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Contents

- 3 JAROSIAW BODZEK: A Note on a Samaritan Coin-Type
- 13 HAIM GITLER, MATTHEW PONTING and OREN TAL: Metallurgical Analysis of Southern Palestinian Coins of the Persian Period
- 29 JEAN-PHILIPPE FONTANILLE: Extreme Deterioration and Damage on *Yehud* Coin Dies
- 45 JEAN-PHILIPPE FONTANILLE and CATHARINE C. LORBER: Silver *Yehud* Coins with Greek or Pseudo-Greek Inscriptions
- 51 PERE PAU RIPOLLÈS: The X4 Hoard (Spain): Unveiling the Presence of Greek Coinages during the Second Punic War
- 65 GEORGES VOULGARIDIS: Some Thoughts on Mints, Monograms and Monetary Magistrates. Two Case Studies: the Mints of 'Akko-Ptolemais and of Ascalon under the Seleucids
- 81 OLIVER D. HOOVER: Ptolemaic Lead Coinage in Coele Syria (103–101 BCE)
- 87 DAVID HENDIN and ILAN SHACHAR: The Identity of YNTN on Hasmonean Overstruck Coins and the Chronology of the Alexander Jannaeus Types
- 95 MOSHE FISCHER and ZVI GUR: The Coin Finds from Horbat Mazad
- 117 CECILIA MEIR: Tyrian *Sheqels* and Half *Sheqels* with Unpublished Dates from the 'Isifya Hoard in the Kadman Numismatic Pavilion
- 125 ALLA KUSHNIR-STEIN: Reflection of Religious Sensitivities on Palestinian City Coinage
- 137 YEHOASHUA ZLOTNIK: Coin Finds and the Question of the Conquest of Jerusalem by Bar Kokhba
- 147 ZVI URI MA'OZ: Ships on Roman Provincial Coins in the Southern Levant: Voyages on the River Styx
- 163 BRUNO CALLEGHER: A Provincial Weight from after the Monetary Reform of 538 CE
- 175 D. MICHAEL METCALF: Crusader Numismatics: How Immobilized Types are Classified, How Chronologies are Revised and Verified, and How Coins are Attributed to Their Mints
- 189 Review: Oliver Hoover, *Coins of the Seleucid Empire from the Collection of Arthur Houghton*, Part II. New York 2007 (Danny Syon)
- 192 Review: Bruno Callegher. *Cafarnao IX. Monete dall'area urbana di Cafarnao (1968–2003)*. Jerusalem 2007; Cécile Morrisson, Vladislav Popović † and Vujadin Ivanišević, *Les Trésors monétaires Byzantines des Balkans et d'Asie Mineure (491–713)*. Paris 2006 (Gabriela Bijovsky)
- 200 Abbreviations

The X4 Hoard (Spain): Unveiling the Presence of Greek Coinages during the Second Punic War

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Abstract

A specific lot of Greek coins coming from one of the most important hoards buried in Spain during the last or first decade of the third-second century BCE is described in detail. Attention is drawn to their role in the economy of this time period, in which coins were valued by users for their silver content. The Second Punic War and related troop movements fostered the spread of Greek coins far from their minting area on a scale not previously seen.

The X4 hoard is one of the most spectacular of all those recently discovered in Spain. The hoard appeared in unknown circumstances and was tragically dispersed by its owner who, as we now know, sold it in public auctions in successive lots. From the known contents, it is clear that this hoard was buried during the Second Punic War or a few years later.

The hoard owes its strange name to Hébert (1998:97), who published a few pieces that he had bought from the hoard. He named it X4, as the hoard's origin was unknown. Some time later, Villaronga (2001–2003:559) ascertained that the hoard was found in the Ciudad Real-Cuenca area and thus he referred to it by the names of these provinces.

We know most of the composition of the hoard thanks to Sills (2003:392–394), who has published the most extensive compilation to date. He collected all the information, and conducted verbal and especially bibliographical investigations, since some coin series and individual pieces had been published in various journals.

