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ANDREW BURNETT

THE ENNA HOARD AND THE SILVER COINAGE OF THE SYRACUSAN DEMOCRACY

In the Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards a brief notice appears about a hoard said to have been found near Enna in Sicily in 1966 (IGCH 2232). The exact find spot of the hoard is not known, but it is thought to have been a little north east of Enna, between Assoro and Leonforte. For convenience, however, I shall continue to refer to it as the Enna hoard.

The hoard is important for redating a number of Punic and Sicilian issues, and because it appears to create a problem for the dating of the Roman denarius. This problem is, however, more apparent than real. The hoard also throws some light on the scale of minting in Sicily during the Hannibalic War; it will be seen that the coinages of Acragas, the Sikeliotai and Syracuse are all relatively small. Today we get a false picture of their size due to the sheer number of surviving specimens, but it can be shown that there are in fact very few dies involved, and we may suppose that the coins are common today because so many hoards containing them were deposited in the War and subsequently recovered in modern times. The pattern of dies reveals that the Siculo-Punic coinages are a little, but not very much, bigger, and that all are tiny in comparison to the quantity of Roman coins entering Sicily and being minted there.

I propose to list the hoard with a fairly brief commentary on each group of coins, then discuss the problem of the date of the hoard's deposition, and finally treat more fully the coinage of the Syracusan democracy¹.

I. Catalogue of the hoard

ACRAGAS

Obv.: Laureate head of Zeus, right
Rev.: Eagle standing left; AKPAΓANTINΩN; variable symbol
1. 3.38 Ton reverse
2. Ton reverse
As 1-2, but eagle facing right
3. 3.34 A on reverse
4. A on reverse
5. 3.56 A on reverse
6. 3.36 B on reverse
7

¹ I am particularly grateful for the help and advice of Mrs. S. Hurter and P. Strauss; in addition, information has been given to me by A. Walker, C.A. Hersh, M.J. Price, H.A. Cahn, G.K. Jenkins, C. Boehringer, P. Kinns and B. Tsakirgis. I should also like to thank M. Amandry (Paris) and Mrs. N.M. Waggoner (New York) for providing casts.

² Same dies as BMC 31, Copenhagen 105.

³ Same dies as Paris (Luynes 865), Copenhagen 106.

	7.	Γ on reverse 4
7	8. 3.28	✓ on reverse ⁵
\vdash	9. 3.20	✓ on reverse ⁶
\vdash ¬	10. 3.24	E on reverse ⁷
-	11.	E on reverse
LJ	12.	E on reverse
Γ	13. 3.15	E on reverse
L L L	14.	E on reverse (obv. die in different state).

The coins in this hoard account for nearly the whole die sequence of Acragas. The only other varieties I have noted are

	Obv.	Rev.	Example
г	ΦΙ	eagle l. Т, Ф, I	BMC 84, Cahn 71, 139
L	ФI	eagle l. T, ФI, I	Cambridge SNG IV.928
	ΦΙ	eagle l. T	ANS SNG 1136
and t	he half pieces		
	_ ^	eagle 1. Punic letter H	ANS SNG 1137, Copenhagen
			SNG 108
	_	eagle r. A	BMC 85

The rarity of these issues may account for their absence from the hoard; the great bulk of the coinage, with the eagle facing right and the first five letters of the Greek alphabet as control marks, is completely represented in the hoard.

The appearance of the Punic letter on the half piece, the same Punic letter that one finds on contemporary Siculo-Punic issues (nos. 132–147, below), together with the weight standard (a half and quarter shekel: compare nos. 116–152), show that the coinage was produced during the Punic occupation of the city in 213–210. Whether the coinage continued throughout that period is uncertain: it may well have, as the head of Zeus is very close stylistically to the Jupiter head of Roman victoriates minted in Sicily⁸, presumably also at Acragas from 210.

SYRACUSE: Agathocles

Obv.: Helmeted head of Athena, right; behind, trophy (?) Rev.: Pegasus left; ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ; below, triskeles 15. 8.53

- ⁴ Same dies as Lockett SNG 720 = Weber 1215, Copenhagen 107.
- ⁵ Same dies as BMC 83, Münzhandlung Basel 4, 426, Baranowsky IV 279, Ars Classica IV 209.
- ⁶ Same dies as Pozzi 395, ANS 1135.
- ⁷ Same dies as BMC 82, Cahn 60, 178, Cambridge (McClean 2051), Oxford 1684.
- ⁸ M.H. Crawford, RRC no. 70 and page 16.

This type was minted during the reign of Agathocles, and Jenkins has suggested that the group of full weight Agathoclean pegasi belongs at the beginning of the reign (317–ca. 310 B.C).

SYRACUSE: the reign of Hieron II

Obv.: Veiled head of Philistis, left

Rev.: Nike in quadriga, right; $BA\Sigma I\Lambda I\Sigma\Sigma A\Sigma - \Phi I\Lambda I\Sigma TI\Delta O\Sigma$

		Obv.	symbol	Horses	Rev. symbol(s)
	16	13.98	•	galloping	below hooves, E
			wreath		before, A
_	18.		wreath	walking	above Φ
L	19.		wreath	walking	above Φ
	20.		wreath	walking	above Φ
LJ	21.		wreath	walking	above Φ
	22.		wreath	walking	above Φ
	23.		wreath	walking	above Φ
_	24.		wreath	walking	above Φ
		13 56	wreath	walking	above Φ
			wreath	walking	above Φ
	27.	10.00	wreath	walking	above Φ
L4		13.56	wreath	walking	above Φ
LJ			wreath	walking	above Φ
	30.	10.01	wreath (?)	walking	above, ★; before, K
LJ	31.		wreath (?)	walking	above, erased; before, K
_		13.59	none	galloping	above, crescent; before, A
L	33.		none	galloping	above, crescent; before, A
_		13.57	star	walking	above, star; before, K
E	35.		star	walking	above, star; before, K
L		1211201 22112	star	walking	above, star; before, K
г			star	walking	above, star; before, K
L	38.	13.41	star	walking	above, star; before, K
	39.		star	walking	above, star; before, K
	40.		star	walking	above, star; before, K
	41.		star	galloping	above, crescent; before, $KI\Sigma$;
				0 1 0	below, grain
_	42.		grain	galloping	above, KI; below, thunderbolt
L	43.	13.54	0	galloping	above, KI; below, grain
	44.		grain	galloping	above, crescent; before, $KI\Sigma$;
					below, grain
Г	45.	13.59	thunderbolt	galloping	below hooves, E
L	46.		thunderbolt		above, KI; below, grain
				· •	

⁹ In (eds.) C.M. Kraay and G.K. Jenkins, Essays in Greek Coinage presented to Stanley Robinson (1968), 151.

