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Text editor: Miriam Feinberg Vamosh

Typesetting: Michal Semo-Kovetz and Yael Bieber,
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Correspondence, manuscripts for publication and books for review should be addressed to: *Israel Numismatic Research*, c/o Haim Gitler, The Israel Museum, P.O. Box 71117, Jerusalem 91710 ISRAEL, or to dtariel@ins.org.il
Website: www.ins.org.il

For inquiries regarding subscription to the journal, please e-mail to info@ins.org.il

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Editors' Note

In keeping with the editors' wishes — and those of the membership of Israel Numismatic Society — that *Israel Numismatic Research* be in the forefront of numismatic study of the southern Levant (see *Editors' Note* in *INR* 2), the editors present here the following note.¹ In it, the datings of certain coins given in a key numismatic work in the region are improved.

In 46 BCE Julius Caesar instituted a new solar calendar of 365¼ days, with January 1st as its first day.² This calendar of Caesar, with slight later modifications, was destined to become the civil calendar of the modern world. Scholars of antiquity use it — under the name 'Julian' and without subsequent modifications — for dates pertaining to ancient history.

Other calendars of antiquity had their starting points in a variety of seasons. Therefore, an ancient date — other than pertaining to Rome itself — almost always overlaps parts of two consecutive Julian years. Consequently, when given in terms of the Julian calendar, it must be expressed by a double figure. The earlier figure will correspond to the first part of the local year, from the beginning of the year to December 31st, and the later figure will correspond to the period from January 1st (of the next Roman year) to the end of that local year. It is obvious that indicating only a single Julian year as an equivalent of an ancient non-Roman date would be both inexact and misleading.

Most modern scholars are aware of the necessity to indicate an ancient date by a double figure but, unfortunately, equations to a single Roman year are still frequent. This appears to stem, at least in part, from reference works that have inexact date-indications. For the southern Levant one important such reference book is Ya'akov Meshorer's *A Treasury of Jewish Coins from the Persian Period to Bar Kochba* (Jerusalem and Nyack 2001; abbrev. *TJC*). Some dates are given there in double figures, but many are not. Thus, a few dates for the coins of Herod Antipas, Philip and Agrippa I are in single Julian figures, and so are also most of the dates for the coins of the early Roman governors (prefects/procurators). The matter is aggravated further by the fact that many dates that *are* given in double figures have an error of one year.

Given the extensive use of *TJC* in modern research, a table listing the full double-figure date indications, and in some cases corrections, for the volume is provided below. It includes all coins of Herod Antipas, Philip, and Agrippa I of the Herodian family, and all of prefects/procurators. To clarify the fact that not all

1 Provided by editorial board member Alla Kushnir-Stein.

2 The Romans appear to have begun their year on January 1st from quite early in their history. The system was used from year 153 BCE at the latest: M. Cary and H.H. Scullard, *A History of Rome Down to the Reign of Constantine*, 3rd ed., London 1975, p. 181, n. 16.

dates in these categories in *TJC* required such treatment, we have indicated those without change with asterisks. Dates for the dated coins of other rulers in *TJC* (Alexander Jannaeus, Herod, Agrippa II) are not dealt with here.

<i>TJC</i> Cat. No.	Ruler	First Year	Date on Coin	<i>TJC</i> Date (CE)	Actual Date (CE)
<i>HERODIANS</i>					
75–78	<i>Herod Antipas</i>	4/3 BCE	ΚΔ, 24	19/20	20/21
79–82	“	“	ΛΓ, 33	28/29	29/30
83–86	“	“	ΛΔ, 34	29/30	30/31
87–90	“	“	ΛΖ, 37	32/33	33/34
91–94	“	“	ΜΓ, 43	39	39/40
95–96	<i>Philip</i>	4/3 BCE	Ε, 5	1	1/2
97–98*	“	“	ΙΒ, 12	8/9*	8/9
99*	“	“	ΙϚ, 16	12/3*	12/3
101*	“	“	ΙΘ, 19	15/6*	15/6
102–103*	“	“	Λ, 30	26/7*	26/7
104–105*	“	“	ΛΓ, 33	29/30*	29/30
106–109*	“	“	ΛΔ, 34	30/31*	30/31
110–111*	“	“	ΛΖ, 37	33/4*	33/4
112–115	<i>Agrippa I</i>	36/7 CE	Β, 2	38	37/8
116–119*	“	“	Ε, 5	40/41*	40/41
120*	“	“	Ϛ, 6	41/2*	41/2
121–123*	“	“	Ζ, 7	42/3*	42/3
124–126	“	“	Η, 8	43	43/4
<i>ROMAN PREFECTS/PROCURATORS</i>					
311–312	<i>Under Augustus</i>	31/30 BCE ³	ΛϚ, 36	6/7	5/6
313	“	“	ΛΘ, 39	9/10	8/9
314	“	“	Μ, 40	10/11	9/10

