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PAOLO VISONÀ

GREEK-ILLYRIAN COINS IN TRADE, 1904–2005*

PLATES 4–5

Unlike the coinages of Apollonia, Dyrrhachium, and Damastium in southern Illyria, which were produced in massive quantity and have survived in considerable number, those of the Greek colonies of Herakleia, Issa, and Pharos in northern Illyria were relatively small and are exceedingly scarce today. Both Herakleia and Pharos probably began minting before c. 350 BC, whereas Issa did not have a coinage until the late 4th century.¹ Generally described as Greek-Illyrian because of their origin and distinctive style, these coins circulated mainly in Dalmatia,² although a few bronzes of Issa and Pharos have been found as far afield as Romania and Hungary.³ Only the coins of Ballaios, an obscure Illyrian king whose rule may have extended from Rhizon (Risan) to the island of Pharos (present-day Hvar) in

* I wish to thank Silvia Hurter for her many helpful comments throughout the writing and editing of this essay. I also gladly acknowledge the friendly assistance of Maja Bonačić Mandinić, Francis D. Campbell, Julijan Dobrinić, Wolfgang Fischer-Bossert, Ivan Mirnik, and Dubravka Ujes, to all of whom I am indebted for critical data.

¹ The classic study of these coinages is by J. BRUNŠMID, *Die Inschriften und Münzen der griechischen Städte Dalmatiens*, Abhandl. des Archäologisch-Epigraphischen Seminars der Universität Wien XIII (Wien 1898), pp. 35-86. See also G. GORINI, *Comunità greche di Dalmazia. Le emissioni monetali*, *Hesperia* 17, 2003, pp. 41-54; P. VISONÀ, *Colonization and Money Supply at Issa in the 4th Century BC*, *Chiron* 25, 1995, pp. 55-62 (misconstrued by Gorini); VISONÀ 1996; VISONÀ 2005a; Visonà 2005b.

² See C. PATSCH, *Historische Wanderungen im Karst und an der Adria I. Teil, Die Herzegovina einst und jetzt* (Wien 1922), p. 82; G. GORINI, *La circolazione in ambiente adriatico*, in: *La monetazione dell'età dionigiana. Atti dell'VIII convegno del Centro Internazionale di Studi Numismatici – Napoli 1983* (Napoli 1993), pp. 277-312; D. UJES, *Nuovi ritrovamenti numismatici di Risan (Bocche di Cattaro, Montenegro, Jugoslavia)*, in: T. HACKENS *et al.* (eds.), *Proceedings of the XIth International Numismatic Congress*, vol. I (Louvain-la-Neuve 1993), pp. 139-145 (with previous bibliography); P. VISONÀ, *Ponovo o ΔΙ prekovima*, *Numizmatičke vijesti* 24 no. 35, 1981, pp. 3-8; VISONÀ 1982, p. 147; VISONÀ 1996, pp. 149-150; BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ 2000, pp. 257-263; BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ-VISONÀ 2002, pp. 319-329. Some late bronze coins of Pharos found at Risan are in the Herceg Novi Museum (information by D. Ujes, *per litteras*).

³ IGCH 561 and 668; P. POPOVIĆ, *Le monnayage des Scordisques* (Beograd/Novi Sad 1987), p. 91, n. 11; UJES 1994, p. 5; D. UJES and L. BAKIĆ, *Grčki i Helenistički novac iz Narodnog museja u Vršcu i pregled srodnih nalaza u jugoslovenskim delu južnog Banata*, *Numizmatičar* 18-19 (1996) pp. 19-30; B. KIRIGIN, *Faros, Parska naseobina. Prilog proučavanju civilizacije u Dalmaciji*, *VAHD* 96, 2003 [2004], p. 141. D. UJES has kindly informed me that a pot hoard from Majdan (Vršac, environs), in southern Banat, included 3 bronzes of Ballaios and 1 of Issa similar to BRUNŠMID (*supra*, n.1), p. 68, no. 36.

the late 3rd century BC, were struck in large numbers and travelled widely outside the central Adriatic area.⁴

Not surprisingly, examples of these issues are rarely found in the coin trade.⁵ A systematic culling of illustrated sale catalogues from 1904 to 2005 has yielded only 61 unprovenanced specimens of Herakleia, Issa, Pharos, Ballaios, and of an unidentified Greek-Illyrian mint.⁶ The civic coinage of Issa, in particular, is represented by a single coin. It is also noteworthy that over 50% of all the issues of Ballaios known from sale catalogues have been in the coin trade since 1991, possibly as a consequence of recent events in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

All specimens are listed here chronologically by mint or minting authority in the order in which they have been offered for sale.⁷