Fortunately, before the hoard was sold and dispersed, it was photographed, though we are not sure that even then it was entirely recorded. Some pieces might have been left out, especially those with low market value as well as those deemed less interesting from a numismatic collector's point of view, as in the case of the silver fragments and the cut coins. For that reason we cannot be sure that the known contents correspond to the total hoard. However, the sheer volume of recorded coins from this hoard allows us to describe it as one of the most important finds of this period, and crucial to the study and the chronology of some monetary series, like the African, Aquitanian or Iberian imitations of Emporitan *drachms*. In addition, the hoard constitutes a valuable record of the diffusion and presence of the Greek coinages in use during the Second Punic War, on which this paper is focused.

Hébert (1998) was the first to detect the hoard's existence, when he bought and published a coin of Bridiers type and five Roman republican specimens (half *quadrigatus* and four *denars*, one of them halved). That same year, the Iberian imitations of Emporitan *drachms* were published, although without specifying their origin and immersed in the general catalogue of these coinages (Villaronga 1998). Shortly after, diverse parts of the hoard continued to be published in various papers and books. First, the Roman Republican coinages (2 *quadrigati*, 1 *quinarius* and 46 *denars*) appeared (Villaronga 1999 and 2001–2003); later, simultaneously, the Gaulish imitations of Emporion (Villaronga 2000a:159–160) and the coinages 'à la croix' (Villaronga 2000b) were published. Finally, we have learned that the official Emporitan issues contained in the hoard are integrated in the monographs on these coinages published by Villaronga (2000a and 2003). As information on the hoard was added, syntheses of the hoard's contents were published, first by Villaronga (2001–2003) and then by Sills (2003).

These publications catalogued and illustrated most of the coinages found in the hoard. However, the investigators' attention focused on the issues of interest to them and on those which added precious information to the knowledge of the coinages of the Iberian Peninsula during the last third of the third century BCE, as is the case of Emporitan *drachms* and their Iberian imitations. But the Carthaginian issues, the Arse and Ebusus *drachms*, as well as those coins that Sills labeled as Greek have not yet been published in detail.

The opportunity of recording the Greek coinages found in this hoard encouraged us to study them. They reveal a type of coinage, rarely witnessed until now, in circulation during the last few years of the third century BCE and the first decade of the second century BCE. Sills (2003:392) has indicated that the Greek coinages of this hoard were auctioned in diverse lots, three of which he was able to identify. The fact that these coins were not illustrated in the auction catalogue did not allow him to precisely identify the mints. What was certain was that the lack of illustration resulted in imprecise mint identifications, other than the fact that they were Greek coinages. Indeed, two of the lots with assortments of Greek coins also included some halved Emporitan pieces.

The buyer of some of these lots of Greek coins (G. Cores, Madrid) allowed us to record and study them and, at the same time, we have received access to the images of the Greek coins taken before the hoard was dispersed in the market.

The publication of detailed descriptions and images of these pieces not only helps to complete the knowledge of the hoard's contents, but also allows us to clarify the identifications of this set of coins which until now had only been vaguely described. The role that these coins played in the monetary circulation during the Second Punic War has been undervalued. This appears to be due to their limited quantity and because a good part of them were fragmentary, being cut in halves or quarters. For this reason they have generated scant interest among traders and collectors, similar to what happens with *Hacksilber*.

GREEK ISSUES

Until now, the identity of only three Greek coins from this hoard has been known. Two of them, a *stater* of Tarentum (Cat. No. 8) and *tetradrachm* of Antigonos Dosson (Cat. No. 5), were published by Villaronga (2001–2003:559). The third Greek coin, a *drachm* minted in Neapolis, was identified by Sills (2003; Cat. No. 12). However, Sills realized that the number of Greek pieces in the hoard should have been higher, since he identified two lots in which seven fragments of silver coins had been auctioned, but was unable to identify their contents because the lots were neither described nor illustrated.

In this paper we provide the identifications of the Greek pieces sold in these lots, together with those from other lots hitherto unknown. Among these new coins are additional specimens of other coinages already known in the published lists of the hoard contents, such as Arse *drachms* or Carthaginian issues minted in Spain, but these coinages will be studied elsewhere.