TJC Cat. No.	Ruler	First Year	Date on Coin	TJC Date (CE)	Actual Date (CE)
315	“	“	MA, 41	11/12	10/11
316–319	<i>Under Tiberius</i>	14/5 CE	B, 2	15	15/6
320–324	“	“	Γ, 3	16	16/7
325–327	“	“	Δ, 4	17	17/8
328	“	“	E, 5	18	18/9
329	“	“	IA, 11	24	24/5
331–332	“	“	ΙϚ, 16	29	29/30
333	“	“	IZ, 17	30	30/31
334	“	“	IΗ, 18	31	31/2
340–344*	<i>Under Claudius</i>	41/2 CE	ΙΔ, 14	54*	54⁴
345	<i>Under Nero</i>	54/5 CE	E, 5	59	58/9

3 The only era pertaining to the reign of Augustus that is known for the southern Levant is the so-called ‘Actian era’, which falls in September 31 BCE.

4 Formally speaking, the date is 54/5 CE, but since Claudius died in October 54, the coin is most likely to have been minted before the end of that year.

Some Cypriot Gold Coins?

EVANGELINE MARKOU

Institute for Greek and Roman Antiquity (KERA)

National Hellenic Research Foundation

Open University of Cyprus

e.markou@gmail.com

Abstract

For quite a long time the attribution of gold coins, dated to the fourth century BCE and with the types of a horse and a ram, was disputed between Cyprus and Cyrenaica because numismatic evidence could assign them to either region. The purpose of this paper is to discuss these coins and to examine the iconography, the weight standard and the coin legend. Although the legend is obscure and the weight of the coins can apply to both areas' weight standards, the iconography does not support the attribution of the coins among the issues of the kings of the Cyprus and favors Cyrenaica.

From the middle of the nineteenth century the attribution of gold coins with the types of the forepart of a horse and a ram's head has been much discussed. The most suitable candidates were the kings of Cyprus, or Barce in Cyrenaica, but no conclusive evidence supported one over the other. Current research allows us to advance the discussion of the problem.¹

THE COINS

The heaviest denomination known in one specimen weighs 1.07 g (Fig. 1:1) and shows on the obverse the forepart of a horse facing left and on the reverse a ram's head facing left, with two letters or signs in the field below. The lighter denomination survives in several specimens that weigh around 0.40 g; they show a horse's head on the obverse and a ram's head in a dotted circle on the reverse, with no legends (Fig. 1:2–3).

HISTORY OF RESEARCH

Duchalais first published the heaviest coin (Fig. 1:1) in 1851, as part of a group of unpublished coins of Cyrenaica. The coin had been brought to his attention by

¹ I would like to thank Olivier Picard and Wolfgang Fischer-Bossert for taking the time to read this paper and share their valuable comments with me. Of course the conclusions are the author's responsibility alone.



Fig. 1. The gold coins

1. *AV*, ↓, 1.07 g, 8 mm. 3:1 scale

Traité II, 2, col. 719–720, No. 1176.

2. *AV*, ↙, 0.40 g, 7.5 mm. 2:1 scale

Hill 1921:176, No. 29.

3. *AV*, 0.41 g, 7 mm. 2:1 scale

Bonhams Auction Catalogue (May 21–22, 1980), No. 194.

Jean Vattier de Bourville who acquired it from Cyrenaica. Although Duchalais (1851:95) acknowledged the difficulty of deciding on its attribution to a specific mint, he suggested that the minting authority had contacts with that area. The first connection of that same coin with Cyprus was proposed by Six in 1883. He emphasized that the attribution of the coin was extremely uncertain, that the style did not seem to be Cypriot and that the letters seemed to be Phoenician rather than Cypriot. But he concluded that the type would connect better to Cypriot coins (Six 1883:372, No. 2).

