend somehow corresponds to Byrsa, the name of the citadel of Carthage or at least that part of the city including the citadel. The name is known only from classical sources in its Greek form βύρσα (= ox-hide), on the basis of which the story went that Dido-Elissa when founding the African colony was to claim such territory as could be covered by an ox-hide; however by cleverly cutting the ox-hide into small strips she was able to measure out a sizeable area of ground. It is uncertain whether there is any real significance in the «ox-hide» name or whether it is, as has been suggested, an attempt to turn into Greek a semitic word meaning a «fortified space», on the analogy of the Hebrew BSRH (with an interchange of the middle letters) ³³ – a similar root which is behind the name of e.g. ancient Bostra.

The connection between the coin legend B'RŠT and the Byrsa of Carthage has most recently been accepted again by Cintas ³⁴, but most opinion in recent times has preferred the interpretation as «in the land» ³⁵. This interpretation is unexceptionable, on the basis of the word 'RŠ or 'RŠT plus the prefix B (= «in»), a word familiar from the phrase «Eretz Israel». 'RŠ is a term attested from a North African inscription from the area of Maktar mentioning 'RŠT TSK'T. the territory of Tusca corresponding to what was later called «Pagus Tuscae» as an administrative division in Roman Africa ³⁶. The Greek equivalent of 'RŠ is, as Picard has pointed out, χώρα. The Carthaginian domain in Africa appears to have been made up of seven or eight quite large 'RŠT each under a prefect, the whole under the command of a Boetharch ³⁷.

How far this throws any direct light on the coin legend *b'ršt* is not certain. It was argued in Jenkins-Lewis that if the correct general sense of the legend is «in the land» then it should at least imply that the mint in question was not at Carthage. Bisi considers that the implication of 'RŠ is such as to mean not only «territory» but «national territory» and that this indicates that the coins were for circulation in the area surrounding Carthage ³⁸. However it can hardly have been necessary for coins to be so designated as all Carthaginian coins could have circulated in the whole area in any case (though these apparently did not – see below). If the coins are to be thought of as having an intimate connection with the African 'RŠT it might be

³³ Cf. R. E. 10. 2, col. 2205 f.

³⁴ Cintas Manuel I, 172 f.

³⁵ Bisi, *Annali* 16–17, 1969–1970, 103 ff.

³⁶ G. C. Picard, *Mélanges Piganiol* III, 1966, 1257 ff.

³⁷ Cf. Gsell II, 302.

³⁸ Bisi cf. note 34 above.

necessary to suppose the existence of another mint in Africa, which must surely have been quite superfluous and makes little sense.

In fact I still think that the solution is more probably the one indicated by the find spots of the coins; and this clearly suggests Sicily rather than Africa. It is true that apart from the finds the indications might be held to be equivocal. The weight standard now used both for the silver and the electrum denominations is no longer the Attic standard as had been previously used in Sicily, but the Punic shekel standard, hitherto only used at the mint of Carthage. But this is hardly a cogent objection against Sicily as possible mint at the date in question, for in Greek Sicily too since the latter days of Agathokles the Attic standard had been abandoned³⁹, and was not resumed except briefly by Hieronymos, for the minting of silver, though it was retained for gold. Another factor is the style of the B'RŠT group of coins; it is not entirely uniform, but can hardly be called specifically Sicilian since all the close parallels are typical of styles which were or had been current at the mint of Carthage. On the other hand, there is the question of the die-axis, and this criterion does really seem to distinguish the coins apart from those of the Carthage mint. At Carthage the regular upright axis ↑ ↑ had come in with the electrum issue of c. 320/310 B.C.⁴⁰ and thence remained constantly in use there until the last days of Carthage, as opposed to an irregular axis still found in other issues, e.g. of bronze, in Sardinia and Sicily (the regular axis being otherwise found very rarely and notably in Barcid Spain). There is a slight degree of variation in the regular axis of for instance the silver shekels of Carthage J-L pl. 26. 14 but less than that shown by the silver of the B'RŠT group. Above all, the electrum coins of the B'RŠT group have a decidedly irregular axis. This supports the deduction made in Jenkins-Lewis that the group of coins in question should have been minted elsewhere than at Carthage, as indeed is implied by the legend.

In fact the finds known are exclusively from Sicily. Isolated specimens of the electrum were recorded as found near or at Palermo (J-L 368 and 372.5) which is also the case for the silver 3-shekel Jameson 2349. Then a number of other electrum pieces, together with specimens of the various large silver denominations, came from a hoard discovered in 1896/97, allegedly at Porto Empedocle near Agrigento (IGCH 2207; J-L hoard XVI). Finally as many as fifty to eighty of the silver 5-shekel coins (decadrachms) came from a hoard found at or near Palermo in 1958 (IGCH 2208; possibly from Termini Imerese). As against this, no specimen of any of these coins has ever, it seems, been reported from Africa.

Naturally it is impossible always to be sure that find spots give an exclusive indication for place of mintage – it is only necessary to think of the great finds of Carthaginian gold and electrum staters found in Sardinia but certainly minted at Carthage. However the possible Sicilian origin of the B'RŠT coins must be taken seriously, in view of the find evidence. If so, what can be the significance of the

³⁹ Cf. Essays Robinson, 153.

⁴⁰ Jenkins-Lewis group IV.

legend B'RṢT? Having in mind the circumstances of the early third century and the probability that Carthage was viewing herself at the time as more or less the «great power» of the western mediterranean, it seems reasonable to wonder: does B'RṢT here apply specifically to the Sicilian province and if so does it mean that the latter was regarded at this period as an integral part of the Carthaginian state in the same way as the several 'RST of Africa? The question may be raised, but hardly answered, for lack of any direct evidence ⁴¹.

⁴¹ It is true that in their treaties with Rome the Carthaginians did not treat Sicily as a forbidden zone in the same way as Sardinia or Africa; but it seems uncertain how much we could deduce from this in respect of their precise relation with Sicily, since, like Sicily, Carthage itself was not a forbidden zone. On the Carthaginian attitude to Sicily in 241 B.C., see recently F. Decret, *Carthage ou l'empire de la mer* (Paris 1977), 167 f.

Catalogue

Plate 15

- 6-shekels (dodecadrachm) 424 O 2
R 3
Obv. Female head with two corn-ears and leaf in hair, triple earring, plain necklace, indented truncation; dotted border. / 45.52 * Hunter Glasgow pl. xciii. 24
Rev. Prancing horse. 425 O 3
R 4
422 O 1 44.15 Sartiges 390 = Hirsch 21, 4684
R 1 - Hirsch 11, 106
- * Private collection Y
↑ 45.61 ANS = Nav. 5, 3025
↑ 45.34 * Copenhagen 179
↑ 45.36 London PCG pl. 38.30 426 O 4
↖ 44.25 Naples 4848 R 5
↑ 44.64 Naples 4849 ↑ 45.30 * Vienna
44.27 Naville 6, 603
1-shekel (didrachm)
Obv. and rev.-types same as 6-shekels
423 O 1
R 2
↑ 45.37 * Berlin 427 6.52 Shown at B. M. 1968 (genuine?)
44.35 MMAG 43, 5 = Jameson 925 = Hirsch 19, 660

Plate 16

- 3-shekels 429 O 2
R 2
Obv. Similar to the 6-shekel type but the hair more elaborate and restless; curl on top behind corn-ears; pendant necklace.
Rev. Horse's head.
428 O 1
R 1
↖ 20.65 * London PCG pl. 38.31 = 430 O 3
AC 13.391 R 2
↖ 22.15 Paris Luynes 3780 ↑ 21.44 * Berlin
↑ 20.64 Gulbenkian 379 = Jameson 2439
↑ 21.99 * Private collection Y = Lockett 1065 = Nav. 10. 373 = Nav. 4. 1019

Plates 17-20



- 5-shekels (decadrachms)
Obv. Female head with two corn-ears and leaf in hair, single drop earring, no necklace; truncation where visible seems to merge into dotted border. (O 4-truncation ends in sharply indented concavity outside dotted border.)
Rev. Pegasus flying right; leading edge of wing has rounded corner overlapping horse's neck with strongly curved indentation below; on lower part of the wing, normally two main rows of short feathers, but on R 11, 12 three rows of feathers.
Below between front and back hooves of pegasos, legend B' R S T
B' R S T 
There is little variation in the letter forms between one version and another; the letter alef alone shows slight variants.
Alef R 1 R 5 R 11 R 18


Plate 17

- 431 O 1
R 1 (obv. tooled?)
↗ - * Private collection Y
- ↗ 36.05 Niggeler 547 = Jameson
926 = Hirsch 16.702
- ↖ 35.86 * Oxford SNG 2171 =
Lockett SNG 1064 = AC
16.946 = Sartiges 391
- 432 O 1
R 2
- * Palermo hoard 1958
- 433 O 1'
R 3
↖ 37.99 * LH 49, 1971, 83
- 434 O 1' ?
R 4
↑ 36.29 Paris Valton 605 =
Montagu I 814
- 435 O 1'
R 5
↗ - * Palermo hoard 1958
↑ - Palermo hoard 1958
? - Palermo hoard 1958
↖ 35.13 Vienna
- 436 O 1''
R 6
↑ 37.93 N. Davis 345
? 37.42 MMAG 43, 1970, 6 =
Hirsch 21.4685 =
E. F. Weber 1278
↑ - * Palermo hoard 1958
↗ - Palermo hoard 1958

Plate 18

- 437 O 2
R 7
→ 38.49 * Copenhagen 180
↗ 39.45 Collignon 146 = Nav. 6.
604 (obv. truncation tooled)
- 438 O 2
R 8
↗ 36.58 * Berlin = Ashburnham 253
- 439 O 2'
R 6 Die of 436
↑ 37.64 Glendining 23. I. 1963, 997
↗ 38.05 * MMAG 32, 1966, 186
↑ 38.23 MMAG 47, 1972, 551
↑ - Palermo hoard 1958
↗ - Palermo hoard 1958
- 440 O 2''
R 9
↗ - Kricheldorf XI 1962, 74 -
Palermo hoard 1958
↗ 37.97 Lewis (Jenkins-Lewis
pl. 27. 2)
↑ 37.70 Paris Luyne 3758
↗ - * Palermo hoard 1958
- 441 O 2''
R 10
↑ 37.33 * Berlin
↖ 37.17 Naples 4847 (Annali 16/17
pl. viii. 11)
↑ 35.88 Paris Smith Lesouef 93