To the three previously known Greek coins we now add another 10, as well as 2 African pieces. This makes a total of 15 coins (Table 1). We also publish in this paper two Gaulish coins, bringing the total quantity of the hoard to 406 coins (Table 2). The first impression of this new quantity of Greek coins and their variety is that what was before considered scarce now seems to be more normal. Although rare relative to the total number, this group begins to take on a certain character.

Table 1. Greek coins from X4 hoard

Ruler, Mint	Complete	Fragmentary/cut
Alexander III		1
Lysimachos (297–281 BCE)	1 (Caria)	1
Antigonos Gonatas, <i>Macedonia</i> (277–239 BCE)		1
Antigonos Dosson, <i>Macedonia</i> (229–221 BCE)	1	1
Hellenistic Danubian imitation		1
<i>Campano-Tarentine</i> ((270–250 BCE)	1	1
<i>Metapontum</i> (late 4th–early 3rd BCE)		1
<i>Neapolis</i> (290–270 BCE)	1	1
Hieronimus, <i>Syracuse</i> (215 BCE)		1
<i>Iol-Caesarea</i>	1	1
Total	5	10

Table 2. Current total number of coins from the X4 hoard (data based on the lists published by Villaronga, Sills and this paper)

Greek	Gaul <i>drachms</i>	Africa (Iol)	à la croix	Hisp-Punic	Emporion <i>drachms</i>	Iberian <i>drachms</i>	Emp/Ib fractions	Ebusus Hemidr.	Arse <i>drachms</i>	Saitabi	Roman Repub.
14	7	2	50	74	81	77	14	12	11	1	61+

HELLENISTIC *TETRADRACHMS*

A good number of the Greek pieces of the hoard are *tetradrachms* of Alexander and of other Hellenistic kings, such as Lysimachus, Antigonos II Gonatas and Antigonos III Dosson. There also is an imitation, probably of the Danubian zone (*rev.* Athena Alkidemos), that relates to this group.

At first glance, this is not extraordinary, since the hoard of Cuenca-Guadalajara contained a *tetradrachm* of Antiochos I from Tarsus (Ripollès, Cores, Gozalbes, *forthcoming*). The hoard of Martos yielded another *tetradrachm* from Pergamum (Villaronga 1981–1983:134); and that of Cuenca had six posthumous *tetradrachms* of Alexander III (minted in Perge, Aspendos and Aradus), one of Antiochos III (Antioch on the Orontes) and another one from Side (Pamphylia) (Villaronga 1984:127–137). Finally, the hoard of Tangier produced one *tetradrachm* of Alexander III and another one of Antiochos II (Villaronga 1989). But, these newly identified pieces from the X4 hoard draw attention back to these coin types through their high concentration, establishing that they played a more than negligible role in the coin circulation of Spain at the end of the third century and beginning of the second century BCE.

Hellenistic *tetradrachms* did not reach Spain only during the years of the Second Punic War. In the aforementioned Cuenca hoard eight Hellenistic *tetradrachms* were found, complete and in good condition, some minted in the first decade of the second century BCE, in Aradus, Aspendos or Perge. This fact indicates that eastern currency, not only Roman, was continuously entering the Iberian Peninsula after the conclusion of the Second Punic War. We presume the arrival of these coins was somehow linked with the funding of the army, which safeguarded the Roman occupation, though there is no evidence of the arrival of this type of currency beyond the first quarter of the second century BCE.

METAPONTUM

This coin is the fourth specimen found in a Hispanic hoard (previously known: two *staters* from El Arahál hoard, buried 450–400 BCE, *IGCH:352*, No. 2310; and one cut piece from the Pont de Molins hoard, buried in the late fourth century BCE, *IGCH:353*, No. 2313). The X4 specimen was halved and in addition the available illustration is poor quality. For this reason it has not been possible to identify its exact type, though undoubtedly it should be included among the issues of Johnston class C8, depicting Demeter's portrait, with symbols and signatures. Johnston (1990:14–16 and 58) has suggested that these were minted in times of peace and were intended for local use. She dated this class C8 between the death of Alexander the Molossian (330 BCE) and Pyrrhus's expedition (280 BCE), and from its relative position this class was one of the last to be coined.