⁴ For this coinage see D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, Uz jedan prijedlog za novu kronologiju Balejevih emisija, *Numizmatičke vijesti* 28 no. 39, 1985, pp. 3-7; G. GORINI, Nuova documentazione su Ballaios, in P. CABANES (ed.), *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'Antiquité, Actes du III^e colloque international de Chantilly, Oct. 1996* (Château-Gontier 1999), pp. 99-105 (with previous bibliography); *Id.* (*supra*, no. 1), pp. 51-53; UJES (*supra* n. 2), pp. 141-145; *Ead.*, Greek Hoards from the Western Balkans, *NC* 161, 2001, p. 341; *Ead.* 2004 (with previous bibliography); P. VISONÀ, J.M.F. May's Contributions to the Study of Greek-Illyrian Coinage, in: *Zbornik radova 2. međunarodnog numizmatičkog kongresa u Hrvatskoj, 15.-17. listopada 1998, Opatija – Hrvatska* (Opatija 2000), pp. 60-63; KIRIGIN (*supra*, n. 3), pp. 147-148. See also K. PREKA, in: *Archaiologicon Deltion* 52, 1997 [2004], p. 606 (silver hoard from Corfu including coins of Ballaios).

⁵ I am deeply grateful to the American Numismatic Society (New York), the American Numismatic Association (Colorado Springs), and the Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge) for allowing me to consult their archival repositories of sale catalogues.

⁶ A group of 22 silver coins in Vienna from Risan, representing at least three denominations, was attributed to different mints in the *sinus Rhizonicus* and dated between 186-168 B.C. by Pink 1940, pp. 532-533 f.; P. Kos, *Leksikon antičke numizmatike* (Zagreb 1998), pp. 319-320. Although Pink did not describe these issues as belonging to a hoard, I. Mirnik has treated them as a portion of a larger assemblage found c. 1888 (including 437 AR and 1 AE), most of which was dispersed: see I.A. MIRNIK, *Coin Hoards in Yugoslavia* [BAR Int. Ser. 95] (Oxford 1981), no. 39; see also MIRNIK 1976, p. 184. Pink's attribution has been rejected by D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, *Kovnica antičkog Risna (Rhizon) i njene emisije*, in *Kovanje i kovnice antičkog i srednjovekovnog novca* (Beograd 1976), pp. 35-46, reprinted in *Id.*, *Iliri i antički svijet* (Split 1989), pp. 321-331; espec. pp. 322-323, 326-329. According to RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, these coins were minted in southern Illyria. An example of the largest denomination in Osijek's Muzej Slavonije has been attributed to Corcyra (or, alternatively, to one of Corcyra's colonies in southern Illyria) by GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 2004, p. 39, no. 16. UJES 2004, p. 149, n. 4 assigns this coinage to Rhizon.

⁷ For Greek-Illyrian specimens in catalogues without photographs, see p. 41. For a map showing the location of Greek-Illyrian mint cities see D. UJES, *Rhizon (Montenegrin Coast), a trading and staple town on the Crossroads of Mediterranean and Inland Balkan Routes. Late Classical and Hellenistic Pottery Evidence*, *NACQT* 28, 1999, p. 215.

Herakleia

The site of the ancient city of Herakleia has not been located. Herakleia's bronze coinage ceased to be minted in the last quarter of the 4th century BC, when it was extensively overstruck.⁸

before 350 BC

- H 1 *Obv.* Head of Herakles r.; line border.
Rev. ΗΡΑΚΛΑΕ (retrograde) below club and strung bow; line border.⁹
 Æ 23.5 mm; 17.29 g. (*Pl. 4, 1*)
 J.N. SVORONOS, *JIAN* 13, 1911, p. 284, 575; pl. 11, 13 (E.N. Mavrogordato coll.).
 New York, ANS (= VISONÀ 1982, p. 149, n. 13; pl. 24, 5). Published by permission of the American Numismatic Society.
 Cf. BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ 1988, p. 72, group I, nos.1-2; GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 2004, nos. 333-334.

c. 350-320 BC

- H 2 *Obv.* Similar to the preceding.
Rev. ΗΡΑ below strung bow and club.
 Æ 24 mm; 17.97 g. (*Pl. 4, 2*)
 Egger 40, May 1912 (Prowe), 837.
 Cf. BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ 1988, pp. 73-74, group IVa, no. 28; GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 2004, no. 359.
- H 3 *Obv.* Similar to the preceding.
Rev. ΗΡΑΚ Similar to the preceding; line border.
 Æ; no weight. (*Pl. 4, 3*)
 Kricheldorf 31, Jan./Feb. 1977, 83.
 Cf. BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ 1988, p. 72, group IIa, no. 3; GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 2004, nos. 337-338, 340, 344-345, 347, 350-351, 353-357, 362-363.
- H 4 *Obv.* Similar to the preceding.
Rev. ΗΡΑΚΑ below strung bow, pellet, and club; line border.
 Æ 23 mm; 14.43 g.
 Schweiz. Kreditanstalt 2, April 1984, 151.
 Cf. BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ 1988, p. 74, group Vb, no. 38.