	47. 48. 49.	13.58	torch torch torch 49, but Nike i	galloping galloping galloping n a biga, left	below hooves, E below hooves, E below hooves, E
٦	50.		palm	galloping	before, E
٦	51.	4.53	palm	galloping	before, E
	53. 54. 55.	Rev.: 6.74	Nike in a biga none trophy none star	a, right; ΣΥΡ. walking walking galloping	before, K; BA above
		Obv.:	as 52-55		
		Rev.:	Eagle facing i	r.; inscription	as on 52–56
	57.	3.31	none		to r., K (BA on 1.)
	£ 0	Rev.:	Head of Arter Owl; ΣΥΡΑ		an 1 A
	38.	1.09	none		to. 1., A

The small coins like 58 probably belong to the reign of Hieron rather than the period of the democracy, since they have the same form of the ethnic as is found on the coins of Gelon (the coins of the democracy have the genitive). The control letters which occur (A, E, K and Φ) can be found on coins of Hieron's reign, but not on those of the democracy.

The arrangement of the coinage of Hieron, and its chronology, is not certain, and I am grateful to B. Tsakirgis for allowing me to incorporate the initial results of her research into it. The excellent condition of many of the coins suggests that they were minted not long before Hieron's death in 215.

SYRACUSE: Hieronymus

The coins of Hieronymus' reign (215-4 B.C.) are arranged in accordance with R. Ross Holloway *The Thirteen-months Coinage of Hieronymus of Syracuse*.

	59. 8.48	MI	Holloway 6
	60.	MI	14
Γ	61. 8.21	N/KI	40
\vdash \dashv	62. 8.27	N/KI	40
\vdash	63. 7.89	N/KI	
-7	64.	N/KI	
L	65.	N/KI	43

66.	N/KI	49
67. 4.21	KI	51
68. 8.51	Ξ A	55
69. 8.36	Ξ A	59
70. 8.48	ΔA	61

SYRACUSE: the democracy (214-212 B.C.)

 $\Sigma\Omega$

The arrangement is that proposed in section III (p. 18).

Obv.: Laureate head of Zeus, 1.

Rev.: Nike in walking quadriga, r.; $\Sigma \Upsilon PAKO\Sigma I\Omega N$

71. Aunder neck Obv.: Helmeted head of Athena, 1.

Rev.: Artemis drawing bow to 1.; behind dog; $\Sigma \Upsilon PAKO\Sigma I\Omega N$

Thunderbolt; ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ

(These two types are catalogued together, although they are of different denominations, since they share a number of obverse dies).

	Rev.			Rev. letters	3	
Г	72. Artemis			ΔA		D7
L	73. Artemis			MI		D9
Г	74. Artemis			MI		D10
\vdash ¬	75. Artemis	10.21		MI		D11
\vdash	76. Artemis			MI		D11
	77. Artemis			MI		D11
\vdash	78. Artemis			MI		D11
ᆫᆚ	79. Artemis	10.14		MI		D11
Γ	80. Artemis	10.22	\land on obv.	$\Sigma\Omega$		D13
\vdash \dashv	81. Artemis	10.21	A on obv.	$\Sigma\Omega$		D13
-	82. Thunderbolt	6.80	A on obv.	$\Sigma\Omega$		D16
\vdash	83. Thunderbolt		\boldsymbol{A} on obv.	$\Sigma\Omega$		D16
++	84. Thunderbolt		A on obv.	$\Sigma\Omega$		D16
\vdash	85. Thunderbolt		A on obv.	$\Sigma\Omega$		D16
- -J	86. Thunderbolt		A on obv.	$\Sigma\Omega$		D16
L	87. Thunderbolt	6.79	A on obv.	$\Sigma\Omega$		D17
Γ٦	88. Artemis			$\Sigma\Omega$		D18
\vdash	89. Artemis			$\Sigma\Omega$		D18
니니	90. Artemis	10.08		$\Sigma\Omega$		D18
г	91. Artemis	9.91		ΞA		D20
L	92. Artemis	10.18		ΞA		D21
Г	93. Artemis			ΞA		D24
- 7	94. Thunderbolt	6.80		ΞA		D25
+ -	95. Thunderbolt	6.76		ΞA		D25
L	96. Artemis			ΥΑ-Σ		D26

D2 (see Section III)

97. Thunderbolt 98. Thunderbolt 99. Thunderbolt 6.74 100. Thunderbolt 6.76 101. Artemis 102. Artemis 103. Artemis 104. Artemis 105. Artemis 106. Artemis 10.14 106. Artemis 10.22	ΥΑ-Σ ΥΑ-ΣΛ ΥΑ-ΣΛ ΥΑ-ΣΛ ΥΑ-ΣΛ ΥΑ-ΣΛ ΥΑ-ΣΛ ΥΑ-ΣΛ ΛΥ ΛΥ	D28 D30 D30 D31 D32 D32 D32 D35 D35 D36
Obv.: Bearded head of Heracl Rev.: Nike in galloping biga, 107. 5.08 Obv.: Laureate head of Apollo Rev.: Nike advancing 1. with 108. 3.35	r.; ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ ΞΑ	D44 IΩN D49

SIKELIOTAI (Morgantina?)