A lighter denomination coin was briefly presented by Engel in the *Revue Numismatique* a few years later (1885:17, No. 43), among the highlights of the collection of Alexander Meletopoulos. The gold coin of 0.40 g that was acquired from Alexandria was attributed, according to Achilles Postolacca, the Curator of the Numismatic Collection in Athens, to the island of Cyprus.² The attribution of both the heavier and the lighter denominations to the kings of Cyprus was adopted by Babelon in his *Traité* of 1910 with some reservations. Babelon classified (de Bourville's) heavier coin from the Bibliothèque Nationale among the gold issues

2 Meletopoulos deposited part of his collection in the Numismatic Museum in Athens. Today, however, the coin is not found there. I would like to express my gratitude to Eva Apostolou and Yorika Nikolaou for providing me with this and other precious information during my research.

of the king of Salamis, Evagoras II (*Traité* II, 2, col. 719–720, No. 1176), but hesitated with regard to the reverse legend, writing that “l’attribution de cette petite pièce d’or est incertaine; elle pourrait appartenir à la Cyrénaïque”.

Hill first raised the question of the attribution to Salamis in Cyprus or Cyrene in Cyrenaica of both the heavier and the lighter denominations as a group, in 1921. Publishing the coins acquired by the British Museum a year earlier, he added a specimen of the lighter denomination, from the Froehner Collection, which he described as a twentieth of a gold *stater* (Hill 1921:176–177, No. 29). Hill also mentioned the Bibliothèque Nationale coin and questioned its attribution both to Evagoras II, as suggested by Babelon, and to Cyprus.³

In his 1927 publication of the Cyrenaican coins in the British Museum Robinson once more raised the question of these coins’ attribution and considered them “almost certainly Cypriot”, claiming that, although the reverse types could suggest Barce in Cyrenaica, “the weight does not fit” (*BMC Cyrenaica*:clxxx, n. 1). Finally Naville, in his meticulous study of the gold coinage of Cyrenaica (1951:89), classified the lighter coins under Barce in Cyrenaica, but treated the heavier coin separately as an uncertain attribution, concluding that it would be better to “laisser cette pièce à Chypre” (Naville 1951:89).

DISCUSSION

The complex history of the attributions of these coins raises two critical questions: First, do these coins form a group or should they be treated separately? Second, were the coins issued in Cyrenaica or Cyprus? The answer to both questions requires a thorough analysis of the weight standard, of the legend on the heavier denomination and of the iconography.

Weight Standard

The gold coins clearly belong to two different denominations. The heavier coin weighs 1.07 g, the lighter specimens around 0.40 g. Two known coins of roughly 0.40 g were attributed by Naville to the coinage of Barce, and were described as half *litrai*.⁴ The minting of *litrai* in that city, of a theoretical weight of roughly 0.86 g, would explain the existence of fractions of a theoretical weight of roughly 0.43 g, equal to half of this unit. According to Naville (1951:89) the coin in the

3 Hill 1921:177: “This piece is said to have come from Cyrenaica through M. de Bourville; but that collector’s cabinet contained many coins of other districts”.

4 Naville 1951:88, Nos. 261–262. Laronde (1987:234) convincingly challenged Naville’s identification of the denomination as based upon *litrai*, explaining that this unit is more appropriate for Rome or Sicily. Because I am presenting Naville’s arguments on the coin standard in detail, I will maintain his *litrai* terminology, but I will also note in each case the actual weights of the coins.

Bibliothèque Nationale should be considered a *trihemiobol* on the Attic weight standard, making a Cyrenaican attribution for it possible since *triobols* are attested there.⁵ But the parallel minting of one *litra* and a quarter, i.e., of coins of roughly 0.86 g and 1.07 g, seems improbable, because the weights of the two denominations are too close (Naville 1951:89). Laronde made an important contribution to the study of the coinage of Cyrene, in particular to the names of the gold coins that correspond to values in silver coins, the weight standard and the *ratio* between the gold and the silver issues, and exposed the problems of the coinage of Cyrenaica (Laronde 1987:233–239).