⁸ B. KIRIGIN, The Greeks in Central Dalmatia, in: L. BRACCESI/S. GRACIOTTI (eds.), *La Dalmazia e l'altra sponda. Problemi di archaeologia adriatica* (Firenze 1999), pp. 148-150; see also *Id.* (*supra*, n. 3), pp. 89-91. M. LOMBARDO, I Greci a Kerkyra Melaina (*Syll.*³ 141), pratiche coloniali e ruolo degli indigeni, in: N. CAMBI *et al.* (eds.), *Grčki utjecaj na istočnoj obali Jadrana* (Split 2002), pp. 133-135; BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ 1988; BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ – VISONÀ 2002, pp. 325-327; GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 2004, pp. 109-117; GORINI (*supra*, n. 1), pp. 44-46; VISONÀ 1981, p. 7; VISONÀ 2005a.

⁹ A similar specimen «nel Museo di Napoli» was attributed to Luceria by R. GARRUCCI, *Le monete dell'Italia antica. Parte seconda. Monete coniate* (Roma 1885), p. 110, no. 25 and Pl. XCII, no. 25.

- H 5 *Obv.* Similar to the preceding.
Rev. ΗΡΑΚΛ below strung bow, large central pellet, and club; line border.
 Æ 24 mm; 19.44 g. (*Pl. 4, 4*)
 Sotheby's Zurich, Oct. 1984 (Brand Part 7), 302 ex Weber coll. 2980 = MM 76, June 1991 (Laffaille), 333.
 Cf. MIRNIK 1976, p. 177, no. 12; BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ 1988, p. 73, group IIIb, no. 21; GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 2004, nos. 335-336, 341-342.
- H 6 *Obv.* Similar to the preceding.
Rev. ΗΡΑΚΛ below strung bow and club; line border.
 Æ 23 mm; 16 g.
 Varesi 13, May 1991, 23.
 Cf. BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ 1988, p. 72, group IIb, no. 10; GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 2004, nos. 346, 352.
- H 7 Similar to the preceding.
 Æ 24 mm; 18.7 g.
 Asta del Titano 63, Nov. 1995, 12 (attributed to Luceria).
 Cf. BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ 1988, p. 74, group Va, no. 36.
- H 8 *Obv.* Head of Artemis r. within line border.
Rev. ΗΡΑ Dolphin r. within line border.
 Æ; no weight. (*Pl. 4, 5*)
 NCirc 87/1, Jan. 1979, 52.
 Cf. MIRNIK 1976, p. 177, no. 14; BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ 1988, p. 76, no. 62; GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 2004, nos. 365-366.
- H 9 Similar to the preceding.
 Æ 16 mm; 3.67 g.
 Schweiz. Kreditanstalt 2, April 1984, 152.

Pharos

The city of Pharos (Starigrad, on the island of Hvar) was founded by Aegean colonists from Paros in 385/384 BC near «the largest fertile plain on the Dalmatian islands».¹⁰ After minting a small coinage in silver in the first half of the 4th century, the Pharians struck only bronze coins until the late 3rd or the early 2nd centuries BC.¹¹

¹⁰ B. KIRIGIN, The Greeks in Central Dalmatia: Some New Evidence, in: J.-P. DESCOEUDRES (ed.), *Greek Colonists and Native Populations. Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology held in honour of Emeritus Professor A.D. Trendall, Sydney July 1985 (Oxford 1990)*, p. 296. See also V. GAFFNEY *et al.*, *Secret Histories: The Pre-Colonial Archaeological Context for Greek Settlement of the Central Adriatic Islands*, in: N. CAMBI *et al.* (eds.), *Grčki utjecaj (supra, n. 8)*, pp. 28-29, 33-41; J. JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ, *Pharos – città antica. Nuove scoperte archeologiche dalla Faros greca ed ellenistica, ibidem*, pp. 221-239; KIRIGIN (*supra*, n. 3), pp. 91 ff.

¹¹ For a recent study of the Pharian coins in the collection of Split's Archaeological Museum, see BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ 1987; cf. KIRIGIN (*supra*, n. 3), pp. 141-151. See also BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ 2000 and VISONÀ 2005a.

before 350 BC

- Ph 1 *Obv.* Head of Zeus l.; border of dots.
Rev. Goat standing r. on groundline; on l. and above, uncertain symbol; in exergue, ΦΑΠΙ; border of dots.
 AR 14 mm; 2.69 g. (*Pl. 4, 6*)
 Egger 46, May 1914 (Prowe), 480 = Hess-Leu 31, Dec. 1966, 288.
 Cf. BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ 1987, p. 394, no. 1; *Ead.* 2004, pp. 58-59, no. 87 (die duplicate).
- Ph 2 *Obv.* Similar to the preceding.
Rev. Similar to the preceding; above, uncertain symbol; on l., pellet.
 AR 13 mm; 2.78 g. (*Pl. 4, 7*)
 Sotheby, June 1896 (Bunbury), 857 = Weber coll. 2982 = Jameson coll. 2408 = Leu 33, May 1983, 307 = Auctiones 18, Sept. 1989, 660.
 Cf. BMC, Thessaly to Aetolia, p. 83, no. 1 (die duplicate).