Obv.: Veiled head of Kore; behind, leaf
Rev.: Nike in quadriga, r.; ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΑΝ; above, ΕΣ

109. 6.76

110.

Obv.: Head of Kore; behind, poppy head
Rev.: Nike in biga, 1.; ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΑΝ; above, ΕΣ

111. 3.42

112.

113. 3.21

The coinage of the Sikeliotai has been attributed by E. Sjøquist to a date in the middle of the Hannibalic War and to a mint at Morgantina¹¹. The condition of the coins in the Enna hoard proves that his chronology is correct. The coinage was clearly tiny, as the pieces are all rare and struck from only a few closely interlinked dies. For the large denomination I have noted only one obverse and 3 reverse dies:

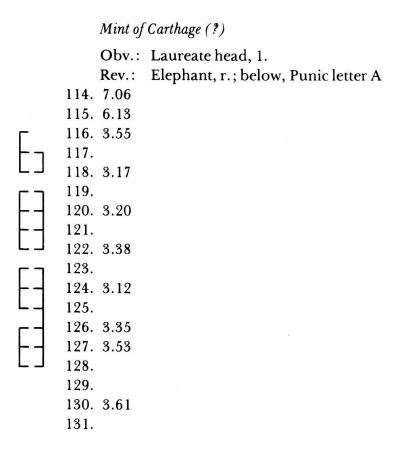
¹⁰ Overstruck on a coin of Gelon II; see below, part III.

¹¹ MN 9. (1960), 1.

Obverse	Reverse	No. of specimens	Example
ΓА	a	5	BMC 653 12
- A	b	3	Enna hoard 109 13
L_{A}	С	4	Enna hoard 110 14

All the pieces of the smaller denominations seem to come from single obverse dies 15.

CARTHAGE



This series of shekels and half shekels was tentatively assigned by E.S.G. Robinson to a date ca. 209 BC and a mint in Spain, perhaps Gades ¹⁶. The appearance of all these coins in a Sicilian hoard, together with the other

¹² Same dies: Jameson 885, Luynes 1375, BMC 564 and Oxford 2132 (retouched).

¹³ Same dies: BM ex Lloyd 1578, Lockett SNG 1030 = Ars Classica XII 1025.

¹⁴ Same dies: Berlin (W. Giesecke Sicilia Numismatica Taf. 27.7), MMAG 61, 79 and Gulbenkian 364.

¹⁵ The four litrai pieces come from one obverse and two reverse dies (a. Enna 112-114 b MMAG 61, 80). The two litrai coins all appear to be from the same dies: Munich (Giesecke 27.8), Paris (Luynes 1376) and MMAG 61, 81. There are also gold coins: see note 11 and MMAG 61, 78.

¹⁶ In (eds.) R.A.G. Carson and C.H.V. Sutherland, Essays in Roman coinage presented to Harold Mattingly (1956), pages 43 and 52-3, series 8a and 8b.

previous provenance (in Campania) led Jenkins ¹⁷ and Villaronga ¹⁸ to reattribute them to the period of the Punic expedition to Sicily (213–210 BC). There is, however, some doubt about the mint. The fixed die axis contrasts with contemporary Siculo-Punic coins (nos. 132–152), and is a feature of the mint of Carthage. The other series was probably minted at Acragas (see below), the main Punic stronghold in the island, so an attribution to Carthage seems most likely for these coins with the elephant. The coins were certainly struck for circulation in Sicily, as more unpublished hoards have come to light attesting their circulation there.

A half shekel like 117–132 has been found struck over a denarius, and has been published by Villaronga ¹⁸.

Mint of Acragas(?)

Obv.: Male head, wearing corn ears, r.

Rev.: Prancing horse, r.; below Punic letter H; all in wreath

```
132. 3.58
133.
134. 3.18
135.
136. 3.26
137.3.73
138. 3.59
139. 3.65
140. 2.94
141.3.53
142.
143. 4.31
144.
145.
146.
147.
     as 133-148, but no wreath and letters HT
148. 1.83
149. 2.02
150. 1.67
151, 1.59
152.
```

The presence of these half and quarter shekels in the hoard confirms the archaeological evidence from Morgantina 19 for an attribution to Sicily and

¹⁹ R. Ross Holloway, Atti dell' Istituto Italiano di Numismatica 7-8, 1961, 35-7.

¹⁷ SNG Copenhagen Vol. 42, nos. 382-3.

¹⁸ Gaceta Numismatica 40, Mar. 1976, 15–16, cf. T.V. Buttrey, Quaderni Ticinesi 8, 1979, 156-7, who agrees that Villaronga's coin may have come from the Enna hoard.

a date no later than 211 BC. The piece from Morgantina was struck from the same dies as no. 151.

The provenance of these coins and their variable die axis suggest a mint in Sicily. Acragas, traditionally the main Punic stronghold on the island ²⁰, is an obvious candidate, and there is a direct link with one of the Zeus/eagle coins minted at that city at this time. Both coinages show the same peculiar obverse style, particularly in the treatment of the hair. Moreover, as well as the denomination in the Enna hoard (1–14), rare half pieces are known with the same types; the two control marks known to me are A (known on the larger denomination) and, significantly, the Punic letter H, just as we find on these pieces. This directly links the two coinages, which can then be seen to comprise the same denominations (half and quarter shekels).

MACEDONIA: Antigonus Gonatas (277–239 B.C.)

153. 17.03

Obv.: Head of Pan on Macedonian shield

Rev.: Athena Alkidemos, 1.; BA Σ I Λ E Ω Σ ANTI Γ ONO Υ ; to 1., Macedo-

nian helmet; to r., HP

The type belongs to Gonatas' reign, and belongs to the group attributed to Amphipolis after 271 by R.W. Mathisen²¹. The condition of this piece would suggest a date late in the reign. For coins of Gonatas in a contemporary Sicilian hoard, see IGCH 2230.