CAMPANO-TARENTINE COINAGES

This is the first time that a specimen of this mint has appeared in a hoard of the Iberian Peninsula. The coin is dated *c.* 270–250 BCE and it belongs to a quite mysterious group of issues which combines elements belonging to two geographical areas (Crawford 1985:34 n. 4; *HN Italy:106–107*; Rutter 1997:99–100). The group depicts both Tarentine (on the reverse) and Campanian (on the obverse) types. Its weight standard is Campanian, while the legend is Tarentine. They are also found in the southern Italy, in a zone including Campania, central Apulia and Lucania, but not Tarentum (Rutter 1997:100). At the present time, the reasons for their striking are unknown.

NEAPOLIS

The hoard contained two *didrachms*, both belonging to the group of issues with the letters ΙΣ between the legs of a bull, part of a more extensive production marked with letters and symbols (Rutter 1997:89). Their minting date has been established from their contexts and overstrikes. From their presence in hoards it is clear they were contemporaneous with the Campano-Tarentine issues (above). See Burnett, *CHIV:42*; Crawford 1985:34; and the overstriking of some Neapolitan pieces of bronze with the letters ΙΣ by Aesernia (established 263 BCE; Rutter 1997:89). One can deduce that they were issued before 260–250 BCE. This, therefore, constitutes the first time in which Neapolitan coins have been found in an Iberian Peninsula hoard. Recently a new *didrachm* has been published found in Belianes (Lleida) (Graells and Giral 2007:17–28).

SYRACUSE

Another Greek piece, this time from Syracuse, belongs to Hieronymus' short reign (215–214 BCE) and to the common *10 litrai* type. These pieces were issued inside the 'coronation coinage' group, according to Holloway (1969:38–42). Syracusan coinages are not frequent in the Iberian Peninsula hoards: until now, only one *8 litrai* coin in the name of Gelonos, son of Hiero II, is known, in the Moixent hoard (García-Bellido 1990:43).

IOL

We include within the category of Greek coinages those struck in the African city of Iol. The X4 hoard contains two *sheqels*, which, together with that found in the Tangier hoard (Villaronga 1989:154, No. 99) constitute an important qualitative leap in knowledge of these issues. Not only are these coins very rare, but also the specimens that have appeared in these two hoards, both buried during the Second Punic War or shortly thereafter, belong to a very elusive type. This issue was struck in the last third of the third century BCE, based on the dates of hoards in which they have appeared. The exact description — and rarity — of the type is somewhat uncertain, due to the fact that the reference pieces are often struck off-center, and reproduced in poor-quality photographs or drawings which allow for a good measure of subjective interpretation. To date, no catalogues have resolved doubts regarding its description, and especially about the letters engraved on the obverse.

In the light of the last-third-of-third-century date of these hoards, Manfredi (1996:179) proposed these Iol coins were struck by Siphax (220–203 BCE), king of the Numidian tribe of the Masesilos, ally of the Romans during the initial years of the Second Punic War. The same Siphax convinced his tribe to fight against the Carthaginians (Livy 27:4), but later changed alliances (Livy 28:17–18 and 29:23).

Alexandropoulos (2000:326) pointed out that the Barcid combat operations generated the extension of the use of money into North Africa and that this could have been the reason a city such as Iol began minting coins. According to him, the issue must have been for local needs, considering the limited number of finds in Hispania in Second Punic War contexts. Moreover, Alexandropoulos argued that it does not seem probable that the Punic generals promoted the coins. However, the small volume of this issue and the tiny number of stray finds do not enable us to determine if they were struck to pay troops under Carthaginian control or for purely civic reasons. Obviously, the presence of the Iol coins in the Second Punic War (X4 and Tangier) hoards does not guarantee that their minting was directly related to the war. However, at the moment this argument cannot be rejected out of hand. On the contrary, the presence of these coins in Hispania has been increasing. In addition to the coins found in the X4 hoard we may add a similar *sheqel* found

in the Iberian site of Los Villares (Caudete de las Fuentes, Valencia; Ripollès 2001:114), a half *sheqel* in Talamanca (Ibiza) (Alfaro 2002:34) and a quarter *sheqel* in Montemolín (Seville; Villaronga 1983:61). More coins of this mint have appeared in bronze: 11 specimens found in Ibiza (Ripollès 1982:244, No. 20; Planas and Martin 1991:30–31, Nos. 63–70; Alfaro 2002:34), and one in each of the following cities or areas: Acinipo, Emporion, Andalusia, Cádiz and Villaricos (Alfaro 2002:26, 28, 31, 33).