c. 350-320 BC

- Ph 3 *Obv.* Laureate head of Zeus l.
Rev. Goat standing l. on exergue; on l., coiled snake; in ex., ΦΑΠΙΩΝ; linear border.
 Æ 22 mm; 16.51 g. (*Pl. 4, 8*)
 J.N. SVORONOS, *JIAN* 13, 1911, p. 285, 577, pl. 11, 15 (E.N. Mavrogordato coll.) = *Ars Classica* 16, July 1933, 1129.
 Cf. BMC, Thessaly to Aetolia, p. 83, no. 3 (die duplicate).
- Ph 4 Similar to the preceding; linear border.
 Æ 24 mm; 16.1 g.
 Helbing 31, Jan. 1930, 235.
- Ph 5 Same dies as the preceding.
 Æ 24-25 mm; 14.8 g. (*Pl. 4, 9*)
 Rosenberg 72, July 1932, 366 = *Ars Classica* 16, July 1933, 1130.
 Cf. Pozzi p. 164, no. 2952; GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 2004, no. 410.
- Ph 6 Same dies as the preceding.
 Æ 25 mm; 14.82 g.
 Münzen u. Medaillen 6, Dec. 1946, 643.
- Ph 7 Same dies as the preceding.
 Æ 17.28 g. (*Pl. 4, 10*)
 Leu-Münzen u. Medaillen, Dec. 1965 (Niggeler I), 265.
- Ph 8 Similar to the preceding.
 Æ 24.5 mm; no weight.
 NCirc 81/1, Jan. 1973, 1 (ex Lord Grantley coll.) = NCirc 91/6, July 1983, 4550 = Sotheby's, 10 March 1989, 520.
 Cf. BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ 1987, p. 394, no. 2; GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 2004, nos. 393-400 (same pair of dies).

- Ph 9 Same dies as Ph 4-Ph 7.
 Æ 23-24 mm; 14.90 g. (*Pl. 4, 11*)
 Peus 284, Dec. 1974, 239 = Kricheldorf 31, Jan. 1977, 84 = Sternberg 19,
 Nov. 1987, 150.
- Ph 10 *Obv.* Same die as Ph 8; linear border.
Rev. Same die as Ph 8.
 Æ 15.41 g. (*Pl. 4, 12*)
 Spink Geneva, Oct. 1977, 174 = Künker 94, Sept. 2004, 506 (15.38 g).
- Ph 11 *Obv.* Similar to the preceding; coarse style.
Rev. Similar to the preceding; in ex., Φ[A].
 Æ 25 mm; 14.65 g; seemingly overstruck upon one of Issa's 'Ionios'
 issues.
 Schweiz. Kreditanstalt 2, April 1984, 153.
 Cf. Pozzi p. 164, no. 2953; VISONÀ 1982, pl. 24, no. 8 (= BMC, Thessaly to
 Aetolia, p. 83, no. 4); GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 2004, no. 404 (same *obv.* die).
- Ph 12 Same dies as Ph 8 and Ph 10.
 Æ; no weight.
 NFA-Leu, March 1985 (Garrett III), 117 (part) = Kovacs 24, June 1985, 47.
- Ph 13 *Obv.* Same die as the preceding; undertype: male head r.
Rev. Similar to the preceding; undertype: dolphin r. on waves.
 Æ 15.11 g; overstruck on one of Issa's 'Ionios' issues. (*Pl. 4, 12*)
 Münzen u. Medaillen Deutschland & Nomos 13, Oct. 2003, 146.
 Cf. GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 2004, nos. 414, 423 (die duplicates?).
- Ph 14 *Obv.* Head of Persephone l.
Rev. Goat l. Linear border.
 Æ 18 mm; 6.16 g. (*Pl. 5, 13*)
 Schweiz. Kreditanstalt 2, April 1984, 154.
 Cf. BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ 1987, p. 395, no. 33; GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 2004, nos. 448-
 454.
- Ph 15 Similar to the preceding.
 Æ 15 mm; 2.78 g.
 Schweiz. Kreditanstalt 2, April 1984, 155.
 Cf. BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ 1987, pp. 396-397, nos. 72, 121; *Ead.* 2004, pp. 64-65,
 nos. 101-104; GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 2004, nos. 458-470.
- Ph 16 *Obv.* Head of Artemis r.
Rev. Goat standing r.
 Æ 10 mm; 1.05 g.
 Schweiz. Kreditanstalt 2, April 1984, 156.
 Cf. BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ 1987, p. 398, no. 148; GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 2004, nos. 474-
 475.