Plate 19

- 442 O 3 Flaws on chin and in field
R 11
↖ 36.98 Boston 506
↗ 36.49 London RPK = PCG V C
21
↗ 37.69 MMAG 19, 1959, 601
36.09 Glasgow Coats 3461
- ↖ 34.99 Munich = Carfrae 14
↑ - * Palermo hoard 1958
↗ - Palermo hoard 1958
- 443 O 3
R 12
↖ 37.91 Leu 7, 1973 107
- * Palermo hoard 1958

444 O 3 The face heavily remodelled
(on the coin?)
R 13 36.54 * Bunbury 547
↖ - Palermo hoard 1958
35.57 Paris Vogué 664
↑ 36.58 * Private collection Y =
LH 1956 248

445 O 4
R 14
↑ 36.48 Berlin
↑ 37.44 Cambridge SNG 1512 =
Benson 806
- Hamburger 29. 5. 29
(these dies?)
35.60 Hirsch 31. 655 = Hirsch
33. 995
↑ 35.70 London Lloyd SNG 1665
36.74 O'Hagan 807

446 O 4
R 15
* Private collection Y
(rev. Giacosa, Uomo e
cavallo pl. lxxxviii)

447 O 4
R 16
↗ 37.88 * Hirmer 211 = Leu-Hess
1959, 125
↗ - Palermo hoard 1958

Plate 20

448 O 4
R 17
↗ - * Palermo hoard 1958

449 O 4'
R 18
↖ 37.05 * London (Cracherode)
↖ 36.80 Vienna

450 O 4'
R 19
↗ 37.77 * Leu 28, 1965, 120

451 O 5
R 20
↗ 37.58 Brussels de Hirsch 1866

↗ 38.01 * Leu 15, 1976, 151 = LH
1962, 137 = Palermo hoard
1958
↗ 37.81 LH 31, 1966, 182 = LH 45,
1970, 85
- Palermo hoard 1958
↗ 37.20 Private collection X
↗ 31.50 Stockholm SNG 663

452 O 5
R 21
37.77 Harmer-Rook 19. 1. 1978,
121
↑ - * Palermo hoard 1958

- F 1–4 See part 2.
- F 5 See part 2; London ex Blacas 1867, 17.31.
- F 6 Copy of 49–52; details weak, scrappy fragments of legend incorrect. Specimen seen in 1967 (weight?).
- F 7 Copy of the type of 61–67. A strange and disturbing item, not least on account of its provenance, the Megara Hyblaia 1949 hoard (!), in spite of which it seems impossible to regard it as genuine. The harsh forms of the head are quite at variance with O 16–17–18 and the letter *mem* behind the neck is unsatisfactory; likewise the palm-tree, whose branches and bunches are utterly feeble and whose trunk disintegrates into a mass of separate dots in a quite uncharacteristic manner. Conceivably this should be regarded, on account of its provenance, as an ancient forgery rather than a modern one; if so it is the only known example of the kind.
Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia 1949 hoard (inv. no. 55850), 16.05.
- F 8 A crude copy of the types 88–90 which would deceive nobody.
Specimen from Malta, cast in London 1931, 15.96; another 1937.
- F 9 A bizarre combination of a reverse copied from series 1 (no. 27) with a head from series 2 b (no. 121); the head is not so bad, but the reverse is weak and the legend peters out lacking the last letter of QRTHDST.
Specimen seen in 1965, 16.87.
- F 10 Copy of 92: apparently a plated coin, ancient forgery (?).
Copenhagen SNG 43, 80, 15.53 g.
- F 11–F 12 These two both derive from the same obverse die (O 46) which is the one that joins series 2 d to series 3 a. The reverse of F 11 is close to that of 136 though altered a little in detail; that of F 12 is close to the reverse of 143. In both cases the fine quality of the original work has been lost; a close comparison, especially of the heads, with the originals reveals that the actual dimensions have shrunk by a small but perceptible amount. Thus it is clear that casting was employed at some stage in the production of these forgeries.
F 11 – specimen seen in 1962, 16.96; another 1965, 16.84.
F 12 – specimen seen in 1956; another 1965, 17.88 (sic).
- F 13 Copy of 189; small difference and a certain hardening in detail throughout.
Specimen seen 1971, 17.28.
- F 14 Difficult to find an exact prototype for this; a very problematic item. Though at first sight rather good, doubts supervene; many of the details have a fussy and scrappy look; a dot in front of the front dolphin. The horse's head has a strange expression quite uncharacteristic of this series. What finally settles it is surely the legend, with its scrappy disjointed and inaccurate letters.
MMAG 43, 26.
- F 15 A peculiar and rather crude copy; since there is an attempted shell below the chin it must be the obverse O 49 which is copied. Very scrappy throughout, legend hopeless.
London 14.61; another in Prado, Madrid.
- F 15a Types of series 3 a e.g. 148. Becker 131.
- F 16 An inferior copy of 270; loss of quality and detail evident at every point.
Cast in London, 1962, 16.83.
- F 17 A more serious copy of 270. Obverse: many small discrepancies especially the far-side tiara flap, the locks of hair protruding behind, the exaggerated and hardened outlines of the tiara, the space between truncation and tiara side-flap and the border, which space does not exist in the original. Reverse: Numerous discrepancies especially the trunk

- of the palm-tree disintegrating; legend sketchy. Casts in London, 1939 (16.38) and 1949 (16.80). Cf. Ravel, *Falsifications* pl. IX. 40.
- F 18 Very inferior version, seen 1964.
- F 19 Apparently a mechanical reproduction of 271, somewhat shrunk from the original and weaker in every detail. Palm tree branches narrowed; front paw of lion wrong; *shin* of legend wrong.
Specimen seen in 1974, 16.85 (bad patina); another 1965, 16.95.
- F 20 Copy of 272. At first sight plausible and close to the original; but the discrepancies are there and soon become apparent with close examination. Obverse: weak points – the ear, earring, edge of tiara behind the ear; bottom edge of back tiara flap «cut off» and wavy strand of hair above it very feeble. Modelling of the tiara itself very weak, the pleats too much separated. The lock of hair and tiara flap in front of the neck wrong. Reverse: the whole body and paws of the lion weak, the bristling mane full of small discrepancies, palm-tree very poor. Legend hardly corresponds on detail to the original (itself marred by numerous die-flaws, see catalogue).
Naples 4280.
- F 21 A self-evident absurdity, modelled loosely and crudely on 272 but with a Greek legend AEONTINON replacing the Punic inscription.
London.
- F 22 Types of series 5 but rev. horse's head adapted from a reverse of series 3 e.g. 183, 184 with legend 'mmhnt and in front triangle of dots suggested by 277 etc.
Seen in 1969. 16.39 g.
- F 23 Types of series 5, very broad obv. head, rev. horse's head similar to 294, corneal symbol, legend 'MMHNT, peculiar lettering.
Becker 130: specimens – including Brussels Hirsch 840; Egger 40.1269; Nobleman 234; MMAG list 351, 7; commerce 1968.
Same obv. used for Becker's forgery 47 (Alexander) here pl. 22.
- F 24 Types of electrum tristater Jenkins-Lewis group VIII but in silver. 1959; 37.94 g. 1965; 38.00 g.
- F 25 Types of 6-shekels, crude version of 422.
Seen 1976; 42.24 g.
- F 26 Obv. of 6-shekel type as F 24 combined with rev. 5-shekel type.
Made at Cefalú 1975.
- F 27 Obv. type of 5-shekels combined with rev. type of 6-shekels. 1969; 39.28.
- F 28 5-shekels type, Becker 134; obv. based on O 2 with wrong truncation, rev. based on R 9 but with too many feathers.
Cf. Kress Nov. 1953, 126.
- F 29 5-shekels type, based on 442. 1969; 37.84.
- F 30 5-shekel type based on 448; Milan (cast) 29.42 g. – Dr. Arslan confirms that this specimen is now regarded as a forgery.

Key to Plates

Plate 1	273	Glasgow		313	Glasgow	
	274	Paris		314	London	
	275	MMAG 43				
	276	London	Plate 5	315	Naples	
	277	Paris		316	Private collection Y	
	278	Palermo		317	Pennisi	
	279 S	King of Sweden		318	London	
	279 L	London		319 N	Naples	
	280	Paris		319 B	Brussels	
	281	Palermo		320	Palermo	
	282	London		321	MMAG 43	
	283	ANS		322 A	ANS	
		322 N		Naples		
Plate 2	284	Private collection Y			323	Vatican
	285 X	Private collection X			324	Berlin
	285 B	Berlin				
	286	Syracuse	Plate 6	325	Paris	
	287	Lockett		326	Paris	
	288	Boston		327	Berlin	
	289	Burlington Fine Arts		328	Pennisi	
	290 L	seen 1977		329	Naples	
	290 B	Berlin		330	London	
	291	Naville 6		331	MMAG 1971	
	292	ANS		332	Cambridge	
	293	Lewis CCCC		333	Naples	
		334		London		
		335		ANS		
Plate 3	294	London				
	295	Naples	Plate 7	336	Naples	
	296 N	Naples		337	Egger 40	
	296 Y	Private collection Y		338	Schulman 1936	
	297	Glendining 1950		339	MMAG 1971	
	298	Naples		340	MMAG 1971	
	299	Bourgey 1921		341	Naples	
	300	London		342	MMAG 1971	
	301	Berlin		343	Private collection Y	
	302	Private collection X		344	MMAG 1971	
	302	Private collection X		345	London	
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Plate 4	303	Stockholm				
	304	Private collection X	Plate 8	347	Pennisi	
	305	Private collection X		348	London	
	306	London		349	MMAG 1971	
	307	ANS		350	Paris	
	308	Glasgow		351	Hague	
	309	King of Sweden		352	Private collection X	
	310	Naville 5		353	Naples	
	311	ANS		354	London	
	312	Naville 5				