The coinages of Iol could have reached Hispania as part of the financing of Siphax's mercenaries — if it was he who had minted them — or in the pockets of other mercenaries coming from North Africa (on the identity of the African mercenaries present in Hispania see Fariselli 2002:35–42). In fact, the Iol coin from the Tangier hoard could have made a round trip: coined in Africa, received in Hispania and transferred to North Africa, forming part of the payment received by some presumably African mercenary (Crawford considered it war booty; Crawford 1985:138). Villaronga (1989:161) believed the Tangier hoard may be divided into two parts, the first containing coins minted in the Iberian Peninsula (Carthaginians in Spain, Emporion, Gades and Ebusus), and the second, the remainder (Roman, Sicilian, Tarentum and other Greeks). He thought the second component would have reached Africa with the withdrawal of troops from Sicily, following a stopover in Tarentum. While this is possible in view of the heterogeneity of the hoard's composition, without discussing Villaronga's idea in detail we would only point out that the hoard could have also traveled directly from Spain, because the same diversity of mints is also found in other Spanish hoards of this period, the X4 hoard being the clearest example.

GAUL

A coin from Gaul (Cat. No. 16), erroneously published as 'à la croix' by Villaronga (2000b), is also published and illustrated here. It is in fact of the Beyrie type, minted in Aquitania (Callegarin 2005). The coin's presence in the X4 hoard constitutes valuable evidence that the Beyrie type coinage was struck during the late third century BCE. Another silver coin that could be Gaulish is Cat. No. 17, although its particularly poor preservation and several chisel cuts do not allow for any certainty.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

One of the most outstanding features of the X4 hoard, including its Greek coins, is its high number of fragmentary pieces. More than half of the total consists of fragmentary pieces. In the case of the Greek coins, nine out of fifteen pieces are cut in halves or quarters. Beyond the intention to test for unwanted plated coins, the cutting attests to an economy in which the coins were valued for their silver

content and smaller denominations were created by successive cuts. This was clearly a society in which a significant number of low level goods and services could be purchased with silver not longer in the shape of recognizable coins. It can be further deduced that coins were one of several categories of silver objects in circulation at the time, all of value according to weight. Wealth was not always kept in the form of coins. The real value of coins used in as payment and exchanges resided in the metal used.

Using silver bullion in this way was not new in the Iberian Peninsula. Some hoards dating to the fourth century BCE were composed of coins (complete and cut) together with several fragments of silver. What changes now is the dimension of the phenomenon. The model of use and hoarding of mixed silver media (coins and *Hacksilber*) is similarly found in many parts of the eastern Mediterranean at this time, where hoards are made up of coins, complete or cut, fragments of jewels or drops and small ingots (Gitler 2006:5–14; Balmuth 2001; van Alfen 2004–2005a and b).

It is impossible to trace the arrival of the Greek coinages to the Iberian Peninsula, but some general conclusions can be proposed on what their presence implies. According to Crawford (1985:88–89) the Greek coinages arrived with the Romans; they came “from areas where Roman armies were operating.” Although this may be too categorical, at the moment may be considered correct as a general explanation, owing to a lack of contradictory evidence. Certainly the facts prove Crawford’s theory, as far as the Greek coins’ delayed arrival is concerned, as they have not been recorded in archaeological contexts dated *c.* 300–237 BCE. However, during this period there is a dearth of hoards and stray finds, so the view could change. In the meanwhile, the explanation that the coins arrived with Roman troops is more likely than any other, since this type of currency hardly circulated in North Africa, as can be deduced from its scarcity in the hoards found there (*IGCH*:343 and p. 346, No. 2276), and from the archaeological evidence from Carthage (Visonà 1985:673–675).