Late 3rd – early 2nd centuries BC?

Ph 17 *Obv.* Beardless male head l., laureate.

Rev. Cantharos between Φ - [A].

Æ; no weight.

De Nicola FPL 3, Sept. 1969, 217.

Cf. VISONÀ 1985, p. 13, no. 9.

Ph 18 Similar to the preceding.

Æ 19 mm; no weight.

Aiello, List V, Nov. 1972 (The C.G. Morris coll. of Ancient Greek Bronze Coins), 138.

Cf. GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 2004, no. 485.

Ph 19 *Obv.* Beardless male head l., laureate.

Rev. Cantharos between Φ - A.

Æ; 7.3 g.

Wendt 21, Nov. 1978, 397a.

Cf. VISONÀ 1985, p. 12, nos. 1-3; BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ 2000, p. 257, nos. 22-23 (same *obv.* die?)

Ph 20 Similar to the preceding.

Æ 19 mm; no weight.

Rauch, Aug. 1993, 118.

Cf. MAROVIĆ 1976, p. 235, no. 1; BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ 1987, p. 398, no. 165; BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ 2000, p. 27, no. 14 (same *obv.* die).

Ph 21 Similar to the preceding.

Æ 5.24 g. (*Pl. 5, 14*)

Vecchi 6, June 1997, 406.

Cf. BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ 2000, p. 257, no. 19.

Issa

A group of bronze coins overstruck upon issues of Dionysius I and II of Syracuse, and a series of coins bearing the head of the Issaeian hero Ionios and a dolphin, attest to the presence of Greeks (possibly including Syracusans) at Issa on the island of Vis by the third quarter of the 4th century BC. Issa's civic coinage was minted from c. 320 until the late 2nd or the mid-1st centuries BC, and was exclusively in bronze.¹²

¹² Cf. the remarks on the foundation of Issa by P.M. FRASER, *The Colonial Inscription of Issa*, in: P. CABANES (ed.), *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'Antiquité – II*, Actes du II^e colloque international de Clermont-Ferrand, Oct. 1990 (Paris 1993), pp. 169-170, 174; KIRIGIN (*supra*, n. 3), pp. 84-87. For Issa's coinage see BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ – VISONÀ 2002, pp. 325-328; VISONÀ 1996; VISONÀ 2005b.

Greek settlers on the island of Issa, after c. 344 BC

- Is 1 *Obv.* Head of Ionios r.
Rev. Dolphin r. above three waves.
 Æ; no weight; overstruck upon a bronze of Syracuse with Head of Athena / Star between dolphins.
 Numart, Feb.-March 1979, no. 45 = CNS III, p. 337 (*rev.* inverted)
 Cf. GORINI 1976, pp. 9-10, nos. 1-3.
- Is 2 Similar to the preceding, not overstruck.
 Æ 25 mm; 14.2 g. (*Pl. 5, 15*).
 Müller Solingen 63, Sept. 1989, 29.
 Cf. GORINI 1976, pp. 10-11, nos. 4-6; BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ 2004, pp. 90-91, no. 164.

Civic coinage, late 3rd century BC

- Is 3 *Obv.* Head of Athena l.
Rev. ΙΣ (retrograde) above stag stepping r. on groundline; on r., water bird.
 Æ 19 mm; 3.8 g. (overstruck upon Metapontum)
 J.N. SVORONOS, JIAN 13, 1911, p. 284, 576 (E.N. Mavrogordato coll.). New York, ANS.
 Cf. VISONÀ 1996, p. 159, no. 13.

Ballaios

The existence of an Illyrian ruler named Ballaios is known only by his impressive billon and bronze coinage, which has been dated ca. 167-135 BC after a seminal study by A.J. Evans in 1880, but has recently been assigned to the early 2nd century on archaeological and historical grounds. Also controversial is Evans' attribution of these issues to two mints – Pharos and Rhizon.¹³

early 2nd century BC?

- Bal. 1 *Obv.* Head of Ballaios r.
Rev. ΒΑΛΛ-ΑΙΟΥΥ Artemis l. on groundline holding torch.
 Æ 15 mm; no weight.
 J.N. SVORONOS, JIAN 13, 1911, p. 284, 574 (E.N. Mavrogordato coll.).
 Cf. MAROVIĆ 1988, pp. 122-124, nos. 254-270.
- Bal. 2 *Obv.* Head of Ballaios l.
Rev. ΒΑΛΛ – ΑΙΟ[Y] Artemis l. holding torch.
 Æ 14 mm; no weight. (*Pl. 5, 16*)
 R. Ratto, April 1927, 1093.
 Cf. MAROVIĆ 1988, p. 101, no. 33.
- Bal. 3 *Obv.* Head of Ballaios l.
Rev. ΒΑΛΛ [Similar to the preceding.
 Æ 14 mm; no weight.
 Baranowsky, 25 Feb. 1931, 527.
 Cf. MAROVIĆ 1988, p. 109, nos. 114-115.