EPIRUS: Pyrrhus

154. 16.74

Obv.: Head of Zeus, 1.; behind, fulmen

Rev.: Dione seated left; $BA\Sigma I\Lambda E\Omega\Sigma \Pi \Upsilon PPO[\Upsilon]$; below, A.

This type was minted at Locri during Pyrrhus' expedition to S. Italy in 281–75 B.C.

THRACE: Lysimachus

155. 16.91

Obv.: Diademed head of Alexander, r.

Rev.: Athena Nikephoros seated left; $BA\Sigma I\Lambda E\Omega\Sigma \Lambda \Upsilon\Sigma IMAXO$ (sic);

symbols: to 1., thunderbolt and below, fish.

²⁰ Polybius I. 17.5: τὴν τῶν ᾿Ακραγαντίνων πόλιν εὐφυεστάτην οὖσαν πρὸς τὰς παρασκευὰς καὶ βαρυτάτην ἄμα τῆς αὐτῶν ἐπαρχίας.

²¹ MN 26, 1981, 113-4.

Two other specimens are known with the same symbols, one in Paris (circulated as a Mionnet cast) and one in the Raby collection. All three have the same obverse die, and different reverse dies. The variety was attributed to Pella by Müller (M. no. 328), because of the thunderbolt ²². The British Museum, however, has a coin of the same style but with a caduceus instead of the thunderbolt, so the fish symbol should be given priority and the issue attributed to Cyzicus. The absence of the issue from the Armenak hoard ²³ suggests that the coin is posthumous, and its condition in this hoard suggests that it must be early posthumous.

AETOLIAN LEAGUE

156. 16.38

Obv.: Head of Heracles wearing lion skin, r.

Rev.: Aetolia seated right on Gallic and Macedonian arms; AIT $\Omega\Lambda\Omega N$;

to r., \mathbf{R} and ΣE^{24} .

The obverse die is one of the few known for the Aetolian tetradrachms, and occurred on at least two coins in the Corinth 1938 hoard (IGCH 187), which Noe dated to 215 B.C. ²⁵. As Noe observed, the Aetolian tetradrachms should be dated much more tightly than Head's 279–168; the condition of the coin in the Enna hoard (like that of the coins in the Corinth hoard) supports Noe's suggestion that they were minted for the Social War; de Laix ²⁶ has subsequently refined this dating to 220–218.

PERGAMUM: Attalus I

157. 16.94

Obv.: Diademed head of Philetairos, r.

Rev.: Athena seated left; ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ; symbols: grapes and A

The Philetairos coins with these symbols have been attributed to the reign of Attalus I (241–197 B.C.) by U. Westermark ²⁷, and, although she does not record this obverse die, the reverse seems to be that of her plate VII no. LXXVII. This

²² Die Münzen des Thracischen Königs Lysimachus (1859)

²³ IGCH 1423.

As A.J. Reinach, JIAN 13, 1911, 177-239: no. 14 (same obverse die), but reverse also has ΣE .

²⁵ MN 10, 1962, 9.

²⁶ California Studies in Classical Antiquity 6, 1973, 59-60.

²⁷ Das Bildnis des Philetairos von Pergamon (1961)

worn coin belongs to group IVB of her chronology, which she places at the beginning of Attalus' reign. Pergamene coins occasionally travelled to the West, even to Spain (to Martos: see Coin Hoards VII, forthcoming).

EGYPT: Ptolemy II (285–246 B.C.)

158. 14.11

Obv.: Diademed head of Ptolemy, r.

Rev.: Eagle on thunderbolt 1.; BA $\Sigma I\Lambda E\Omega\Sigma$ $\Pi TO\Lambda EMAIO\Upsilon$; to 1.,

shield and Σ ; between legs, E.

Svoronos 567, SNG Copenhagen 107. For Ptolemaic coins in contemporary Sicilian hoards, see IGCH 2217 and 2234.

ROME

Obv.: Laureate janiform head

Rev.: Jupiter and Victory in quadriga, r.; below, ROMA in incuse letters

(159-175, 177) or relief letters on raised tablet (176).

The quadrigati are all listed in accordance with the classification of 1e Gentilhomme (RN 1934,1); 159–171 were minted at Rome, 172–177 elsewhere ²⁸, probably in Sicily.

159.		1e Gentilhomme	A 1 var.
160.	6.56		A *
161.	6.54		A 4
162.			A 4
163.	6.62		A 4
164.	6.56		A 4
165.			A 7
166.			A 8
167.			A 8
168.	6.71		A 11
169.			A 13
170.	6.68		B 1
171.	6.63		B 1
172.	6.23		E 1(?)
173.	6.72		E 1
174.			E 1
175.			E 1
176.	6.89		IVB2
177.	6.78		II A 2

²⁸ Cf. A. Alföldi RM 78 (1971), 27ff.

II. The date of the hoard

The date of the hoard's deposition should be indicated by the terminal dates of the issues it contained. The Syracusan democracy was established in 214 B.C., and lasted until the fall of the city to the Romans in 212²⁹. The Enna hoard includes coins which account for virtually every issue (and even die) used, so it is hard to avoid the implication of a date of 212 for the hoard. The Punic issues can have reached Sicily no earlier than 213, the date of the Punic expedition to the island, particularly if it is correct to attribute the half and quarter shekels with a horse to Agrigentum, which was only captured by the Carthaginians in that year. The coins of Agrigentum similarly make 212 the earliest possible date for the hoard, with 211 more likely. I conclude that the hoard should probably be dated to 211.