The coins that we labeled as Greek played a modest role in the financing of the Second Punic War, based on the low number found in hoards buried at the time or shortly thereafter. This is in agreement with the fact that few Greek issues were minted for this economic purpose. However the new finds demonstrate that these coins were still circulating in quantities larger than previously believed. Their almost constant presence allows us to make other interesting speculations regarding frequent transfers of troops and the increase in land and sea traffic throughout the central and western Mediterranean area. The Greek issues also reflect the pressing need for silver for troop payments. While these were generally in coin, other means of payment were also possible. All kinds of silver coins were used, those minted by opposing armies or received from their allies, as well as those taken from the enemy. The mixing of currencies used by both protagonists, and recorded in the Iberian Peninsula hoards, has been attributed to the constant

movements of troops, booty and the exaction of tribute from the conquered populations (Marchetti 1978:370).

Another characteristic of the Greek coinages in this hoard, and in others of same time, is the relative antiquity of the issues. With dates of deposit during the Second Punic War or slightly after, the numerous coins minted before *c.* 250 BCE constitute proof that coins could have a long life before their final hoarding.

The classes of Greek coinages in circulation in the Iberian Peninsula changed in relation to those arriving there during the fourth century BCE. Now they exhibit greater variety, with many coins deriving from more remote geographical areas such as Asia Minor ((*IGCH*:352–354, Nos. 2310–2322; Villaronga 1993:1–10). Before the third century BCE, most of them had come from the Greek mints of southern Italy and Sicily (*IGCH*:354–357, Nos. 2323–2341; Villaronga 1993:11–40). Without doubt troop movements were what fostered the spread of these distant coins to the West.

The fact that coins of Alexander III and other Hellenistic kings are not well-recorded in Italian hoards buried during the First and Second Punic Wars (*IGCH*:273–274, 309), but, on the contrary, are present in Sicilian hoards (Tusa Cutroni 1990:49–80; *IGCH*:309; Puglisi 2004:305–322) throughout the third century BCE, seems to demonstrate that gaps existed in their dispersal towards the West.

The Alexander III and Hellenistic *tetradrachms* from the Iberian Peninsula hoards do not reflect monetary circulation in Italy, but they could have arrived with the Roman administration. In fact, there are many parallels between the Iberian Peninsula hoards and the Sicilian monetary profile with regard to its Greek coin finds, so that island may have been a source of the Iberian hoards (*IGCH*:327–340, Nos. 2151, 2154, 2159, 2160, 2183, 2191, 2204, 2230, 2234, 2242).

CATALOGUE

The coins are silver, and are illustrated in Pls. 3–4.

1. Alexander III (336–323 BCE).

Obv. Heracles head r.

Rev. Zeus seated on throne, l.; holding eagle on r. hand and sceptre in l.; behind ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ; below throne: Β; in front, possible unclear symbol.

Tetradrachm, ↑, 11.9 g. Half coin.

2. Lysimachos, Caria, 297–281 BCE.

Obv. Deified, diademed head of Alexander III r., with horn of Ammon.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ Athena seated l. on throne, holding Nike in outstretched r. hand and spear over r. shoulder; l. forearm on shield, on which, gorgoneion; monogram on l.

Tetradrachm, ↑, 10.2 g. Half coin.

Müller 1858: No. 508.

3. Lysimachos, 297–281 BCE.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar, but K on l.

Tetradrachm, 3.1 g. Quarter coin.

Vico 16/3/1995, lot 2.

4. Antigonos Gonatas, Macedonia, 277–239 BCE.

Obv. Macedonian shield, head of Pan and Iagobolon in center.

Rev. Athena Alkidemos standing r., holding shield and brandishing thunderbolt; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ on l.; Macedonian helmet and TI in lower fields.

Tetradrachm, 8.52 g. Fragmentary.

SNG Cop.: No. 1202; Vico 17/11/94 lot 1.

5. Antigonos III Dosson, Macedonia, 229–221 BCE.

Obv. Wreathed head of Poseidon, r.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ on side of prow, upon which Apollo is seated l.; holding a bow in his outstretched hand; monogram below.

Tetradrachm, 16.7 g.

AMNG III: No. 4 (Antigonos II Gonatas); *SNG Ashmolean*: No. 3264; *SNG Berry*: No. 386; *SNG Cop.*: No. 1204; Vico 6/6/1991, lot 89; Villaronga 2001–2003:559.