	355	ANS		397	Private collection X
	356	Private collection Y		398	MMAG 1971
	357	Paris		399	Ars Classica 16
	358	Bourgey 1911		400	Palermo
				401	Paris
Plate 9	359	MMAG 1971		402	Paris
	360	Hamburger 98			
	361	London	Plate 13	403	Hague
	362	London		404	Naples
	363	Paris		405 C	Ciani 1934
	364	Lewis		405 S	Syracuse
	365	London		406	MMAG list 396
	366 Y	Private collection Y		407	ANS
	366 A	ANS		408	London
	367	Paris		409	Pennisi
	368	London		410	Syracuse
	369	Münzh. Basel 10		411	Syracuse
				412	MMAG 1971
				413	MMAG 1971
Plate 10	370 M	MMAG 1971			
	370 S	Sambon 1907	Plate 14	414	Allotte de la Fuye
	371	London		415	ANS
	372	Hess 209		416	Schweiz. Bankverein 1977
	373	Castro Maya		417	London
	374 P	Paris		418	Pennisi
	374 B	Boudin 1912		419	de Nicola 1972
	375	Hess 194		420	London
	376	Naples		421	Helbing 1928
	377	Naville 1		A-G	Alexander obverses (London)
	378	London		A	Amphipolis
	379	Private collection Y		B	Alexandria
				C	Alexandria
Plate 11	380	Lewis CCCC		D	Sidon
	381	Paris		E	Carne
	382	Stockholm		F	Babylon
	383	London		G	Babylon
	384 Y	Private collection Y			
	384 C	Ciani 1935	Plate 15	422	Copenhagen
	385	Cahn 71		423	Berlin
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	388	Syracuse		426	Vienna
	389	Ratto 1927		427	seen in 1968
	390	Syracuse			
			Plate 16	428	London
Plate 12	391	Hague		429	Private collection Y
	392	Lewis		430	Berlin
	393	Private collection Sicily		A	Electrum, Brussels
	394	Numismatica Toderi		B	Electrum, London
	395	Feuardent 1924		C	Electrum, London
	396	MMAG 1971			

	D	Electrum, London			
	E	Silver, London			
Plate 17	431	Oxford	Plate 19	442	Palermo hoard
	432	Palermo hoard		443	Palermo hoard
	433	Leu-Hess 1971		444	Bunbury
	434	Private collection Y		445	Private collection Y
	435	Palermo hoard		446	Private collection Y
	436	Palermo hoard		447	Leu-Hess 1959
Plate 18	437	Copenhagen	Plate 20	448	Palermo hoard
	438	Berlin		449	London
	439	MMAG 32		450	Leu-Hess 1965
	440	Palermo hoard		451	Leu 1976
	441	Berlin		452	Palermo hoard
			Plate 21-23		Falsa
			Plate 24		Addenda to parts I-IV, cf. infra pp. 48-58

Appendices – Summary of Hoards – Addenda – Index of specimens

Appendices

§ Y § – Panormos

Evidently doubt is still felt in some quarters as to the interpretation of the word SYS as a place-name of Panormos, for which cf. part I of this publication. The appearance of an interesting article by E. Lo Cascio «La leggenda sys delle monete siculo-puniche e il concetto politico dell'epikrateia» (Parola del Passato 1975, 153 ff.) affords the opportunity for a few further comments. There is no new evidence, so far as I am aware. Lo Cascio seeks to argue towards the conclusion that the appearance of the word sys – which he does not believe to be the name of Panormos – in some way attests a new organisation of the Carthaginian province in Sicily. Admitting that sys should have a geographical significance of some kind, he adopts from Holm the suggestion that it stands for a Punic transliteration of the Greek Σικελία, abbreviated. It cannot be said that this article carries conviction, either numismatically or linguistically.

Natural there is no literary evidence as to the equivalence sys – Panormos; indeed if there were, the argument would not arise. There is however no reason at all why it should not have been so in spite of the fact that the name Panormos proved to be the enduring one. In the same way the name *kfr'* at Solus did not displace the name Solus. It is in any case hard to see why the word sys could be thought to have some more general application to the Carthaginian province of Sicily, when in fact during the early phases (late fifth century) we find coins marked *sys* being minted concurrently with others marked *mtv'* for Motya and *kfr'* for Solus; and later after 350 B.C. we find the series of *sys* coins still continuing concurrently with those signed *ršmlqrt*. Moreover to assert, as Lo Cascio does, that the *sys* coins account for the greater part of those issued in Punic Sicily is in any case not true. In the late fifth century, the Panormos – *sys* coins are less numerous than those of Motya, while in the latter part of the fourth century the *sys* series is considerably less numerous than that of *ršmlqrt*: tetradrachms of *sys* for the whole period from 405 to 310/300 B.C. account for the use of 22 obverse and 70 reverse dies, whereas at *ršmlqrt* there were used no less than 26 obverse and 55 reverse dies for the much shorter period c. 350/310 B.C. Also, Lo Cascio seems to take little account of the fact that there existed in Sicily from 410–390, and again c. 350/340 until the early third century, a real official coinage of the Carthaginian state, namely the coins dealt with in parts 2/3/4 of this publi-

cation. Of these there are, down to 300 B.C. alone, 82 obverse and 223 reverse dies – clearly a considerable issue which forms the real Carthaginian coinage of Sicily, and beside which the series marked $\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma$ is of much more restricted quantity and indeed of more local scope. In these circumstances, it really seems beside the point to assert some general or «provincial» significance for the $\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma$ coins.

Lo Cascio also repeats the argument that there are so many different types copied from Greek mints in Sicily appearing with the legend $\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma$ and that these could not all have occurred at one place, but this was merely what Lloyd had argued in 1925, and this has been sufficiently discussed already in part 1, 29 f.

To recapitulate a little the details of the coinage at the early appearance of the $\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma$ legend: it will be recalled that in order to explain the didrachms with the legend $\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma$ numbered Z 1–2–3 and the die-links between these and the coins of Motya and Segesta, we had to envisage a transfer of certain dies from one mint to another, a process for which there are many parallels in the ancient world⁴². It is clear that obverse die O 9 came from Segesta (part 1 plate 2 A) and that it was subsequently used for Z 3 in combination with the unfinished Segestan die bb (on which traces of a Segestan legend remain between the letters of the $\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma$ legend). At the same time another die of Segestan character, and presumably also of Segestan make, O 8, was brought into use with reverse bb to make Z 2, the same obverse being used to make Z 1 in combination with another reverse of Segestan style, aa. Die aa has the $\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma$ legend done in the same large handwriting as that of bb and the same Segestan engraver could have made both these reverse dies. So far one could say that the $\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma$ coins Z 1–2–3 might as well simply have been produced at Segesta. However at this same juncture we find the obverse O 8 being used in combination with Motya reverses R 6–7–8. There would have been little point in bringing Motyan dies to Segesta, and even less in taking Segestan dies to Motya. But there would have been some point in taking dies from either one or both these mints to a place where no regular mint existed at that moment – namely Panormos. I believe this is what happened, and that it gives a straight forward explanation of the complex die-linked material involved, without having to fall back on elaborate and mysterious hypotheses regarding the word $\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma$. It is hardly necessary to add once again, that the only direct evidence for the significance of $\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma$ remains, as it was, the bilingual litra (here plate 24) with obverse $\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma$ and reverse Πανορμος.

For the rest, there seems little to be gained by the attempt to place the coins Z 1–2–3 after, instead of before, the Panormos didrachms with Greek legend, in order to make a once-for-all change from Greek to Punic; it does not really follow

⁴² To the instances listed in part 1, p. 28 may be added: common die between Paphos and Citium in the late Ptolemaic period (Nikolaou-Mørkholm, Paphos I, 73) and common dies between Pergamon, Sardes and Synnada in the cistophoric coinage (Kleiner, The early Cistophoric coinage, 80). Of these, the first is almost certainly a transferred die, the second may be a case rather of centralised mintage (Kleiner).

from the numismatic evidence (see the table p. 51), and some alternation at this period is hardly surprising in view of the already mentioned bilingual *litra* which has both Greek and Punic. As for the chronology of the Greek didrachm phase at Motya and Panormos, viz. c. 425–410 B.C., this seems confirmed by the showing of a new hoard reported from western Sicily and evidently buried c. 409 B.C., in which a specimen of the Panormos didrachm no. 7 was included.

Finally as regards the meaning of the word *sys* it is really necessary to take issue with Lo Cascio over the interpretation as SIK(elia). It is not difficult to condemn this at once as philologically absurd, since it is inconceivable that both the first and the third letters of «Sikelia» should both be represented in Punic lettering by one and the same letter, *ṣade*. Nor is it possible that anyone in Sicily who knew the Punic language could have been expected to understand *sys* in such an unexpected sense, for the word has perfectly good semitic roots⁴³. Indeed there is an example of its use as place-name, in the Old Testament: *sys* is the name of a place in the south-eastern desert of Judaea near which Jehoshaphat defeated the Moabites and Ammonites (II Chron. 20. 16). Which of the possible meanings of the word is to be judged most appropriate in the case of Panormos is naturally not a matter for dogmatism, but the meaning «blossom, flower» is by no means inappropriate on the analogy of Florence or Florentia, the ancient Granada (= Iliberris). In any case the important point is that since *sys* does possess semitic meanings it is highly unreasonable to try to make it into something quite different.

⁴³ Schmoll, *Die vorgriechischen Sprachen Siziliens*, 49, *sys* = «wing», translating Lybian *afr*, and so obtaining the sense «African, i.e. Carthaginian territory». – Bisi *Annali* 16–17, 1969–1970, 84–85 mentions *sys* = «fiore», nel senso di «la più bella», «la splendida»; but also mentions the possibility of a meaning «ramo, rampollo». This latter («offshoot») might, she remarks, refer to coins derivative from those of the main mint, and thus help to explain the variety of typology which makes it difficult to think of all the *sys* coins being minted at a single centre (a difficulty, if it is one, which we have referred to above, and in part 1 p. 30); but here it is hard to see the same term would apply to the coins of the main *sys* series of tetradrachms which can hardly be «derivative» and must be of the principal mint itself.