This heavier denomination has the same complexity as far as Cyprus is concerned. As the weight standard for the gold issues in the island is aligned to the *daric*, the heavier coin could be considered an eighth of a *stater*, with a theoretical weight of roughly 1.06 g, an extremely rare fraction represented by a unique coin attributed to Evagoras II of Salamis. If Babelon's classification of this coin under the gold coinage of Evagoras II were correct, this would create a strong argument for an attribution to Cyprus. However, the iconographical analysis below will establish that Evagoras II cannot be considered the issuing authority of this coin.

For the lighter issue, as we observe for Cyrenaica, the denomination of a twentieth of a gold *stater*, with a theoretical weight of roughly 0.42 g, would conform well with the weight standard of the Cypriot royal issues.

Our major difficulty in the attempt to investigate the weight standard is the limited sample of coins: The heavier denomination survives in one specimen that could belong to the Attic weight standard employed in Cyrene, as an eighth of a gold *stater* with a theoretical weight of roughly 1.075 g, and also to the Persic weight standard employed in Cyprus, with a theoretical weight of roughly 1.055 g. The lighter coins could belong to either the Attic or the Persic weight standards since the Attic twentieth gold *stater* weighs roughly 0.43 g and the Persic roughly 0.42 g. The evidence is too tenuous to allow for a conclusion. Without any additional coins the question of the weight standard remains uncertain.

*Coin Legend*⁶

Only the heavier coin bears a legend on the reverse (Fig. 2), below the ram's head, composed of two characters that have been described as Cypriot Syllabic signs (*Traité* II, 2, col. 719–720, No. 1176) or Phoenician (Six 1883:372) letters.

5 According to Naville the coin weighed 1.05 g but its actual weight is 1.07 g.

6 I would like to express my gratitude to Markus Egetmeyer and Artemis Karnava for discussing this legend with me. The conclusions are the author's responsibility alone.



Fig. 2. Enlarged (2:1 scale) detail of legend on the reverse of Fig. 1.1

The uncertainty of the script has been underlined in many publications.⁷ For Naville (1951:89) the fact that the letters on the coin do not appear to be Greek formed a strong argument for the attribution to Cyprus. However, in the fourth-century issues of the kings of Cyprus the use of three scripts is attested: Cypriot Syllabic⁸, Phoenician and Greek. The parallel use of Greek and Cypriot Syllabic on the same coins is also found. This implies that even if the legend could be proved to be Greek, it could nevertheless be assigned to Cyprus.

The two characters in fact could belong to any one of the three scripts. The shape of the letter at the right recalls the shape of an archaic Greek *sigma* (Σ) and at the same time a Phoenician *šîn* (𐤑) and a Cypriot Syllabic *pe* (𐤕). The letter at the left is more complex since it could recall, with some imagination, a Greek *epsilon* (Ε), because from a distance it looks different from the letter on the right, or even a poorly designed *sigma* (Σ), like the first letter. But there is room for some discussion.

The absence of a third letter, and especially the lack of similarity of these two letters to the ethnic of Barce as it appears on the silver and bronze issues, accentuate the difficulties of attributing these coins to this mint.

Using the legend to attribute the coin to Cyprus also presents difficulties. Some of the legends composed of Cypriot Syllabic signs still remain obscure, but in general the title of the minting authority — the king — clearly appears on all issues in gold. Even on small fractions we observe the royal title in its abbreviated form † (*pa*) for *pa-si-le-wo-se*, “of the king”, together with the name or the first sign of the name of the king who issued the coin.⁹ Still in Cyprus, the Phoenician legends share the same formula; the kings of Kition who issued gold coins in the fourth century placed their names, preceded by their royal title *mlk*, in Phoenician. An exception is a bronze issue attributed to King Milkyaton, where only the Phoenician letter *mem* (𐤌), the initial letter of his name, appears (*Traité II.2*, No. 1230). None of the prospective identifications of letters given

7 Duchalais 1851:95: “caractères inconnus”; Hill 1921:176: “accompanied by two uncertain letters (Cypriote or Phoenician)”.