6. Antigonos III Dosson, 229–221 BCE.

Tetradrachm, 5.72 g. Quarter coin.

SNG Cop.: No. 1204; Vico 17/11/1994, lot 1.

7. Danubian imitation of Antigonos III Dosson *tetradrachm*?

Obv. Head r.

Rev. Athena Alkidemos advancing l., [brandishing thunderbolt in r. hand], holding shield decorated on her l. arm; around: [- -]ΝΤΙΓΟΥ.

Tetradrachm ?, 6, 5.55 g. Fragmentary.

Vico 10/3/1994, lot 5. The *rev.* type seems to be an imitation of an Antigonos III Dosson *tetradrachm*, struck *c.* 271–239.

8. Tarentum. Campano-Tarentine coinage, *c.* 270–250 BCE.

Obv. Diademed head of Satyra l., wearing triple-pendant earring

Rev. Nude youth on horseback r., placing wreath on horsehead; dolphin above; anchor below; TA below raised foreleg.

Didrachm, 7.25 g.

Vlasto:113, No. 1018; *HN Italy*:107, No. 1098; Vico 17/6/1993, lot 186; Villaronga 2001–2003:559.

9. Tarentum, Campano-Tarentine coinage, c. 270–250 BCE.*Obv.* Diademed head of Satyra l., wearing triple-pendant earring.*Rev.* [Nude youth on] horseback r., [placing wreath on horsehead]; TA behind; [symbol below ?].*Didrachm*, ⚮, 3.08 g. Half coin.*HN Italy*:107, No. 1098; *Vlasto*:111–114, Nos. 992–996, 998–999, 1012–1015, 1024–1027, 1032–1035; *Vico* 16/3/1995, lot 2.**10. Metapontum, late 4th–early 3rd centuries BCE.***Obv.* Head of Demeter r., with long hair; traces of letters below chin?*Rev.* Ear of barley; META to l.*Stater*, 3.25 g. Half coin.*Johnston* 1990: class C8; *Vico* 17/11/1994, lot 1.**11. Neapolis, 290–270 BCE.***Obv.* Head of nymph with hair band l., thyrsus behind.*Rev.* Man-headed bull r., crowned by Nike; below: ΙΣ; in ex.: ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ*Didrachm*, 7.30 g.*SNG Cop.* 465; *SNG France*, 6,1. *Étrurie* 855; *HN Italy* 586; *Vico* 21/6/2001, lot 58.**12. Neapolis, 290–270 BCE.***Obv.* Head of nymph with hair band, l.; torch behind.*Rev.* Man-headed bull, r.; crowned by Nike; below: ΙΣ; in ex.: ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ*Didrachm*, 7.13 g.*SNG Cop.*: No. 463; *SNG France*, 6,1. *Étrurie*: No. 854. *Sambon* 1973:238, No. 616; *Vico* 16/3/1995, lot 3.**13. Hieronymus, Syracuse, 215 BCE.***Obv.* Diademed head of Hieronymus, l.*Rev.* Winged thunderbolt; [above, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ and ΑΦ]; below: ΙΕΡΩΝΙΜΟΥ*10 litra*, →, 5.62 g. Half coin.*Holloway* 1969:23; *Vico* 16/3/1995, lot 2.**14. Iol, Mauretania.***Obv.* Head of Isis, to l., wearing vulture headdress with horns and globe above; in front Punic letters: ⚮ ⚮ ⚮; behind ⚮ ?*Rev.* Three corn-ears; in l. field, Punic letter ⚮; in r. field, Punic letter ⚮.*Shegel*, 7.50 g.*Falbe*, *Lindberg and Müller* 1862: 176–177, No. 284, *Mazard* 1955: 167, No. 546 var., *Alexandropoulos* 2000:471–472, No. 141 var.; *Vico* 21/6/2001, lot 89.**15. Iol, Mauretania.***Obv.* Head of Isis, to l., wearing vulture headdress with horns and globe above; [in front letter/s?].

Rev. Three corn-ears; in l. field, Punic letter \mathbb{L} ; [in r. field, Punic letter \mathbb{H}].
Sheqel, \uparrow , 4.57 g. Half coin.