Motya – Panormos – Summary

	c. 430 (?)	
	Panormos	
	Dr., AE cock <i>sys</i>	
425–415		
Motya I	Panormos	
apobates didrachms		
1–13	Z 1–2–3 <i>sys</i>	
MOTVAION – – – – –	linked to Motya and Segesta	
415–410		415–410/405
Motya II (A)	Panormos	Panormos
dog didrachms	dog didrachms	tetradrachms
18–25	1–8	1–3 quadriga/Sacrificing figure with bull or ram
MOTVAION	IIANORMITIKON	4 quadriga/Female head
Mot 20 – – – – –	– – – – – Pan 2	5–6 walking quadriga/Apollo head
	W. Sicilian hoard (to Pan 7)	7–9 walking quadriga / Female head, Eumenes style IIANOPMOΣ etc.
410–405		
Motya II (B)	Panormos	Panormos
dog didrachms	dog didrachms	tetradrachms
26–30	9–11	10 <i>sys</i>
mtv	<i>sys</i>	<i>sys</i>
405–397	405–380(?)	405–late IV century
Motya III	Panormos	Panormos
tetradrachms, didrachms	didrachms	tetradrachms
37–50	12–13	11–83
405–late IV century		
Panormos tetradrachms		
11–21 fast quadriga <i>sys</i>	Eumenes style (e.g. R 10) Eukleidas style (R 13) Large head as Tudeer 38 (R 14) – fish instead of dolphin (R 17, 19) – corngrain instead of dolphin (R 21) Eukleidas head, corn ears (R 22) Kimon-derived head (R 23) Kimonian head (R 28)	
shell added (O 4)		
22–24 crayfish, column (O 5) maeander (O 6)		
26–34 hippocamp (O 7, 8)		
		Contessa hoard (to 34) c. 390/380 B.C.
35–41 ketos (O 9) no legend swan (O 10) no legend Tanit sign (O 10') no legend <i>sys</i> legend (O 11)	Kimon-Phrygillos style R 30 R 30 (new die-link) R 33 R 33 (new die-link)	

42-51	walking quadriga (O 12)	Kimón-ish head (R 36) – corngrain added (R 36')	
	fast quadriga	Kimonian head (no. 43 a)	
	dolphin in ex (O 13)	Eukleidas-like head (R 37) Kimón-derived (?) head (R 38 etc.) – corn grain (R 40)	
			Hoard G (to 50) c. 330 B.C.
52-61	dolphin (O 14) no symbol (O 15)	indeterminate style (R 41 etc.)	
			Megara Hyblaia hoard 1949 (to 50) c. 330/320 B.C.
	two dolphins (O 16)	inferior Euainetos style (R 48)	
62-70	thick ex. line (O 17, 18)	good Euainetos style (R 50) – pellet (R 56) – swastika (R 57)	
	thick ex. line (O 19)		S. Sicily hoard 1978 (to 70 a) late IVc. B.C.
71-83	star, dolphins (O 20) no star, dolphins (O 21) details ? (O 22)	Agathoklean heads R 58 etc.)	

Rslmqrt tetradrachms – summary

1-4 fast quadriga left – caduceus (O 1)	Melqart head (R 1) female head, dolphins (R 2 etc.) – corn grain (R 2')	
5-10 quadriga right	female head in sphendone – without sphendone (R 7)	
11-22 quadriga left	large head, no wreath or sphendone (R 9, 11, 13) Eukleidan head (R 10, 15)	
21-30 quadriga right (O 10)	large head – corn grain R 14	
		Nissoria, Gibil Gabib hoards (to 18) c. 330 B.C.
quadriga left (O 11-12) – caduceus (O 11)	large head – corn grain R 18 – fish instead of dolphin (R 21') Euainetos type head with corn ears (R 22, 23)	
		Hoard G (to 29) c. 330 B.C.
31-70 quadriga right (O 13-23) left (O 19, 24) thick ex. line O 24	Euainetos type adaptations (R 24 etc.) good and poor (e.g. R 45, 48) style	
71-73 Agathoklean head (O 25) head left (O 26)	quadriga right horse and palm tree R 55	
		Pachino (to 64) 305 B.C.

Carthage Electrum triple-staters

Jenkins-Lewis group VIII, revised list

JL	368	O 1		
		R 1	↗ 21.78	Private collection (formerly Palermo)
JL	369	O 1		
		R 2		Sotheby 20. 1. 1898, 109 (Archaeologist and Traveller)
(JL)	369 A	O 1		
		R 3	↑ 22.78	Brussels. Plate 16 A
JL	370	O 1		
		R 4	↑ 22.65	Paris Beistegui 54 = Hirsch 16, 700 = Hirsch 15, 1357
JL	371	O 1		
		R 5	↗ 22.68	Gulbenkian 377 = Warren 1370 = AC 13. 393 = Sotheby
				2. 5. 1905, 183
			22.49	MMAG 52, 1975, 258
JL	372	O 1		
		R 6	↓ 22.75	Gulbenkian 378 = Walcher de Moltheim 456, from Palermo 1870
				(not Porto Empedocle)
			22.78	Jameson 922
			← 22.55	Berlin
			↑ 22.81	Lockett 1063
			✓ 22.64	London PCG V. C. 28
JL	373	O 1		
		R 7	22.82	Engel-Gros 69 = Prowe 1904, 1784 = Hindamian 302
JL	374	O 2		
		R 7	↘ 22.53	Boston 505
JL	375	O 2		
		R 6	← 22.46	Lewis = Lucerne 1953, 210 = Sartiges 387 = Hirsch 21, 4675
			← 22.50	Paris Armand-Valton 590 (not Porto Empedocle)
JL	376	O 2		
		R 8	✓ 22.58	Paris 158 (not Porto Empedocle)

Summary of Hoards

	Panormos	Rsmqrr	Thermai	Carthage	Syracuse	Corinth	Others
Series 1							
390/380							
Ognina (2120)	21 ?	—	—	—	tetradrachms	some	Sicil.
Contessa (2119)	34	—	—	47	decad. tetr.	—	Sicil.
Giarre Riposto (2115)	34	—	—	—	—	—	Naxos
Vito Superiore (1910)	30	—	—	46	tetradrachms	some	Sicil.
Series 2							
330							
Hoard G (IGCH —)	50	29	4	74	decad. tetr. pegasi	E	Sicil.
Leonforte (2133)	—	18	—	75	decad. tetr. pegasi	E, N	1 Ath.
Gibil Gabib (2132)	—	18	1	74	decad. tetr.	N	
330/320							
Megara Hyblaia 1949 (2135)	50	—	—	129	tetr. pegasi	A, AA	—
Series 3 (4)							
320/310							
Hoard X (IGCH —)	—	—	—	206 (271/2)	—	A I I AP	—
305/300							
Pachino 1957 (2151)	—	64	—	242 (272)	Agath. quad. pegasi	all except AO	8 Alex. 1 Ath.
300							
S. Sicily 1978	70a	11a	1a	246	decadrachms Agath. quad.	many	1 Ath. many Ath.
Palermo 1933	—	47	—	265	Agath. quad.	—	—
S. E. Sicily 1977	—	47	—	—	Agath. quad. Agath. Nike	— —	many Alex. many Ath.
Series 5							
Early III c.							
Sicily 1976/77	—	—	—	some	Agath. quad.	—	many Alex. many Ath.
Camarina-Scoglitti (2185)	—	—	—	411 (+ EL gp. V)	Agath. Nike Agath. gold EL	many	1 Ath.
Cammarata (2182)	—	—	—	some	Agath. Nike	many	Selinus etc.
Cefalú (2154)	—	66	—	396	Agath. Nike	—	1 Alex.
1971 hoard							
Megara Hyblaia 1967 (2180)	—	—	—	412	Agath. Nike pegasi	—	2 Alex. 2 Ath.

	Panormos	Rsmqlrt	Thermai	Carthage	Syracuse	Corinth	Others
Mineo (2184)	—	—	—	410	Agath. Nike	—	4 Ath.
Palma Montechiaro (2153)	—	—	—	some (+ EL)	—	many	Locri
Selinunte 1877 (2178)	—	39	—	some (+ shekel as J-L 26. 14)	Agath. quad.	—	—
Sicily 1837 (2144)	—	—	—	some	pegasi	many	—
<i>Other III c.</i>							
Syracuse 1927 (2191)	—	—	—	148	—	—	2 Alex.
Syracuse 1955 (2179)	—	—	—	194	Agath. Nike	incl.	4 Ath.
					Agath. pegasi		1 Alex.
				257	Agath. Nike	many	1 Alex.
Capo Soprano, Gela (2183)	—	—	—				1 Alex.
Capo Soprano, Gela (2183)	—	—	—	257	Agath. Nike	many	
Pachino (2186)	—	—	—	series 3	Agath. Nike		
				(+ EL?)	Agath. reduced	—	
					pegasi		
					Agath. gold		
Palazzolo Acreide (2181)	—	—	—	series 3	Agath. Nike	many	—