The Roman coins in the hoard pose a problem for this date, as they were all quadrigati with the incuse form of the legend 30. So if the hoard were dated to 211, it would imply that the relief legend quadrigati are of subsequent date, and this causes obvious problems for the dating of the denarius' inception to 211. But there are good reasons for avoiding this difficulty by regarding the quadrigati as a lot of coins added to the hoard some years before its deposition. First, the hoard contained the two Punic issues which are thought to have been struck over a denarius and a victoriate³¹, so we can hardly imagine that the hoard was buried before the inception of the denarius coinage. Secondly a comparison of the quadrigati in the Enna hoard with those in the Syracuse hoard (dated by the absence of coins of the Syracusan democracy to 214 B.C.) reveals that there are no significant varieties of quadrigati represented in the Enna hoard which were not already present in the Syracuse hoard 32. Conversely some recent hoards have exactly the same non-Roman coins together with Roman coins of both the quadrigatus (incuse and relief) and denarius coinages 33. So we can be reasonably sure that the quadrigati in the Enna hoard go no later than 214. This relieves the chronological problem outlined above and enables us to date the Enna hoard to 211 while preserving an acceptable Roman chronology. The hoarder acquired no Roman coins after 214.

III. The silver coinage of the Syracusan democracy

The coins in the Enna hoard allow one to make a virtually complete reconstruction of the coinage of the Syracusan democracy of 214-212 B.C. The scheme presented here is based on the material in the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Ameri-

²⁹ For the dating of the democracy to spring 214 to autumn 212 (rather than 215–212), see F.W. Walbank, Historical Commentary on Polybius 2, 7–8.

³⁰ Except for one coin (176) with a relief legend on a raised tablet; this variety also occurred in the Syracuse hoard, which otherwise contained only incuse legend coins.

³¹ For the overstruck denarius, see Villaronga, op. cit. (n. 18); for the allegedly overstruck victoriate, see the dust jacket of P. Marchetti, Histoire économique et monétaire de la deuxième guerre punique; I confess that I cannot make out a victoriate as an undertype.

³² M. Crawford, Roman Republican Coin Hoards (1969), 62.

³³ G. Manganaro, in Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Numismatics (1982), 261; another similar, though larger, hoard has recently been found, also at Morgantina.

can Numismatic Society, the various major published collections (Copenhagen, Munich, Cambridge, Oxford and Glasgow) and sale catalogues. The record of dies seems almost complete, although no doubt more material might turn up some more varieties or die combinations, particularly of the smaller denominations. In this listing I ignore the small gold coins with the same types as the 12 litrai coins, as these were rightly condemned by Imhoof³⁴.

The coinage was struck in denominations of 16, 12, 10, 8, 6, 4 and 2½ litrai, using a litra of average weight 0.84 g 35. The great majority of the coins were struck in the 12 and 8 litrai denomination, particularly the former. The following «magistrates» or names 36 have been recorded so far 37, and they coined the following denominations (the numbers represent specimens noted by me):

		AV	16	12	10	8	6	4	2½ litrai
	ΔΑ ΜΙ Α/ΣΩ ΣΩ Ο/ΙΑ	1	5	9 19 15 11		22	2 1 1		
	ΥΑ-Σ ΥΑ-Σ-Λ		1	12 4 8 14		16 18 19	7 1		
	ΦΙ-ΔΙ ΛΥ ΧΑΡ		v	1 9 9	2	13	2	4	1
		1	12	99	2	68	14	4	1

³⁴ Corolla Numismatica, (1906) 160-1; NZ 1915, 100-1. His view was not accepted by E. Seltman, NZ 1912, 157, or W. Giesecke, Sicilia Numismatica (1923), 142-3, but I think Imhoof was right on grounds of type, style, epigraphy, and also weight; the seven specimens known to me average 2.67 g, which ist not a multiple of a litra of 0.84 g, and even Giesecke had to call it (implausibly) a 2.4 nummus coin.

35 I use the traditional weight unit of a litra, although Giesecke argued for the use of a nummus, equal to the Roman scruple of 1.1 g. The problem then is the 10 litra coins. The two specimens I know weigh 8.45 and 8.47 g, perfect fits for a system based on a litra of 0.84, but not expressible in nummi of 1.1 g. Giesecke was therefore forced to call them Attic didrachms, but this seems special pleading. There is no other evidence for the Attic standard at Syracuse (the «Attic gold drachm» is more easily a gold five litra piece). For an implicit demolition of Giesecke's interpretation of the Hieronymus coinage in terms of Attic drachmae, see Holloway 22-4. terms of Attic drachmae, see Holloway 22-4.

³⁶ There is usually only one name on a coin, but sometimes more, e.g. $A\Gamma$ and $\Sigma\Omega$ appear on different sides of the same coins, as do O and $\pm A$. There appears to be a division between ΦI and ΔI , and $\Phi \iota \delta \iota \ldots$ seems an unlikely name. Similarly there seems to be a division between YA, Σ and (when it occurs) A, suggesting the occurrence of three names. One name, MI, had previously occurred on the coinages of Hiero and Hieronymus, and three others, ΔA , $\Sigma \Omega$ and ΞA , on the coinage of Hieronymus. As was the case under Hieronymus, there is almost no die-linking between different names (I have found only three cases: ΔA and MI, IA and YA-Σ and YA-Σ and ΦI - ΔI). Consequently it seems most likely, as Holloway concluded, that the names represent people to whom the actual striking of coins was contracted out.

³⁷ Giesecke adds a) AP, which I believe he took from Hirsch 16, 324 where the initial X of XAP is off the flan; and b) ΣA which he cites from Hirsch 30: the piece (no. 432) is unillustrated and I

suspect a cataloguing mistake.

CATALOGUE 38

Gold

1. Obv.: Female head, facing left, wearing diadem; behind, A

Rev.: Nike in walking quadriga, to right; below, $\Sigma \Upsilon PAKO\Sigma I\Omega N$; above, $\Sigma \Omega$ a. 4.25 g Paris (de Luynes 1390)

Silver 16 litrai

Obv.: Laureate head of Zeus, to right.