Falbe, Lindberg and Müller 1862:176–177, Nos. 284–285; Mazard 1955:167, No. 546 var.; Alexandropoulos 2000:471–472, No. 141; Vico 10/3/94, lot 5.

16. Aquitanian silver.

Obv. Shapeless protuberance.

Rev. Shapeless protuberance.

3.56 g.

Villaronga 2000b:31, No. 27 (same coin, wrongly catalogued as ‘à la croix’); Callegarin 2005:438, fig. 4, arguing against the traditional attribution to Tarusates.

17. Not identified. Gaulish.

Obv. Shapeless.

Rev. Shapeless.

4.3 g. Chisel cuts.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AJC* Y. Meshorer. *Ancient Jewish Coinage*. Dix Hills, NY 1982
- AJN* *American Journal of Numismatics*
- BMC* e.g., *BMC Arab.*: G.F. Hill. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia*. London 1922
- BMCO* e.g., *BMCO* 1: S. Lane-Poole. *The Coins of the Eastern Khaleefehs in the British Museum. Catalogue of the Oriental Coins in the British Museum* 1. London 1875
- CH* *Coin Hoards*
- CIL* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
- CNP* e.g., L. Kadman. *The Coins of Akko Ptolemais* (Corpus Nummorum Palestinensium IV). Jerusalem 1961
- CRE* e.g., H. Mattingly. *The Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum I. Augustus to Vitellius*. London 1923
- DOC* e.g., P. Grierson. *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection* 3. *Leo III to Nicephorus III 717–1081*. Washington, D.C. 1973
- IEJ* *Israel Exploration Journal*
- IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae*
- IGCH* M. Thompson, O. Mørkholm and C.M. Kraay. *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*. New York 1973
- INJ* *Israel Numismatic Journal*
- INR* *Israel Numismatic Research*
- LA* *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Liber Annuus*
- LRBC* e.g., P.V. Hill and J.P.C. Kent. Part 1: The Bronze Coinage of the House of Constantine, A.D. 324–46. In *Late Roman Bronze Coinage (A.D. 324–498)*. London 1965. Pp. 4–40
- MIB* e.g., W. Hahn. *Von Anastasius I. bis Justinianus I (491–565)* (Moneta Imperii Byzantini 1. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften 109. Veröffentlichungen der Numismatischen Kommission 1). Vienna 1973
- MIBE* e.g., W. Hahn. *Money of the Incipient Byzantine Empire (Anastasius I–Justinian I, 491–565)* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte der Universität Wien 6). Vienna 2000
- MN* *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*
- NC* *Numismatic Chronicle*
- NCirc* *Numismatic Circular*
- NNM* *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*
- NZ* *Numismatische Zeitschrift*
- RRC* M.H. Crawford. *Roman Republican Coinage*. Cambridge 1974
- RIC* e.g., C.H.V. Sutherland. *The Roman Imperial Coinage* I. *From 31 BC to AD 69*. London 1984
- RN* *Revue Numismatique*
- RPC* e.g., A. Burnett, M. Amandry and I. Carradice. *From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69–96). Roman Provincial Coinage* 2. London 1999
- SC* e.g., A. Houghton and C. Lorber. *Seleucid Coins. A Comprehensive Catalogue. Part I. Seleucus I through Antiochus III*. New York, Lancaster, PA and London 2002
- SICA* e.g., S. Albm and T. Goodwin. *Sylloge of Islamic Coins In the Ashmolean, Volume 1: The Pre-Reform Coinage of the Early Islamic Period*. Oxford 2002
- SNAT* e.g., L. Ilisch. *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen–Palästina IVa Bilād aš-Šām I*. Tübingen 1993
- SNG* *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* (with suffix as necessary, e.g. *SNG Cop.*)
- SNR* *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau*
- TINC* *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress*
- TJC* Y. Meshorer. *A Treasury of Jewish Coins from the Persian Period to Bar Kochba*. Jerusalem and Nyack 2001
- ZfN* *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*



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PLATE 4



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PERE PAU RIPOLLÈS



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GEORGES VOULGARIDIS