8 For the Cypriot Syllabic script cf. Masson 1983. For a brief overview also see Palaima 2005 and Karali 2007:239–242.

9 See, for example, the third gold *stater* of Nikokles, King of Salamis, that depicts Aphrodite’s bust and the Cypriot Syllabic sign *pa* on the obverse and Athena’s bust and the sign *ni* — initial letter of the king’s name — on the reverse (*BMC Cyprus*:58, No. 61).

above — the Cypriot Syllabic sign *pe*, the Phoenician šîn or the Greek *sigma* — can be linked with any of the fourth-century Cypriot kings' names. The last king of Kition, Pumayyaton, also added his regnal year to the reverses of his gold half *staters* (Fig. 3:4), but the two signs on our gold coin cannot be regarded as Phoenician numerals.

The difficulty in reading the legend, understanding its meaning and ascribing it to the minting authorities in question leads us, once more, to the same dilemma regarding attribution.

Iconography

Gold coins were issued in both Cyprus and Cyrenaica, often with similar iconography¹⁰, which explains partly why the attribution of our coins has been disputed between those areas for such a long time. From a strictly iconographical point of view, the way the ram's head is represented on these coins recalls the obverses of silver *hemiobols*, once attributed to Cyprus, from the mint of Caria.¹¹ Although the representation of a ram's head is common on the silver issues of the area, the issuing of gold coins in Caria is limited to the issues of Pixodarus and these have a completely different iconography.¹²

I have already noted Babelon's ascription of the coin in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fig. 1:1) to Evagoras II (*Traité II.2*, No. 1176), favoring the Cypriot attribution. Hill questioned the attribution to Cyprus and especially to Evagoras II and suggested that if this coin had been issued by one of the kings, Evagoras I would be a more appropriate minting authority because the ram's head disappears before his reign, and the horse does not appear in the local iconography until the reign of Evagoras II (Hill 1921:177). Both those approaches proved mistaken since neither Evagoras II nor Evagoras I could be the issuing authority of the gold coins discussed.

The iconography of the ram and the horse is attested on Cypriot coins of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE in silver and in bronze but never in gold (Fig. 3).¹³

10 See the error in an attribution that occurred between a gold twelfth of the Cypriot Stasioikos II king of Marion and the gold tenth of the Cyrenaican Polianthes, because of the iconographical similarity of their types (Markou 2006:50–54).

11 Konuk 2007:477–479, Nos. M12–M20 (especially M20). The silver coins attributed by Six 1890:256–259, Pls. XVII:10–12, to Abdemon, now belong (according to Troxell 1984:253–255, Nos. 8–10) to Caria. The reattribution was proposed because of the Carian, and not Phoenician, legends on the reverse. See also the proposal of Konuk (2007:476) that the legend could refer to an ethnic (Kasolaba?).