¹³ See *supra*, n. 4, pp. 103-105; UJES 2004, p. 156. According to Ujes, the coinage of Ballaios may have been minted by Demetrius of Pharos before 214 BC.

- Bal. 4 *Obv.* Large head of Ballaios l.
Rev.] IAE [] BAAA [Artemis l. holding torch and two spears.
 AR (base) 2.65 g. (*Pl. 5, 17*)
 Rauch 10, June 1972, 28 = G. Hirsch 233, Feb. 2004, 1380 (2.67 g).
 Cf. MAROVIĆ 1988, pp. 125-126, nos. 276-279.
- Bal. 5 Similar to the preceding.
 Æ 16 mm; 2.34 g.
 Kovacs 17, 1982, 16 = Schweiz. Kreditanstalt FPL 41, Nov. 1983, 49 =
 Schweiz. Kreditanstalt 2, April 1984, 157.
 Cf. MAROVIĆ 1988, p. 136, no. 378.
- Bal. 6 *Obv.* Head of Ballaios l.
Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΛΛΑΙΟΥ (catalogue description) Artemis l. holding
 torch and two spears.
 Æ 15 mm; no weight.
 Malloy 24, March 1988, 66 = Malloy 61, 1991, 247.
 Cf. MAROVIĆ 1988, pp. 128-129, nos. 302-311.
- Bal. 7 *Obv.* Head of Ballaios r.
Rev. ΒΑΛΛΑΙ [Artemis l. holding torch.
 Æ 2.51 g.
 Schulten, Oct. 1988, 243.
 Cf. MAROVIĆ 1988, pp. 114-123, nos. 161-260.
- Bal. 8 *Obv.* Head of Ballaios l.
Rev. ΒΑΣΛΕ [Artemis l. holding torch and two spears.
 Æ 2.93 g.
 Schulten, Oct. 1988, 244.
 Cf. MAROVIĆ 1988, pp. 130-136, nos. 322-379.
- Bal. 9 *Obv.* Head of Ballaios r.
Rev. Similar to the preceding.
 Æ; no weight.
 Malloy 28, July 1989, 84 = Malloy 37, April 1994, 90.
 Cf. MAROVIĆ 1988, pp. 138-139, nos. 397-403.
- Bal. 10 *Obv.* Head of Ballaios r.
Rev. ΒΑΛΛΑΙΟΥ Artemis l. holding torch.
 Æ 3.25 g. (*Pl. 5, 18*)
 Laffaille 334.
 Cf. MAROVIĆ 1988, pp. 113-123, nos. 149-260.
- Bal. 11 *Obv.* Head of Ballaios l.
Rev. ΒΑΛΛΑΙ [Artemis l. holding torch and two spears.
 Æ 3.05 g. (*Pl. 5, 19*)
 Laffaille 335.
 Cf. MAROVIĆ 1988, pp. 130-136, nos. 325-379.

- Bal. 12 Similar to the preceding.
 Æ 17 mm; 3.35 g.
 Möller 11, March 1993, 2861.
 Cf. MAROVIĆ 1988, pp. 126-128, nos. 280-301.
- Bal. 13 *Obv.* Head of Ballaios r.
Rev. Artemis l. holding torch.
 Æ 13.5 mm; 1.98 g.
 Möller 11, March 1993, 2862 = CNG 39, Sept. 1996, 433 (1.40 g). (*Pl. 5, 20*)
 Cf. MAROVIĆ 1988, pp. 114-123, nos. 161-260.
- Bal. 14 *Obv.* Head of Ballaios l.
Rev. Artemis l. holding torch and two spears.
 Æ 17 mm; no weight.
 Antioch, 19 Sept. 1994, 47
 Cf. MAROVIĆ 1988, pp. 126-128, nos. 280-297.
- Bal. 15 Similar to the preceding.
 Æ 3.23 g
 Künker 27, Sept. 1994, 58. (*Pl. 5, 21*)
 Cf. MAROVIĆ 1988, pp. 130-136, nos. 322-379.
- Bal. 16 *Obv.* Head of Ballaios l.
Rev. Artemis l. holding torch.
 Æ; 2.62 g.
 Calicó 21, Dec. 1994, 88.
 Cf. MAROVIĆ 1988, pp. 98-108, nos. 1-105.
- Bal. 17 Similar to the preceding; different hairstyle.
 Æ 15 mm; no weight.
 Malloy 39, Dec. 1994, 82 = Malloy 47, Oct. 1997, 75.
- Bal. 18 Similar to the preceding; different hairstyle.
 Æ 15 mm; 2.27 g.
 CNG 39, Sept. 1996, 432. (*Pl. 5, 22*)
 Cf. MAROVIĆ 1988, pp. 130-136, nos. 325-379.
- Bal. 19 Similar to the preceding?
 Æ 13 mm; no weight.
 Malloy 44, Nov. 1996, 91 (no. 94 on Pl. III) = Malloy 48, Apr. 1998, 115.
 Cf. MAROVIĆ 1988, pp. 113-123, nos. 149-260.
- Bal. 20 *Obv.* Head of Ballaios l.
Rev. [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ] ΒΑΛΛΑΙ [Artemis l. holding torch and two spears.
 Æ 16 mm; 3.07 g.
 CNG 43, 24 September 1997, 353. (*Pl. 5, 23*)
 Cf. MAROVIĆ 1988, p. 130, no. 319.

