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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 kind<sup>21</sup>. This was doubtless copied from Greek coinage such as the pegasi of Ambra-kia, Corinth and Syracuse, but is of a distinct form<sup>22</sup>. 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 century<sup>23</sup>. 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

<sup>21</sup> 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).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Cammann, ANS NNM 53, no. 47.

<sup>23</sup> 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 elsewhere<sup>24</sup>, on the lion-head coins of Leontinoi<sup>25</sup> and elsewhere, also on the lion-skin worn by Herakles at Kamarina<sup>26</sup>. 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		

<sup>24</sup> Langlotz-Hirmer, *Art of Magna Graecia* pl. 76–80.

<sup>25</sup> Kraay-Hirmer, *Greek Coins*, 16.

<sup>26</sup> Westermarck-Jenkins, *Coinage of Kamarina*, esp. pl. 12–16.

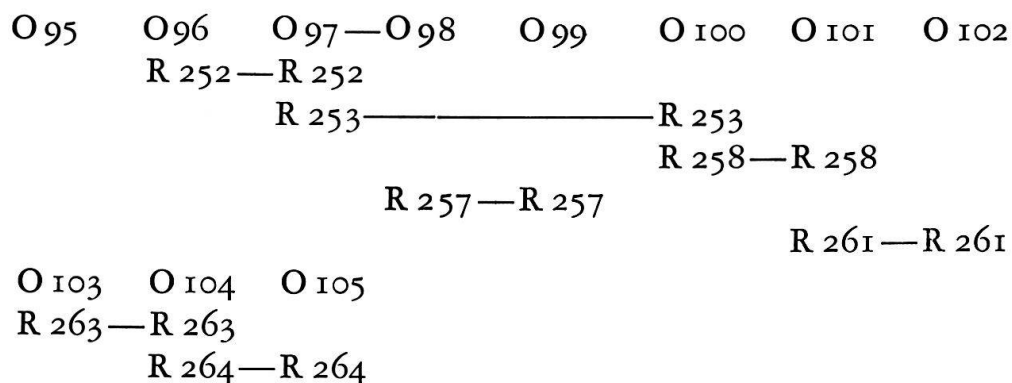


In this group the majority of the reverses are marked by symbols. The club on R 235 here makes its only appearance in series 5 a whereas it is typical of many dies in series 5 b (nos. 326–346). The club would be apt enough in connexion with Herakles-Melqart but perhaps essentially as an attribute belonging to his Greek iconography. But the predominant symbol in the present group is the corn ear<sup>27</sup>, 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.<sup>28</sup> 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

<sup>27</sup> 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.).

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

<sup>29</sup> 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 2/3<sup>30</sup>, 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 coinage<sup>31</sup>. 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

<sup>30</sup> Cf. SNR 1977, 16.

<sup>31</sup> 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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412 ገረዳህ  
 413 ነገረዳህ  
 419 ነገረዳህ  
 420 ነገረዳህ

Plate 1

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 'mmhnt.  
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 'mmhnt.  
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 'mhmhnt (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 'mhmhnt.  
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 'mhmhnt.  
— \* 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 'mhmhnt  
— \* 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 Luyes 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 Cefalù 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,  
Cefalù 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 Müller<sup>32</sup> 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

<sup>32</sup> 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) <sup>33</sup> – 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 <sup>34</sup>, but most opinion in recent times has preferred the interpretation as «in the land» <sup>35</sup>. 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 <sup>36</sup>. 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 <sup>37</sup>.

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 <sup>38</sup>. 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

<sup>33</sup> Cf. R. E. 10. 2, col. 2205 f.

<sup>34</sup> Cintas Manuel I, 172 f.

<sup>35</sup> Bisi, *Annali* 16–17, 1969–1970, 103 ff.

<sup>36</sup> G. C. Picard, *Mélanges Piganiol* III, 1966, 1257 ff.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Gsell II, 302.

<sup>38</sup> 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 abandoned<sup>39</sup>, 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.<sup>40</sup> 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

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Essays Robinson, 153.

<sup>40</sup> 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 <sup>41</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> 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.