Addenda

Plate 24 – Part IV

- PT 38 a Panormos: O 10'–R 30, combination not recorded, but cf. SNR 1971 Panormos 36 (plate 10) for O 10–R 30. O 10' has the «sign of Tanit» added; R 30 now shows die-flaws not apparent on Panormos 36.
Schulman 264, 2976, 5047
- PT 39 a Panormos: O 11–R 33, combination not recorded, cf. SNR 1971 Panormos 40–41 for the obverse, 39 for the reverse.
Schulman 264, 1976, 5048
Leu 20, 1978, 37
This variety is important for providing a connexion between the «swan» group (Panormos 35–38) and the sys group (Panormos 40–41), which was hitherto lacking. The attribution of the «swan» group to Kamarina, as suggested by Lederer (ZfN 1924, 184 ff.), is hereby decisively ruled out.
- PT 43 a Panormos O 12–R new; the reverse die is clearly distinct from that of SNR 1971 plate 11 42–43 (R 36, 36').
Alex. G. Malloy, S. Salem, New York, 28. 2. 1972
- PT 70 a Panormos O 19–R new; the reverse similar to R 57 is clearly a distinct die.
S. Sicilian hoard 1978
- R 11 a Rsmlqrt O 8–R 9, combination not recorded in SNR 1971.
S. Sicilian hoard 1978
- R 26 Rsmlqrt 26 (SNR 1971 plate 17); this specimen is clearly overstruck with traces of a previous type visible in the ex. of the obverse, and on the reverse the outlines of a previous head which appears to be a male head to right. The original head must have been one of Melqart, as on Rsmlqrt 1 (SNR 1971 plate 15), but probably not from the same die as Rsmlqrt 1. The traces of the original obverse show the beginning of the legend, evidently of the same die as Rsmlqrt O 1. Apart from confirming satisfactorily that the Melqart head must come at the beginning of the Rsmlqrt series, the specimen arouses curiosity as to why the Melqart head was first used then superseded.
Hoard G
- Th 1 a Thermai: O 1–R new though of similar style to those of SNR 1971 plate 22, 1–3.
S. Sicilian hoard 1978
- C 28 a Carthage: O 7–R new, but similar to those of SNR 1974 plate 4, 25–28.
Schweizerischer Bankverein 27. 11. 1977, 265.
- A, B Same specimens as SNR 1971 plate 2, X, Y
- C Obv. Head of Pan r. Rev. Three pellets; above +; to l. ivy-leaf; to r. horn.
Mini coll. 0.17 g
It seems possible, though less than certain, that this small silver fraction may pertain to Panormos; the shortened legend recalls that of SNR 1971 plate 24, 1.
- D Variant of the small silver type SNR 1971 plate 24, 7; here the obverse has bearded head to left, and on the reverse in the segments of the wheel appear to be dolphin (bottom r.) followed clockwise by Punic letters sys.
Mini coll. 0.26 g

E, F Obv. female head l. without wreath or leaves; Rev. Horse's head r.

(F) Auctiones AG 8, 1978, 411. 0.58 g

(F) London, acquired 1848. 0.62 g

This type is mentioned by Müller (IV no. 129 a), citing only the London specimen. A third specimen is known from the Mongo hoard (IGCH 2312).

The head seems to resemble that of Rsmlqrt 26; if this is significant in such a way as to associate it with the Rsmlqrt series, it would provide a small denomination of that mint, hitherto lacking, and thus the possibility that future find spots might yet help to determine the location of the mint.

Index of specimens

Abbreviations M = Motya
PD = Panormos didrachms
PT = Panormos tetradrachms
R = Rsmlqrt
Th = Thermai
C = Carthage

Aberdeen (SNG I): C 11 90 163

AC (Ars Classica)

– 12: M 24 PT 35 R 9 25 34 47 55 69 C 17 20 84 96 115 158 161 170 181 218 237
284 285 298

– 13: PD 12 C 14 126 145 161 162 321 428

– 14: M 46 PT 35 R 14 C 6 20 31 71 127 142 242

– 15: PT 36 R 66 C 99 100 111 125 132 142 158 180 188 199 212 242

– 16: M 6 12 19 22 27 32 46 PT 35 52 65 80 R 20 21 23 48 54 56 C 17 94 99 112
124 130 145 153 161 162 186 188 191 396 399

– 17: M 47 PD 5 PT 28 R 43 C 257

Ahlström 6, 1974: C 257 382 – 14, 1977: C 399

Allotte de la Fuye (Florange-Ciani 1925): R 63 C 30 55 215 227 241 283 384 414

ANS: M 29 PT 29 48 53 60 71 72 R 6 18 20 22 25 26 29 38 40 44 47 49 54 71
Th 2 C 10 13 17 23 45 50 57 63 70 76 83 89 97 98 99 100 101 112 117 120 124
133 141 143 144 148 158 160 161 178 179 184 187 188 189 198 205A 208 210 227
229 232 237 253 258 267 272 283 292 298 307 309 311 312 322 335 353 355 366 372
387 389 407 415 418 422

Archaeologist and Traveller (Sotheby 20. 1. 1898): PT 32 C 44 144

Ashburnham (Sotheby 1895): C 158 438

Auctiones AG 5: C 250 285 – 6: 192

Balmano (Sotheby 1898): R 56 C 188

Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University: C 92 105 176 178 234 263

Baranowsky 1929 (Milan): R 19 – IV: PT 32 R 70 C 115 – VI: C 172 336 342 – 1934:
R 38 C 143 217 341 360

Benson (Sotheby 1909): PT 23 35 39 63 81 R 39 C 13 41 89 133 164 178 181 291 366
376

Berlin, Staatliche Museen: M 1 3 10 11 12 13 15 21 23 24 27 33 42 47 48 PD Z 1 3
PT 14 20 24 27 28 33 39 40 42 50 59 60 62 63 64 69 70 71 75 82 R 13 16 17 30 39
43 46 48 49 56 60 71 Th 7 C 5 6 16 21 25 31 36 40 44 46 52 62 67 69 73 81 86
88 89 92 98 99 101 112 116 120 121 124 126 130 132 138 139 142 149 156 163 165
167 176 178 180 181 183 188 189 191 220 224 229 231 239 243 252 255 257 258
266 268 269 271 272 285 287 290 301 308 324 327 332 348 381 387 398 423 430 438 441
445

Bourgey 7.6. 1909: R 38 C 149 – 15. 10. 1909: C 70 198 – 23. 5. 1910: R 38 – 29. 5. 1911:
R 48 71 C 10 94 – 14. 12. 1911: C 358 – 1913: R 55 – 20. 12. 1921: C 299 – 3. 12. 1928:
C 389 – 5. 12. 1932: R 37 C 159 321 – 255. 5. 1950: C 105

Bordonaro: PT 2

Boston Museum of Fine Arts: M 12 PT 20 50 61 63 70 78 R 5 39 43 52 66 C 52 107 124
132 135 144 156 170 186 226 272 288 298 442

Brandis (Canessa 1922): R 35 C 686 222 247 299 315 317 368 412

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale: M 1 PT 26 31 32 33 69 78 83 R 37 41 69 – C 6 19 38 94
 109 113 114 121 126 151 153 154 162 172 173 175 178 188 227 272 319 396

Bunbury (Sotheby 1896): M 9 PT 32 R 70 C 30 41 153

Burlington Fine Arts 202: C 289

Butler (Sotheby 1911): C 171

Cahn (Frankfurt)

35: C 17 186

60: R 25 66 C 194 262

61: C 200

65: R 38

66: R 22 47 C 22 186 194 231 385 389

68: R 44 C 14 143 237 291

71: PT 21 R 20 C 200 385

75: R 14

80: PT 21 R 20 C 88 148 200

84: PT 52 R 38 C 153 189 320

Cahn (Basel) 1950: C 188

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum: M 23 28 PD 12 PT 7 10 13 21 27 32 35 47 66 72 76 81
 R 10 20 22 39 41 43 59 70 Th 1 C 1 6 15 32 41 66 76 78 92 111 115 119 121
 122 131 136 142 149 162 163 167 182 184 186 188 189 222 290 291 296 300 302 309
 331 332 336 445

Cancio, L., Washington: C 211 248 387

Canessa – de Nicola 1950: R 64

Canessa 12.6.1928: C 389

Carfrae (Sotheby 1894): R 43 C 14 45 121 136 322 445

Castro Maya (Drouot 1957): C 134 191 373

Cefalù, Museo Mandralisca: M 40

Ciani

1929: PT 21 R 9 C 218

1921: C 259 291

1934: R 56 C 405

1935: C 263 384

1955: R 39 C 65

Cleveland, Ohio, Art Museum: C 70

Collignon (Feuardent 1919): PT 31 C 17 312 437

Courtauld (University of Rhodesia): C 158

Copenhagen, National Museum: M 5 15 16 18 19 46 PD 3 PT 39 (addendum = SNG
 «Camarina» 171) 40 C 12 20 31 54 64 79 85 87 115 129 132 157 163 193 208 231
 298 317 332 378 384 422 437

Copenhagen, Thorwaldsen Museum: R 73

Cumberland Clark (Sotheby 1914): PT 80 C 10 83 186

Davis, N., Seattle: C 436

Delbeke (Sotheby 1907): C 124 132 188 321

Delmonte 1933: C 181 409

Egger

40: C 90

41: R 16 31

45: PD 12 PT 11 19 30 31 C 49 88 186 375

46: M 5 31 R 47 C 17 113 327

28. 11. 1904: R 31 38 48 C 28 65 242

10. 12. 1906: R 21 67 C 89 161 186 189 249 266
 7. 1. 1908: M 14 17 23 32 PT 12 18 20 25 27 28 31 34 41
 26. 11. 1909: M 47 R 17 69 C 51 257
 Engel-Gros: PT 78 C 193 341
 Feuardent
 9. 5. 1910: R 63
 26. 5. 1914: R 37 40 60 C 215
 9. 6. 1913: C 3 22
 19. 12. 1921: C 365
 18. 6. 1924: C 395
 16. 11. 1937: R 38 C 298
 Florange-Ciani 1924: C 260 – 1925: C 187
 Fuller 1966: C 266
 Galerie des Monnaies de Genève, New York 1976: C 299
 Geneva 10. 10. 1977: C 339
 Glasgow-Coats: R 47 C 313 336 442
 Glasgow-Hunter: Pl. 2. Y. M 46 R 46 C 31 61 130 153 162 183 184 248 256 273 289
 308 383 396 424
 Glendining
 14. 6. 1915: C 144
 23. 11. 1928: C 323
 3. 12. 1929: R 31
 9. 6. 1930: C 70 153
 9. 3. 1931: C 110
 28. 6. 1938: PT 53
 24. 11. 1950: C 176 297
 19. 7. 1950: C 384
 31. 1. 1951: R 14 C 99 242
 1953: C 168
 1955: R 47 C 96 168 377
 13. 11. 1957: R 46
 23. 1. 1963: C 439
 13. 12. 1963: PT 12 C 248
 21. 6. 1972: C 406
 Hall: R 69
 Glendining-Seaby I: C 156 – II: R 44 49 C 237 259 317 – III: R 46 C 180 187 194 293
 328 391
 Grabow 1930: C 396 412
 Guadan, A. M., Madrid: C 49 101 386 409
 Gulbenkian, Lisbon: C 64 77 89 94 126 127 131 138 223 270 429
 Gustav VI Adolf, late King of Sweden: C 218 250 279 309
 Hague, Royal Coin and Medal Cabinet: PT 11 14 23 35 43 53 R 16 18 31 34 35 43 55 70
 Th 4 C 8 20 22 33 44 77 81 90 92 96 134 138 168 188 195 206 218 231 239 2556
 309 351 391 403
 Hamburger
 96: PT 71 C 161 187
 98: M 8 36 PT 7 R 26 37 64 C 10 120 148 171 183 186 187 245 352 360 392
 1894: PT 29
 20. 2. 1928: C 298
 29. 5. 1929: PD 13 C 31 81 95 103 158 240 249 250 290 306 319 333 445