- Bal. 21 *Obv.* Head of Ballaios I.
Rev.] ΑΑΛ [Artemis I. holding torch.
 Æ; 3.19 g.
 Astarte 12, Sept. 2003, 151.
 Cf. MAROVIĆ 1988, pp.98-102, nos. 1-38.
- Bal. 22 Similar to the preceding; different hairstyle and uncertain legend.
 Æ 16 mm; no weight.
 Rosenblum 34E, Nov. 2004, 189 (attributed to Lipara).
 Cf. MAROVIĆ 1988, pp. 126-128, nos. 286-298.
- Bal. 23 *Obv.* Similar to the preceding.
Rev. Artemis holding torch and two spears.
 Æ 17 mm; 2.38 g.
 Berk 141, Jan. 2005, 466. (*Pl. 5, 24*)
 Cf. MAROVIĆ 1988, p. 136, no. 378.

Uncertain Mint

The hybrid types, crude fabric, and coarse style of a group of silver coins with Pegasus/Macedonian shield, Macedonian shield/star, and Bull's head/star respectively, representing different denominations, are unprecedented in Dalmatia and indicate that these issues may have originated from southern Illyria.¹⁴

late 3rd century BC?

- UM 1 *Obv.* Pegasus r.; above, – B; below, .
Rev. Macedonian shield.
 AR 18 mm; 3.56 g. (*Pl. 5, 25*)¹⁵
 Hess-Leu 45, May 1970, 169.
 Cf. PINK 1940, p. 528, no. 9 (attributed to Rhizon); GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 2004, p. 39 no. 16 (attributed to Corcyra).

¹⁴ This was suggested by D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ (*supra*, n. 6). Several specimens of these issues (including a large number of fractions with Macedonian shield/Star with thin, concave flans) are among the 388 Greek coins taken from Zara's Museo di S. Donato during World War II are now in Venice's Museo Archeologico Nazionale (*vidi*). Even though there is no mention of such an unusual group of coins among the holdings of the Museo di S. Donato in the museum's registry, which was left in Croatia, they may belong to the hoard from Risan discussed *supra*, n. 6. A full publication of the Greek coins from Zara is pending: see GORINI (*supra*, n. 2), p. 279, n. 15; *Id.*, Novac iz Egeje I Atene iz Arheološkog muzeja a Zadru, Numizmatike Vijesti 40, no. 51, 1998, p. 7. No examples of these issues are listed in D. RAZMOVSKA-BAČEVSKA, Numismatic Finds from the South-Western Part of the Republic of Macedonia from V BC to XIV AD (Ohrid 2002). UJES (*supra*, n. 6) has pointed out that all the provenanced finds of these coins come from Rhizon.

¹⁵ UM 1 and UM 2 were said at the time to have come from Albania (information from S. Hurter).

- UM 2 *Obv.* Macedonian shield; linear border?
Rev. Eight-ray star.
AR 10.5 mm; 1.02 g.
Hess-Leu 45, May 1970, 170.
Cf. PINK 1940, p. 529, no. 30.
- UM 3 *Obv.* Pegasus r.; above, ?
Rev. Macedonian shield.
AR 4.89 g. (*Pl. 5, 26*)
Ponterio 80, March 1996, 180.
- UM 4 *Obv.* Macedonian shield.
Rev. Seven-ray star.
AR 12 mm; 0.97 g. (*Pl. 5, 27*)
CNG 41, March 1997, 409.
Cf. PINK 1940, p. 529, nos. 27-28.
- UM 5 Similar to the preceding.
AR 13 mm; 0.98 g.
CNG 41, March 1997, 410.

On the whole, these specimens do not comprise a representative sample of their respective coinage. Even though they include some excessively rare issues – a fact which underscores the importance of sale catalogues for mint studies¹⁶ – nearly 25 % of them have been sold repeatedly. The preponderance of heavy bronzes of Herakleia and Pharos also suggests that collectors may have eschewed smaller and less attractive coins of these mints. Yet Pharos, and especially Issa, struck many more denominations in bronze than those known from sale catalogues. Thus, while the data obtained from the coin trade must be taken into account, a reconstruction of the general development of these Greek-Illyrian coinages will have to be based primarily on a study of museum holdings.