Rev.: Nike (sometimes holding whip) in quadriga, to right; $\Sigma \Upsilon PAKO\Sigma I\Omega N$;

- 2. \triangle under head on obverse, $\Sigma\Omega$ above quadriga (horses walking, no whip)
 - a. 13.54 Hess Leu 31, 164
 - b. 13.57 Enna hoard 71
 - c. 13.21 Weber = Jameson 890 (\ll 12.96 \gg)
 - d. 13.53 Hirsch 14, 247 = Cambridge (McClean 2960)
 - e. 12.55 Paris 2040
- 3. I A. below horses (galloping; Nike holds whip)
 - a. 13.57 Ars Classica VI, 560 = Gulbenkian 358 = Hirsch 32, 397
- 4. $\Upsilon A-\Sigma-\Lambda$ in exergue and below horses (galloping; Nike holds whip)
 - a. 13.48 Hirsch 14, 246 = Jameson 889
 - b. 12.05 (Very worn) Cambridge (McClean 2959)
 - c. 13.49 Boston 483
 - d. 13.63 London BMC 650
 - e. 13.31 Berlin (Giesecke, Sicilia Numismatica 26.8)
 - f. 13.64 Munich SNG 1435

12 and 8 litrai

These denominations are listed together as they share a number of obverse dies.

Obv.: Helmeted head of Athena, facing left. The helmet may be decorated with a griffin (dies 1, 7 and 10) or a coiled snake (dies 2, 3, 8 and 14). A snake, representing the aegis, may sometimes be seen in front of the neck (dies 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13).

Rev.: (12 litrai) Artemis standing left in front of a hound, and firing a bow; ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ

(8 litrai) Winged thunderbolt; above, $\Sigma \Upsilon PAKO\Sigma I\Omega N$

Apart from the gold pieces discussed in n. 34, I have encountered only three forgeries (apart from a plated piece in the ANS). They are both 8 litra pieces: a) with ΞA in Hamburger 96, 68 = Hamburger 11.6.1930, 651 6.08 g; and b) with $YA-\Sigma-\Lambda$ Schulman 21.x.1912 no. 30, and another piece from the same dies in the BM forgery trays.

Summary of die-linkage

5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37.	Obv. 1 1 2 2 3 4 5 5 5 6 7 8 8 8 9 9 10 11 10 10 11 11 13 14 14		Artemis a. ΔA b. ΔA b. ΔA c. ΔA d. MI e. MI f. MI g. MI h. $\Sigma \Omega$ i. $\Sigma \Omega$ j. $\Sigma \Omega$ k. $\Sigma \Omega$ l. $\Sigma \Omega$ m. ΞA n. ΞA n. ΞA q. ΞA r. $\Upsilon A - \Sigma$ r. $\Upsilon A - \Sigma$ s. $\Upsilon A - \Sigma - \Lambda$ t. $\Upsilon A - \Sigma - \Lambda$ t. $\Delta A - \Sigma - \Lambda$		 Thunderbolt A. ΣΩ B. ΣΩ C. IA D. ΥΑ-Σ D. ΥΑ-Σ E. ΥΑ-Σ-Λ F. ΥΑ-Σ-Λ
31.					
5. 6.	Obverse 1 (griffin) 1	Artemis a. ΔA b. ΔA	Thunderbolt	10.13 10.12	Hirsch 20, 202 London (Lloyd 1568) Jameson 891
7.	2 (snake)	b. ΔA		9.84	Carfrae 11 Enna hoard 72 Schulman 26.11.1913, 2074
Q	9	$\sim \Lambda \Lambda$		10 94	London

10.24 London

8. 2 c. ΔA

									Copenhagen 876
		100					10.5	21	Munich 1432
9.	2		ΜI						Enna hoard 73
10.	3 (snake)	e.	ΜI						Enna hoard 74
							10.	14	Ars Classica V 1247
							10.	12	Cambridge SNG 1435
11.	3	f.	ΜI				10.5	21	Enna hoard 75
									Enna hoard 76
									Enna hoard 77
									Enna hoard 78
							10.	14	Enna hoard 79
									Copenhagen 877
									London
									Ars Classica XII 1033
									Hirsch 21, 743
							10.	14	Ward 347
									de Molthein 593
							10.	16	Auctiones AG, Basel 6,76
12.	4 (aegis)	g.	ΜI				10.	12	Paris 2043
							10.5	25	Paris (Luynes 1392)
									Hall 60
13.	5 (aegis, A)	h.	$\Sigma\Omega$						Enna hoard 80
									Enna hoard 81
									Glasgow 8
									Pozzi 663
									Hirsch 20, 201
									Delbeke 71
							10.5	20	Ciani 20.11.1935, 84
									Hess 16.4.1957, 129
									Munich 1433
							10.0)7	Paris 2046
		70,00							London BMC 651
14.	5	i.	$\Sigma\Omega$				9.8	32	Hirsch 26, 462
		90							Glendining 1918, 74
15.	5	j.	$\Sigma\Omega$						Ars Classica XII 1031
									Paris 2045
16.	5			A.	Σ	Ω	6.3	30	Enna hoard 82
									Enna hoard 83
									Enna hoard 84
									Enna hoard 85
									Enna hoard 86
									Bourgey 15.10.1909, 79
									Ars Classica V 1250
									Carfrae 12
							6.	75	Hirsch 26, 463
									De Nicola (Dec 1950), 145