11. 6. 1930: C 296
 Harmer-Rook, New York: C 451
 Hart, Blackburn: C 133
 Hartford, Conn. USA: C 130
 Hartwig (Santamaria 1910): R 37 C 348
 Helbing
 70: C 88 148 163 179 409
 19. 11. 1912: R 62
 1911: C 412
 1927: PT 49 R 13 38 Th 1 C 180 398
 1928: PT 12 R 31 C 182/318 349 377 421/186
 Headlam (Sotheby 1916): R 56 C 198 391
 Hess
 27. 10. 1902: PT 60 C 5 8 146 161
 18. 3. 1918: PT 12 R 31 34 C 17 20 96 129 186
 Vogel 1929: R 55
 18. 12. 1933: C 151
 15. 2. 1934: PT 29
 7. 3. 1935: C 29 89 147 418
 28. 4. 1938: R 31
 194: R 38 C 29 309 375 385
 202: R 39 55 C 27 181 231 349
 207: R 48 C 43 99 101 179 369
 208: R 56 C 15 162
 209: R 55 C 372
 224: C 194
 226: C 301
 1949: C 163
 1953: R 55
 1954: R 37 C 129 319
 Hess/Leu see Leu/Hess
 Hindamian (Paris 1956): PT 72 R 55 70 C 138 191 298 370
 Hirsch, J., Munich
 8: PT 7 C 94
 11: C 425
 12: C 166
 13: PT 31 C 70 95 129 159 191 422
 14: PT 7 80 R 33 40 C 10 89 101 116 124 127 128 162 224 272 319
 15: M 19 PT 32 76 R 47 C 14 44 88 101 120 140 145
 16: R 33 C 95 99 186 431
 18: PT 4
 19: PT 4 8 18 33 71 R 11 20 33 C 37 94 102 115 127 129 132 163 164 179 184
 190 216 238 321 423
 20: R 31 43 C 95 126 129 159 211 319
 21: R 10 31 69 C 20 53 96 176 425 436
 26: R 43 C 8 94 139 153
 29: PT 70 R 20 66 C 94 101 139 142 149 156 179 238 321
 30: M 8 PT 65 R 17 Th 5 C 13 89 153 155 169 246
 31: R 47 Th 2 C 45 72 123 445
 32: M 7 PD 11 PT 8 22 72 R 37 55 70 C 27 70 88 99 124 186 191 237 264

33: M 34 PT 21 25 29 R 36 38 81 C 131 133 162 163 445
 34: PT 31 R 28 33 55 66 Th 4 C 94 156 171
 Hirsch (Ciccio): M 42 45
 Hoffmann: C 272
 Jameson: M 12 20 26 47 PD 5 6 8 12 PT 8 25 27 34 38 39 68 70 R 5 20 21 28 37
 47 70 Th 2 5 C 6 39 44 53 98 127 153 249 270 321 423 429 431
 Kondylis (Sotheby 1924): C 141 306
 Kricheldorf XI 1962: C 440
 Lanz 5 1975: C 192 264 266
 Lewis (CCC Cambridge) SNG VI: C 138 200 270 293 380
 Lewis, R. B.: PT 18 21 28 R 38 41 47 55 69 70 C 9 45 59 94 99 108 111 116 133
 137 165 170 179 191 197 210 224 238 248 253 263 267 269 282 364 384 392 440
 Lempertz 1926 (Köln): P 71 C 197
 Lloyd SNG II (specimens not in London): C 45 52 92 129 148 172 270
 Leu-Hess/Hess-Leu = LH/HL
 1956: M 10 26 46 PT 39 48 82 R 38 41 C 6 82 89 98 104 108 114 123 148 178
 187 218 227 272 317 445
 1957: PT 7 25 44 55 R 17 28 48 Th 2 C 39 77 101 111 119 155 384
 1958: PT 31 R 20 47 48 C 139 227 242 272 290
 1959: R 5 22 66 C 141 164 184 215 447
 1960: PT 14 R 10 43 C 153 188 192 319 370
 1962: M 8 20 PT 18 R 50 C 88 100 112 116 125 164 272 450
 1964: Z 2 M 46 PD 5 PT 29 C 15 89 156
 1965: PT 21 50 R 51 65 C 449
 1966: PT 12 33 69 R 3 64 C 25 129 133 189 450
 1968: PT 79 R 37 C 19 98 101 157
 1970: C 450
 1971: C 433
 Leu
 7, 1973: C 443
 15, 1976: C 450
 Sicilia: M 27 PT 59 67 R 39 C 99
 Llano de la Consolacion: PT 39
 Löbbecke (Hess 1926): C 189
 Lockett SNG III: M 27 46 PT 29 35 80 R 2 9 17 20 31 43 55 61 70 C 45 51 53 68
 84 89 91 96 104 120 127 130 132 136 157 164 170 192 242 287 412 429 431
 Locker-Lampson: PD 2 R 25 C 45 136 188
 London: M 6 12 20 21 22 24 26 27 29 30 31 39 41 42 46 48 49 PD 3 4 5 8 9 10 12
 PL 2.X PT 6 10 13 16 19 20 21 23 25 28 29 30 32 33 35 36 37 39 44 46 48 49 50
 52 53 54 58 60 63 65 66 70 71 72 73 74 77 80 R 1 7 9 12 13 16 17 18 19 21 23
 27 28 29 31 32 37 38 39 41 42 46 47 48 49 51 52 53 55 57 59 60 63 64 66 68 69
 70 72 Th 1 4 7 Solus X C 1 2 3 4 8 10 14 15 19 20 27 28 30 31 36 37 38 44
 45 47 49 52 53 63 66 70 71 78 84 86 89 90 92 94 98 99 100 101 102 113 115 116
 118 119 120 123 128 129 131 132 135 140 142 143 148 153 155 159 164 168 171 172
 178 180 183 185 188 189 190 197 200 210 214 216 219 220 221 223 224 227 229 232
 234 238 239 242 243 245 249 252 255 257 262 263 267 268 269 270 271 272 276 282
 287 288 290 291 294 296 299 300 306 314 317 319 323 327 330 334 342 345 348
 354 361 362 367 368 371 378 383 387 391 396 406 408 413 417 420 422 428 442
 445 448
 London, Victoria and Albert Museum (Salton): C 117 154

Luneau (Platt 1922): PT 53 R 7 69 C 10 99 390
 Maddalena (Sambon 1903): C 157 101
 Mann (Sotheby 1917): C 186
 Martinetti-Nervegna (Sambon 1907): R 69 C 161 227 238 290
 Merzbacher
 2. II. 1909: PT 69 R 34 54 56 C 96 97 123 129 171 218 223
 1910: R 25 48 C 5 88 116 138 147 184 327
 Montagu (Sotheby 1896): R 41 C 14 53 113 133 189 242 323 434
 Morgan, J. P.: C 52 188 199 377
 Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung: M 39 46 PT 38 R 30 46 52 C 36 45 96 186 272 408
 Münzhandlung Basel
 4, 1935: R 20 44 47 52 C 31 53 95 142 150 176 197 241 242 378
 8, 1937: C 131 141 181 291
 10, 1938: R 48 C 370
 Münzen und Medaillen AG
 7, 1948: C 80
 10, 1951: R 16 22
 11, 1953: C 108
 13, 1954: C 78
 19, 1959: C 442
 32, 1966: PT 70 C 439
 43, 1970: M 27 46 PD 2 6 9 13 PT 4 19 23 25 28 34 37 38 63 70 R 37 39 55 66
 Th 6 C 14 45 66 80 88 91 99 110 120 127 128 134 139 148 172 184 227 228 249
 264 270 272 275 289 321 423 436
 47, 1972: C 439
 list 326: C 183 200 236 262 289 344 349
 list 351: C 10 76 161 162 178 348
 list 396: C 406
 Münzschätze 5 (Bayerische Vereinsbank 1977): C 386
 Myers/New York 1971: C 9 95 186 1972: C 103
 Myers-Adams 1973: C 60
 Myers undated: C 300
 Nanteuil: C 133
 Naples, Museo Nazionale: PT 29 37 74 R 50 C 51 56 90 98 100 104 112 141 148 153
 156 157 159 161 162 165 179 184 187 201 218 224 235 239 2551 262 269 270 289 290
 295 296 298 300 305 309 315 317 319 322 329 333 336 341 348 349 353 356 376 386
 399 404 441
 Naville
 1, 1920: M 24 PT 75 80 R 31 67 C 19 76 89 127 130 205A 251 321 377
 4, 1922: M 46 PD 12 PT 1 9 11 19 29 31 33 R 18 20 34 37 Th 4 C 13 94 102/
 113 129 132 149 171 184 190 378 429
 5, 1923: M 6 7 27 PT 35 46 80 R 12 16 18 46 48 55 60 66 68 C 31 33 66 89 98
 99 101 131 140 184 207 215 224 242 249 256 257 269 294 295 309 310 312 422
 6, 1924: M 46 PT 13 30 33 60 65 R 7 21 22 30 37 38 63 C 27 30 45 64 65 72 77
 83 88 92 94 99 101 105 127 130 132 164 186 223 241 291 422 437
 10, 1925: PT 11 19 R 34 41 47 67 69 Th 1 C 80 89 100 125 149 187 263 270 283
 287 429
 «Naville 12» – see AC 12
 Nervegna 1907: C 148
 de Nicola 1972: C 419