12 For the coinage of the Hekatomnids see Konuk 1998.

13 For the gold coinage of the kings of Cyprus see Markou *forthcoming*.

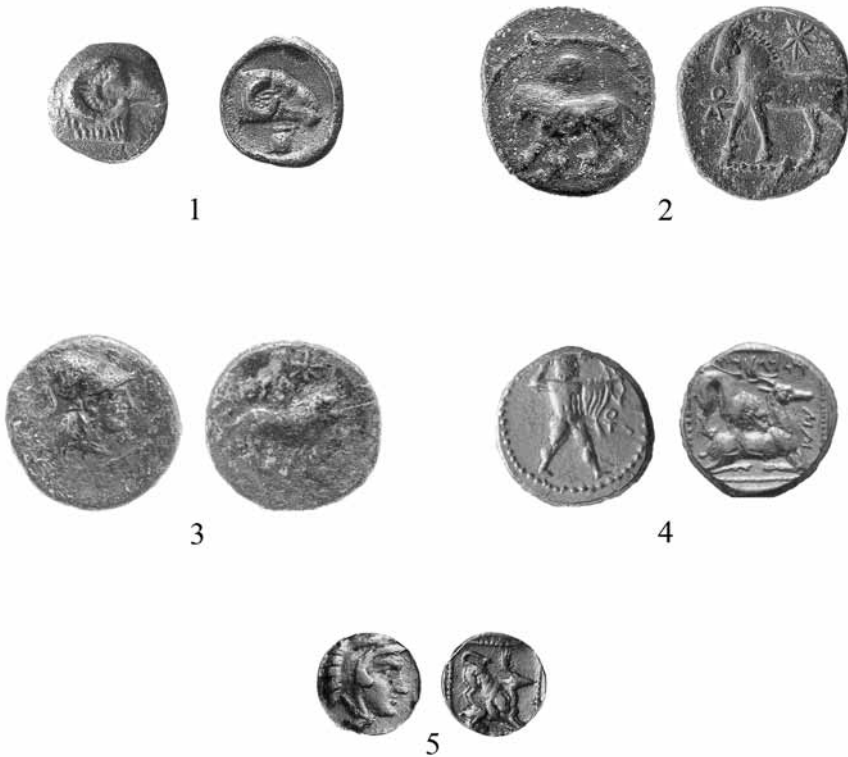


Fig. 3. Cypriot coins

1. Salamis, Evanthes (?).

AR 1/12 *siglos*, ↑, 0.75 g, 11 mm. 1.5:1 scale
BOCCF:39, No. 20 (*BOCCF* 2001-08-01).

2. Kition, Pumayyaton.

Æ, ↑, 3.02 g, 16 mm. 1.5:1 scale
BOCCF:61, No. 27 (*BOCCF* 1994-03-05).

3. Salamis, Evagoras II.

Æ, 2.75 g, 16 mm. 1.5:1 scale
Traité II, 2, col. 719–720, No. 1179.

4. Kition, Pumayyaton, Year 40 (323/2 BCE).

Δ Half *stater*, ↓, 4.14 g, 14 mm. 1.5:1 scale
 Coll. Giabra Pierides:325, No. 436.

5. Kition, Milkyaton or Pumayyaton.

Δ Tenth *stater*, ↓, 0.80 g, 7 mm. 2:1 scale
BOCCF:60, No. 24 (*BOCCF* 1984-01-25).

The recumbent ram and the ram's head (Fig. 3:1) are, during the fifth century, the iconographical type *par excellence* for the silver issues of the kings of Salamis (*BMC Cyprus*:46–54, Nos. 1–41; *Traité II.2*, Nos. 1129–1141; *BOCCF*:36–39,

Nos. 1–21). In the fourth century the ram is abandoned and never again appears as the main type on any gold issues of the kings of Salamis or of other Cypriot kings. The horse is even less frequent in Cyprus, but it can be found on the fourth-century bronze issues which show, on the obverse, a lion walking left or right with a ram's head in the field above; on the reverse a horse is walking left on a dotted exergual line with a star of eight rays above and symbol of *Tanit* in the left field (Fig. 3:2).¹⁴ For a long time these coins were assigned to the issues of the king of Salamis Evagoras II, which justifies Babelon's suggestion. The attribution was inspired by the presence of the ram as a symbol on the obverse, which would support an iconographical link to the fifth-century issues of the kings of Salamis, and that of a star above the horse on the reverse, which would link to the gold *staters* of the king Evagoras II (*BMC Cyprus:cv*; *Traité II.2*, col. 715–716, Nos. 1164–1165) and to his bronze coins with the head of Athena and the lion's head that bear the beginning of his name (EYA) in Greek (Fig. 3:3).

However, the presence of the Phoenician symbol of the deity *Tanit* on the obverse and the discovery of an important number of these bronze coins in the excavations at Kition, confirmed that the kings of Salamis can no longer be considered as their minting authority (Callot 1992:298). That observation establishes that Evagoras II must be omitted from the list of possible issuing authorities.

The other king of Salamis, Evagoras I, suggested by Hill in 1921 (p. 177), can be excluded as well, because his gold and silver issues do not permit any link to our coins.¹⁵ The last iconographical link that remains for Cyprus is the king who issued the bronze coins that show the lion/horse types (Fig. 3:2). These coins are dated after the middle of the fourth century, when King Pumayyaton ruled over Kition. The coin issues of this king do not allow the classification of our coins among his well-known gold issues copying the 'traditional' iconography of the kings of Kition: Herakles-Melqart¹⁶ advancing right on the obverse and a lion attacking a stag on the reverse (Fig. 3:4).¹⁷ Smaller anepigraphic fractions, such as tenths and twentieths, show the head of Herakles-Melqart on the obverse and the same reverse iconography (Fig. 3:5) and they can be attributed to Pumayyaton or to his predecessor Milkyaton.