				6.77	Cambridge 1438
					Cahn 80, 111
		8			London BMC 655
				6.79	Cambridge SNG 1439
					Oxford 2124
				5.88	ANS
				6.79	Paris 2052
17.	5		B. $\Sigma\Omega$	6.79	Enna hoard 87
				6.77	Weber 1721
				6.80	Paris (Luynes 1393)
				6.80	Ars Classica IV 421
				6.50	Auctiones AG, Basel 11, 71
18.	6 (plain)	k. $\Sigma\Omega$			Enna hoard 88
					Enna hoard 89
				10.08	Enna hoard 90
				10.09	London (Lloyd 1567)
					Egger 10.12.1906, 244
					Egger 26.11.1909, 290
				9.88	Paris 2047
19/05 \$244	2000 W 20	10			Auctiones AG, Basel 5,54
19.	7 (griffin)	1. $\Sigma\Omega$		9.87	Lockett SNG 1022
					Egger 40, 448
					Copenhagen 879
20.	8 (snake, o)	m. I A			Enna hoard 91
			8	10.14	London
		904 N			Aréthuse (Suppl. I, 1924) 244
21.	8	n. I A			Enna hoard 92
					Hamburger 1929, 160
	_	_		10.16	Cambridge (Mc Clean 2957)
22.	8	o. IA			Sambon & Canessa 1907, 442
					Egger 39, 115
					Hirsch 15, 1281
0.0					Paris 2049
23.	8	p. I A			Copenhagen 878
0.4	0 (9.42	Paris (Delepierre 713)
24.	9 (aegis)	q. I A			Enna hoard 93
					Pozzi 664
					ANS
0.5	0		O T A		Cambridge 1436
25.	9		C. I A		Enna hoard 94
					Enna hoard 95
					Ars Classica X 346
					Ciani 20.11.1935, 85
					London (Lloyd 1569)
				0.72	London Münzhandlung Rasel 10, 145
					Münzhandlung Basel 10, 145

						Rollin 1910, 225
					6.80	Hamburger 11.1909, 352
						Hirsch 32, 402
						Jameson 893
						Oxford SNG 2122
						London BMC 654
						Berlin
						ANS
	_	20.4 15			6.79	Paris 2053
26 .	9	r. $\Upsilon A-\Sigma$				Enna hoard 96
					10.23	Cambridge (Mc Clean 2956)
						Merzbacher 2.11.1909, 2650
					10.10	ANS
27.	10 (griffin,					
	aegis)	r. $\Upsilon A-\Sigma$			10.10	Hirsch 14, 249
					10.08	Hirsch 32, 399
						Sambon & Canessa 1907, 443
					10.25	Helbing 31.1.1930, 156
28.	10		D.	ΥΑ-Σ	6.81	Enna hoard 97
					6.58	Stockholm 626
					6.29	Ars Classica V 1251
					6.79	Lockett SNG 1023
					6.78	Cambridge SNG 1437
						London BMC 656
					6.70	Hirsch 32, 403
						Egger 26.11.1909, 291
						Egger 46, 94
					6.82	Headlam 176
						Ars Classica V 1252
					0.40	Hess 27.10.1932, 705
					6.76	Paris 2056
						Copenhagen 880
						ANS
						Munich 1437
29.	11 (2egis)		D	ΥΑ-Σ	0.61	Vienna
30.	11 (aegis)		E.			Enna hoard 98
30.	10		E.	1 A-Z-A	671	Enna hoard 99
						Cambridge (McClean 2958)
						London
						Hirsch 18, 9
					6.75	Hirsch 31, 234
					c = -	Hirsch 8, 1047
						Locker Lampson 112
					6.52	Hirsch 34, 250
					Next Supplement	Martinetti 1907, 783
					6.81	Paris 2054

			cac call 1' are
			6.76 Gulbenkian 359
			6.75 Munich 1436
			6.77 MMAG 61, 72
			6.82 MMAG 52, 100
31.	10	F. $\Upsilon A-\Sigma$	
			6.73 Hirsch 14, 251
			6.38 Ars Classica XII 1035
			6.72 London BMC 657
32.	10	s. $\Upsilon A - \Sigma - \Lambda$	Enna hoard 101
			Enna hoard 102
			Enna hoard 103
			10.16 Cambridge (Corpus Christi)
			SNG 412
			10.22 Ars Classica VI 562
			10.22 Jameson 892
			9.82 Merzbacher 15.11.1910, 282
			10.15 Sandeman 76
			10.06 Schulman 31.5.1938, 106
			10.10 MMAG 61, 71
33.	12 (aegis)	t. $\Upsilon A - \Sigma - \Lambda$	10.16 London BMC 652
			Sambon & Canessa 1922, 261
			9.80 Hirsch 32, 398
			10.20 Berlin
34.	11	u. $\Phi I - \Delta I$	Sambon & Canessa 1907, 444
			= Bourgey 7.6.1909, 172
35.	13 (aegis)	v . $\Lambda \Upsilon$	Enna hoard 104
			10.14 Enna hoard 105
			9.72 Ars Classica V 1248
			Egger 40, 447
			Collignon 124
			10.20 Hirsch 14, 250
			10.08 A. Hess (Frankfurt) 194, 163
			Glendining Apr. 1955, 225
			10.18 Munich 1434
36.	14 (snake)	w. XAP	10.22 Enna hoard 106
			10.17 Weber 1720
			10.25 Hirsch 16, 324
			10.15 London BMC 653
			10.02 Hamburger 98, 446
			10.18 Ars Classica X 345
			10.21 Paris 2050
37.	14	x. XAP	9.85 Benson 397
			10.04 ANS
			HARLINGS 150500 3050 - 8000-1014000 (MUSICA)