Niggeler (Leu-MMAG 1965): C 2 6 44 93 123 129 138 144 182 431
 Nobleman (Glendining 1955): C 224 309
 Numismatic Fine Arts 1975: C 175 – 1976: C 145 164 271
 O'Hagan (Sotheby 1908): R 23 48 C 445
 Oxford Ashmolean Museum, SNG V: Z 2 M 27 31 46 PD 3 8 PT 7 29 62 R 20 31 33
 C 48 53 63 87 144 164 168 197 319 323 398 415 431
 Oxford, Miss., USA: C 413
 Palermo, Museo Nazionale: M 10 22 37 42 45 46 47 48 Panormos drachm A PD 5 6 7
 PT 4 6 25 29 32 33 34 39 R 10 28 39 46 52 64 69 Solus X C 9 14 15 18 21 23 25
 30 31 33 35 36 43 44 46 47 49 74 90 148 170 278 281 320 370 400
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: M 4 5 20 26 27 38 45 47 48 49 PD 5 PT 5 10 12 19 21
 23 27 32 33 39 45 49 70 71 75 78 79 R 7 13 15 18 23 29 31 37 38 39 42 43 44
 46 47 52 63 64 66 68 69 Th 4 5 7 C 3 5 10 14 15 20 24 31 32 33 34 36 41 44
 52 54 56 58 63 65 84 88 89 92 94 98 101 116 126 130 132 134 139 141 148 153 156
 164 165 168 170 176 177 178 179 182 184 186 204 205 A 212 213 217 218 227 231
 237 241 242 243 249 254 256 257 266 270 271 272 274 277 280 287 294 298 308 309
 317 325 326 346 350 357 363 367 374 376 381 401 402 428 434 439 440 441 445
 Pennisi, Acireale: M 25 PD 1 4 5 PT 6 11 15 20 48 60 65 71 R 9 16 19 37 44 58
 Th 6 C 24 54 65 89 120 165 184 227 270 287 290 317 328 342 347 351 386 409
 418
 Peus 280: C 342
 Philadelphia Museum: C 161 285
 Platt
 1921: C 206 299
 1930 (coll. A): C 9 98 230 277
 3. 4. 1933: R 22 67 C 13 53 132 183 201
 Polese-Canessa 1928: R 55 64
 Princeton, Firestone: C 304
 Private collection Catania: C 143
 Private collection R: C 187
 Private collection Sicily: C 393
 Private collection X: M 20 29 31 PD 1 PT 19 R 10 30 41 53 55 64 69 70 C 15 29
 88 89 120 141 154 171 176 187 188 202 217 218 221 231 236 242 245 249 257 261
 262 263 264 266 285 291 302 304 305 352 397 450
 Private collection Y: M 8 39 49 Z 1 PD 1 PT 3 6 11 14 39 44 52 55 62 71 R 17 20
 21 28 39 41 43 58 61 64 69 70 73 Th 2 C 3 13 17 25 38 46 53 65 78 99 104 112
 119 129 131 134 153 163 170 176 184 187 204 207 218 223 224 237 242 244 248 249
 256 279 283 284 296 316 343 357 366 379 384 425 429 434 445
 Proschowsky: R 34
 Prowe see Egger 28. 1. 1904
 Ratto
 26. 4. 1909 (Froehner): R 44 66 C 89 180 249
 4. 4. 1927: C 17 89 184 389 399
 8. 11. 1928: C 9 168 309 392
 9. 10. 1934: C 213 237 263 331
 Ready (Paris 8. 7. 1919): Th 1 C 153
 Reggio Calabria, Museo Nazionale: PT 11 28 29 30 C 17 24 26 41 42 45 46
 Riechmann 1921: C 390
 Rollin 1908: C 164

Rosenberg

9. 3. 1914: C 8 159
8. 2. 1924: R 31 C 319
64, 1928: C 412 R 38
72, 1932: PT 21 R 12 44 C 22 189 200

Ryan (Glendining 1950): R 47

Salton, M., New York: PT 51 R 13 16 C 88 164 191

Sambon

24. 3. 1902: C 87 205 A
19. 12. 1906: R 8
6. 7. 1921: C 67
26. 4. 1925: R 46

Sambon-Canessa = SC

22. 6. 1906: R 69 C 189 229
1907 (Ciccio): M 15 35 44 46 PD 3 5 PT 48 R 17 22 37 46 47 55 Th 2 4 6
C 121 154 178 181 188 198 223 335 370 407
1927: PT 29 57 R 24 34 44 53 64 C 51 89 94 95 121 197 284 293 296 323 386
412

Sandeman (Sotheby 1911): R 47 C 25 45 188 358

Sangiorgi 1907: C 227

Santamaria 1934: C 407

Sartiges: PT 23 25 31 R 37 48 C 242 431

Schlessinger 26. 2. 1934: C 7 177 366

Schulman

2. 5. 1905: C 44
21. 10. 1912: R 20 63
26. 11. 1913: PT 53 C 20
16. 12. 1926: R 21 22 38 44 C 10 104 189 230 370
6. 6. 1930: R 50
8. 6. 1931: PT 71
21. 10. 1935: C 20 191 263
7. 6. 1937: PT 71 R 20 37 C 10 116 158 189
30. 3. 1936: C 291 338
31. 5. 1938: R 55 C 183 257
264, 1976: C 57 71
265, 1977: C 152
1976 (not sale): C 74
«I»: C 168

Schweizerischer Bankverein 1975: C 206 233 – 1977: C 384 416

Sellwood, D., London: C 165

Silla, Alicante: PT 33

Sotheby

11. 7. 1899: C 145
2. 5. 1905: C 161 276
6. 12. 1907: R 56
11. 12. 1907: C 138
19. 12. 1907: C 92 94 101 105 123 126 130 133 255
21. 4. 1909: R 25 C 147
5. 7. 1910: C 30 174
26. 7. 1920: C 119

6. 7. 1921: R 38 48 C 279
 1924: C 130
 25. 5. 1925: C 146
 15. 11. 1927: C 10
 21. 2. 1929: C 99 137
 1. 5. 1929: C 266
 25. 3. 1935: C 142
 9. 3. 1936: PT 62
 17. 7. 1939: R 37
 Spink 1968: C 283 289
 Stiavelli (Santamaria 1908): PT 80 R 25 55
 St. Louis, Washington, USA: C 391
 Stockholm, K. Myntkabinettet: R 47 69 C 27 99 187 243 303 382 450
 Strozzi (Sangiorgi 1907): PD 5 C 227
 Syracuse, Museo Nazionale: M 2 PT 17 43 50 52 56 82 R 8 18 36 37 41 44 47 48 53
 55 64 69 Th 1 C 11 13 70 74 75 81 88 90 91 94 106 116 119 124 126 129 136
 142 146 148 157 176 178 186 188 189 194 204 205 206 237 242 255 256 257 267 271
 272 275 279 286 29 293 300 303 304 327 333 339 344 357 362 365 366 385 386 389
 390 402 405 410 411 412
 Vatican: C 89 181 197 266 323 385
 Vienna: PD 13 PT 50 R 64 Th 2 C 33 46 68 72 112 132 155 176 219 265 272
 306 350 389 426 435
 Vinchon 3. 3. 1975: C 81
 Walcher Moltheim: M 12 26 PD 12 PT 60 R 66 C 156
 Ward, J.: M 30 40 PT 20 29 71 R 57 C 122 188 197 319
 Warren, E. P.: M 12 PT 70 R 43
 Weber, H.: M 12 31 46 48 PD 2 PT 33 39 44 R 32 38 44 C 45 136 215 379
 Weber, E. F.: C 436
 White-King (Sotheby 1909): PT 69 R 71 C 142
 Whitehead (Sotheby 1898): C 161
 Woodward, W. H.: M 9 PT 36
 Wotoch (Sambon-Canessa 1901): PT 80
 Yale University: C 180 291
 Zeno, Apostolo: C 39

Hoards:
 Camarina-Scoglitti (2185): C 402 411
 Capo Soprano, Gela (2183): C 257
 Cefalù (2154): R 17 39 48 53 64 66 C 148 153 172 185 219 231 262 288 296 314 318
 319 330 334 354 387 396
 Contessa (2119): M 41 42 45 47 PT 25 32 33 34 C 14 15 18 23 25 30 35 36 43 44
 46 47
 Ciarre Riposto (2115): PT 27 34 (N. B. 27 not noted as such in catalogue, but see IGCH 2115;
 further specimens possibly from this hoard in Egger 7. 1. 1908 and Hirsch 19, 11. 11. 1907)
 Gibil Gabib (2132): R 18 Th 1 C 70 74
 Leonforte (=Nissoria, 2133): R 18 C 75
 Megara Hyblaia 1949 (2135): PT 43 50 C 91 94 106 116 124 129
 Megara Hyblaia 1966 (2180): R 53 69 C 90 126 136 176 204 205 237 255 256 279 286
 291 300 303 304 327 333 339 344 357 362 365 366 385 388 389 412
 Mineo (2184): C 391 405 410

Ognina (2120): PT 21 (?)