Zusammenfassung

Für das Studium der griechischen Münzstätten in Nordillyrien erwies sich der Münzhandel als wenig ergiebig. In den Auktionskatalogen, die zwischen 1904 und 2005 publiziert wurden, fanden sich gerade 61 Exemplare aus Herakleia, Pharos und Issa, des Königs Ballaios, und aus einer nicht identifizierten Münzstätte.

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¹⁶ Cf. FR. DE CALLATAÏ, Un problème de documentation en numismatique antique: les catalogues de ventes, *Histoire & Mesures* 5, 3 / 4 (1990), pp. 259-269.

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- VADH *Vjestnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* (Split).

III Sale Catalogues

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- ANTIOCH Antioch & Associates, San Francisco (Cal., U.S.A.)
- ARS CLASSICA see Naville
- ASTA DEL TITANO Asta Internazionale del Titano, San Marino
- ASTARTE Astarte S.A., Lugano
- AUCTIONES Auctiones S.A., Basel
- BARANOWSKY M. Baranowsky, Milan
- BERK Harlan J. Berk, Ltd., Chicago (Ill., U.S.A.)
- CALICÓ X. & F. Calicó, Barcelona
- CNG Classical Numismatic Group, Lancaster (Penn., U.S.A.)/ London
- DE NICOLA L. de Nicola, Rome
- DOROTHEUM Dorotheum Kunstabteilung, Vienna
- EGGER Brüder Egger, Vienna
- O. HELBING NACHF. O. Helbing Nachf., Munich
- A. HESS A. Hess, Frankfurt a.M.
- A. HESS NACHF. A. Hess Nachf., Stuttgart; Frankfurt a.M.
- HESS – LEU A. Hess AG, Luzern – Bank Leu AG, Zürich
- HIRSCH J. Hirsch, Munich
- G. HIRSCH G. Hirsch Nachf., Munich
- KOVACS F.L. Kovacs, San Mateo (Cal., U.S.A.)
- KRICHELDORF H.H. Kricheldorf, Stuttgart
- KÜNKER F.-R. Künker, Osnabrück

LEU	Bank Leu AG, Zürich, from 1996 Leu Numismatics, Ltd.
MALLOY	A.G. Malloy, South Salem (N. Y., U.S.A.)
MÖLLER	Münzhandlung H. Möller, Kassel
MÜLLER SOLINGEN	Heinz-W. Müller, Solingen, later Cologne
MÜNZEN U. MEDAILLEN	Münzen und Medaillen AG, Basel
MÜNZEN U. MEDAILLEN DEUTSCHLAND	Münzen und Medaillen Deutschland GmbH, Weil am Rhein, sometimes jointly with Nomos AG, Kriens (Switzerland)
NAVILLE	L. Naville Geneva; Ars Classica from catalogue 13 on
NEALES	Neales of Nottingham, Great Britain
NFA	Numismatic Fine Arts, Beverly Hills (Cal., U.S.A.)
NUMART	Numart Italiana s.r.l., Milan
PEUS	Dr. B. Peus Nachf., Frankfurt a.M.
PONTERIO	Ponterio & Associates, Inc., San Diego (Cal., U.S.A.)
R. RATTO	R. Ratto, Lugano
RAUCH	H.D. Rauch, Vienna
RINALDI	O. Rinaldi & Figlio, Casteldario (Mantova)
ROSENBERG	S. Rosenberg, Frankfurt a.M.
ROSENBLUM	W.M. Rosenblum, Evergreen (Colorado, U.S.A.)
SCHULTEN	NF Münzhandlung Schulten + Co. GmbH, Köln
SCHWEIZ. KREDITANSTALT	Schweizerische Kreditanstalt, Bern
SERRURE	R. Serrure, Paris
SOTHEBY'S	Sotheby's, London
STERNBERG	F. Sternberg, Zürich, sometimes jointly with G. Apparuti, Modena
SUPERIOR STAMP & COIN	Superior Stamp & Coin, Inc., Los Angeles (Cal., U.S.A.)
VARESI	Numismatica C. Varesi & C., Pavia
VECCHI	Nummorum Auctiones I. Vecchi, Ltd., London
WENDT	Numismatica Barbara Wendt, Vienna
WRUCK	Berliner Münzverkehr W. Wruck, Berlin-Charlottenburg

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Serrure, March 1906 (M. Jarry), p. 14, no. 178
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Hirsch 21, 16 Nov. 1908 (E.F. Weber), nos. 1412-1415 (no. 1412 = München, Staatl. Münz-
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A. Hess 224, Feb. 1936 (K. Diener), nos. 788-790
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