10 litrai

Obv.: Head of Kore, facing left; behind, torch

38.	Rev.: Zeus standing with sceptre; to left, eagle; to right, $\Sigma \Upsilon PAKO\Sigma I\Omega N$ XAP								
		- a London BMC 661 8 47							
	8 litrai								
	See ab	ove under 12 litrai							
		6 litrai							
		Head of Heracles wearing lion skin, facing left Nike, holding whip, in galloping biga, to right; $\Sigma \Upsilon PAKO\Sigma I\Omega N$							
39.	MI un	ider horses							
40	7	a. 4.85 Hirsch 14, 254 same reverse die)							
10.		a. 4.53 Ars Classica XVII 301 = Hess Leu 1, 76 = Leu 15, 137							
41.	1. $oldsymbol{arsigma}$ on obverse, $oldsymbol{\Sigma}\Omega$ below horses								
49	ΣO. i	a. 4.75 Cambridge (McClean 2961) n exergue, below ethnic							
		a. 5.02 Jameson 896 ex Hirsch 14, 253							
43.	I A in	exergue							
44	T As 43	a. 5.08 Paris 204 but X A below horses (same obverse die)							
	a. 5.08 Enna hoard 107								
	- b. 5.09 London BMC 659								
	c. 4.81 Ars Classica VI 564 = Hirsch 32, 404 = Lloyd 1570 d. 4.93 Munich 1438								
45.	As 44,	but different dies							
	a. 5.11 Weber 1722 = Ars Classica XV 898								
46.	L J b. 5.07 Gulbenkian 361 46. ΥΑΣunder horses								
	a. 4.97 Hess Leu 31, 165 = Auctiones AG, Basel 3, 133								
47.	47. XAP under horses								
		a. 5.11 Copenhagen 881 b. 5.04 MMAG 61, 74							
		4 litrai							
	Obv.:	Head of Apollo, facing left							
	Rev.: Nike advancing left, holding palm and trophy; $\Sigma \Upsilon PAKO\Sigma I\Omega N$								
48.	XAP t	o right a. 3.84 Morgantina hoard 28							
49.	As 48,	but different dies							
	Г٦	a. 3.35 Enna hoard 108							
		b. 3.36 London BMC 660 c. 3.22 Leu 18, 87							

2½ litrai

Obv.: As 49 (same die)

Rev.: Aesculapius standing right, holding staff with snake; ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ

50. XAP to right

a. 2.20 MMAG 61, 75.

Some other coins are also attributed to the period of the democracy, but the attribution does not seem certain as they stand apart from the other issues. They have different types and magistrates' names, and use symbols on the obverse (this is not a feature of the other Syracusan democracy coins). There is clearly no room for them before the coinage of the democracy, so they should be regarded either as coming at the very end of the Roman siege or even after the fall of Syracuse to the Romans.

Obv.: Head of Kore, facing left; behind, variable symbol

Rev.: Nike in quadriga; ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ

- 51. Bee on obverse; Nike holds wreath in quadriga which walks to left; in front, AP; above, $\Sigma\Upsilon$ and \angle PI
 - a. 6.78 Gulbenkian 360 ex Jameson 895
- 52. Owl on obverse; Nike holds whip in quadriga galloping right; above, \mathcal{A} ; below, AI; on double exergual line, $\Lambda\Upsilon$

a. 6.99 London BMC 658

b. 5.95 Jameson 894 ex O'Hagan 257

53. As 52, but different reverse die

a. 5.97 Paris Luynes 1395

b. 6.76 MMAG 61, 73

54. Obv.: Same die as 52-53.

Rev.: Winged thunderbolt; $\Sigma \Upsilon PAKO\Sigma I\Omega N$; below, \nearrow and \nearrow

a. 6.55 Paris Luynes 1396

Note on the illustrations

The illustrations fall into two groups. Plates 1–7 show coins from the hoard, except those of the Syracusan democracy. A specimen of every die is illustrated, together with its catalogue number from section I. Plates 8–10 illustrate the coinage of the Syracusan democracy, as listed in section III, and, wherever possible, I have used specimens from the Enna hoard. Thus, for example, the number D 2 (71) means that coin no. 71 of the Enna hoard illustrates no. 2 of the listing of the democracy coins. For the sake of clarity I attach a list of the sources for the illustrations on plates 8–10.

Plate 8

D 1 Paris Luynes 1390 D 4 Jameson 889
D 2 Enna 71 D 5 Hirsch 20, 202
D 3 Ars Classica VI 560 D 6 Jameson 891

D 7	Enna 72	D 12	Hall 60
D 8	BM (1896-7-3-39)	D 13	Enna 80
D 9	Enna 73	D 14	Hirsch 26, 462
D 10	Enna 74	D 15	Ars Classica XII 1031
D 11	Enna 75	D 16	Enna 82
Plate !	9		
D 17	Enna 87	D 26	Enna 96
D 17	Enna 88		
		D 27	Hirsch 32, 399
D 19	Lockett 1022	D 28	Enna 97
	Enna 91	D 29	Vienna
D 21	Enna 92	D 30	Enna 98
D 22	Egger 39, 115	D 31	Enna 100
D 23	Copenhagen 878	D 32	Enna 102
D 24	Enna 93	D 33	Hirsch 32, 398
D 25	Enna 95		
Plate	10		
D 34	Sambon-Canessa 19.12.1907, 444	D 45	Ars Classica VI 564
D 35	Enna 105	D 46	Hess-Leu 31, 165
D 36	Enna 106	D 47	MMAG 61, 74
D 37	ANS	D 48	Morgantina hoard 28
D 38	BMC 661	D 49	Enna 108
D 39	Hirsch 14, 254	D 50	MMAG 61, 75
D 40	Ars Classica XVII 301	D 51	Jameson 895
D 41	McClean 2961	D 52	BMC 658
D 42	Jameson 896	D 53	MMAG 61, 73
D 43	Paris 2041	D 54	Paris Luynes 1396
D 43	Enna 107	D 34	Taris Luyiles 1530
D 44	EIIIIa IUI		



A. Burnett, The Enna hoard and the silver coinage of the Syracusan democracy



A. Burnett, The Enna hoard and the silver coinage of the Syracusan democracy



A. Burnett, The Enna hoard and the silver coinage of the Syracusan democracy



A. Burnett, The Enna hoard and the silver coinage of the Syracusan democracy



A. Burnett, The Enna hoard and the silver coinage of the Syracusan democracy

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A. Burnett, The Enna hoard and the silver coinage of the Syracusan democracy



A. Burnett, The Enna hoard and the silver coinage of the Syracusan democracy



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A. Burnett, The Enna hoard and the silver coinage of the Syracusan democracy

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A. Burnett, The Enna hoard and the silver coinage of the Syracusan democracy