Pachino 1957 (2151): R 41 47 48 64 C 81 142 157 188 189 206 237 242 271 272

Palermo 1933 / «Palermo hoard 1936» (IGCH *not*): R 47 C 89 132 139 170 186 209 223
224 227 230 248

Palermo 1958 (2208): C 432 433 435 436 439 440 442 443 445 446 447 450 451

Syracuse 1927 (2191): C 148

Syracuse 1955 (2179): C 146 194

Vito Superiore (1910): PT 11 28 29 30 C 17 24 26 41 42 45 46

1971 hoard (IGCH *not*): C 289 306 331 340 342 344 349 359 378 388 396 398 412

Hoard G (IGCH *not*: SNR 1977, 12 note 26): M 47 PT 20 23 27 37 38 38a 39a 44 46 48
50 R 26 27 29 Th 3 4 C 17 57 71 74

Hoard X (IGCH *not*: SNR 1977, 24 note 68): C 139 206 271

PLATE I



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279 L



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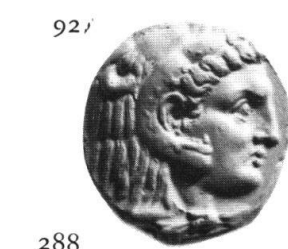
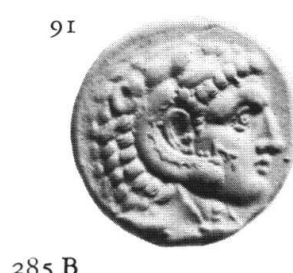


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Series 5 a

G. K. Jenkins Coins of Punic Sicily

PLATE 2



Series 5 a

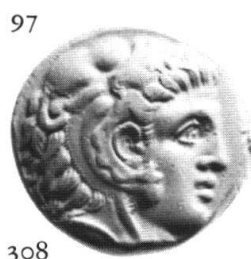
PLATE 3



Series 5 a

G. K. Jenkins Coins of Punic Sicily

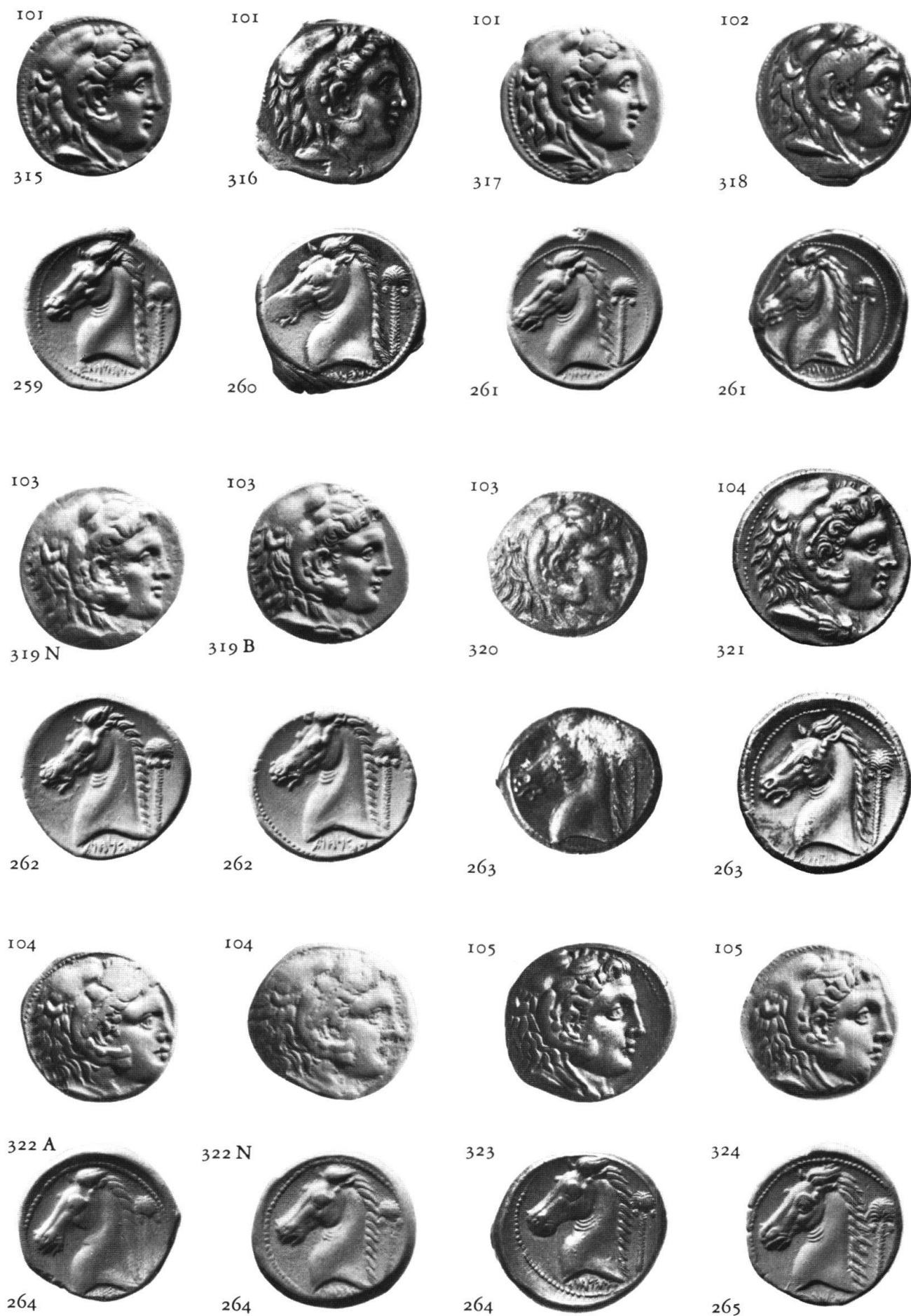
PLATE 4



Series 5 a

G. K. Jenkins Coins of Punic Sicily

PLATE 5



Series 5 a

PLATE 6

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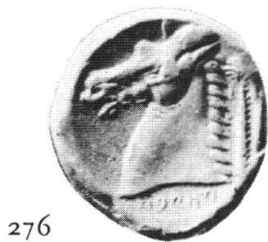
273



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Series 5 b

PLATE 7



Series 5 b

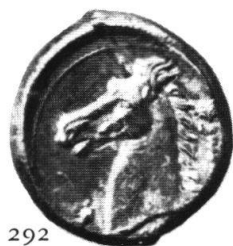
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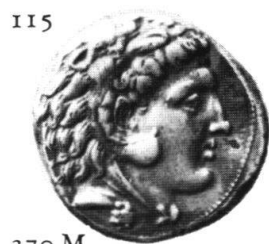
Series 5 b

G. K. Jenkins Coins of Punic Sicily

PLATE 9



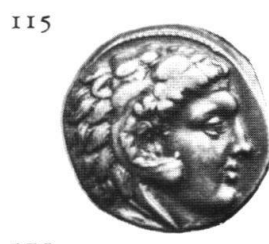
Series 5 b



370 M



370 S



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293



301



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374 P



374 B



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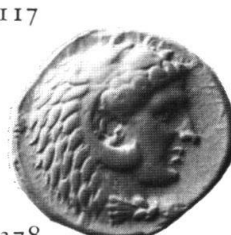
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Series 5 b

PLATE II

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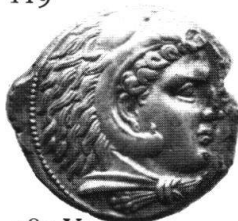


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384 Y

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384 C

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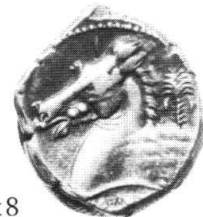
120



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Series 5 b

PLATE 12

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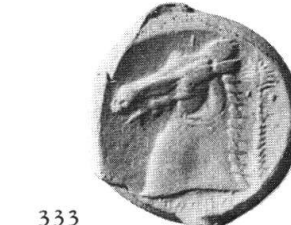
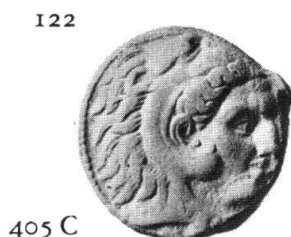
329



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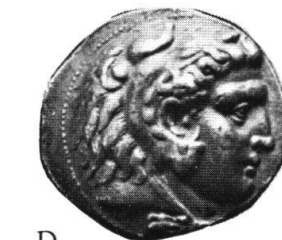
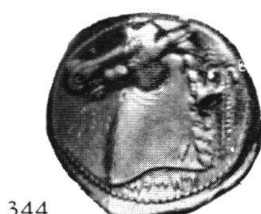
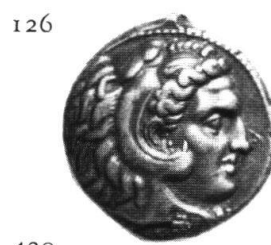
Series 5 b

PLATE 13

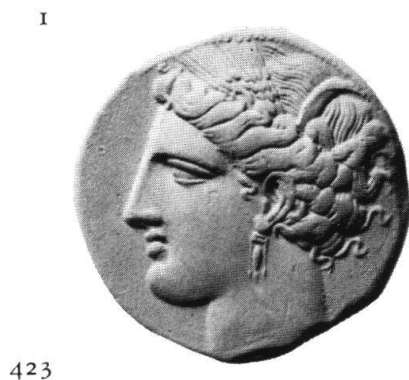


Series 5 b

PLATE 14



Series 5 b



427



Series 6

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428

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429

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430



1



2



2



A El.



B El.



C El.



D El.



E



Series 6



Series 6

2



437

2



438



7



8

2'



439

2''



440

2'''



441



6



9



10

Series 6



Series 6

4



448

4



449

4



450



17



18



19

5



451

5



452



20



21

Series 6



F 5



F 6



F 7



F 8



F 9



F 11



F 12



F 13



F 14



F 15



F 16



Falsa



270



F 16



F 17



F 18



271



F 19



272



F 20



F 21



F 22



F 23



a



Falsa



F 24



F 25



F 26



F 27



F 28



F 29



Falsa



PT 38 a



PT 39 a



PT 43 a



PT 70 a



R 11 a



R 26



Th 1 a



C 29 a



A



B



B



E



F



C



D



E

Addenda