14 *Traité II.2*, col. 719–720, Nos. 1180–1180^{bis}; *BMC Cyprus:61*, Nos. 69–73. The coins were classified by both Babelon and Hill under Evagoras II.

15 For the coinage of Evagoras I cf. *Traité II.2*, col. 709–712, Nos. 1150–1159; cxxix: 4. *BMC Cyprus:56–58*, Nos. 51–60, xxiv:8. *BOCCF:46–49*, Nos. 1–15. For the silver coinage see also Masson and Amandry 1988:34–41.

16 For Melqart cf. Bonnet 1992:285–287.

17 Destrooper-Georgiades 1993:249–259. Complementary notice with additional specimens in Destrooper-Georgiades 2006:95–111.

It would be hard to understand why this king, who, according to literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidence, ruled Kition from 362/1 to 312 BCE, would have adopted a completely different iconography for smaller fractions in gold. In the current state of our knowledge of the gold issues of the Cypriot kings it is difficult to find any evidence that could favor the attribution of the coins discussed here to Cyprus. The suggestion to classify them among the issues of Evagoras II or Evagoras I, kings of Salamis, can no longer be sustained, and nothing encourages the association of these coins with Pumayyaton the king of Kition. On the contrary, the types are common in Cyrenaica since they are attested on the coin issues of Barce.



Fig. 4. Barce coins

1. Barce.

AV Tenth, ↑, 0.84 g, 8.5 mm. 2:1 scale

BMC Cyrenaica:98, No. 20.

2. Cyrene.

AV Hemidrachm, →, 1.70 g, 12 mm. 2:1 scale

BMC Cyrenaica:15, No. 62.

3. Barce.

AR Drachm, ^, 3.21 g, 13 mm. 2:1 scale

BMC Cyrenaica:92, No. 3.

4. Barce.

AE, ↓, 6.43 g, 18 mm. 1.5:1 scale

BMC Cyrenaica:105, No. 47.

Naville attributed the lighter coins (Fig. 1:2) to the second period of the gold coinage of Barce (435–331 BCE),¹⁸ on the grounds that they reproduce the reverse ram's-head-within-circle-of-dots iconography of the gold *litrai* of the same mint (*obv.* head of Zeus Karneios r.; Fig. 4:1).¹⁹ The iconography of Karneios is common in Cyrenaica and can also be observed on a gold series of *hemidrachms*, which are one fifth of an Attic gold *stater* of a theoretical weight of roughly 1.72 g (*obv.* silphium plant, *rev.* head of Ammon r.; Fig. 4:2). Although Robinson classified these coins under Cyrene, he allowed that they could belong to Barce because their style resembles that of the silver issues of the city.²⁰

The ram's head is clearly associated with the coinage of Barce. The type occurs both on the silver and bronze issues of the city, with a silphium plant on the obverse and on the reverse the Greek letters BAP above the ram's head (*BMC Cyrenaica*:91–92, Nos. 2–4; Fig. 4:3). The ram and the horse appear together on bronze issues of Barce (Fig. 4:4: *obv.* horse with bridle and rein prancing r.; *rev.* ram stg. r., in ex.: BAP; *BMC Cyrenaica*:105, No. 47).

The presence of the ram's head on the gold²¹, silver and bronze issues of Barce, as well as the presence of the horse and the ram on the bronzes of that mint, supports the attribution of the gold coins discussed above to Cyrenaica.

CONCLUSION

The obscure legend and the weight standard of the types discussed above, as far as they can be understood from the restricted number of specimens, could be related either to Cyprus or to Cyrenaica. The iconography, however, can serve as a valuable tool for the consideration of these coins as a group and for their attribution. The heavier coin is linked to the lighter fractions: it shows the forepart of the horse while the lighter coins show only its head. Both denominations depict the ram's head on the reverse, facing left on the heavier and right on the lighter. Only the heavier denomination bears a legend.

18 Naville 1951:88, Nos. 261 (0.40 g) and 262 (0.42 g).

19 Naville 1951:88, No. 260; *BMC Cyrenaica*:98, No. 20; Robinson 1915:138, No. 56 (weight: 13.4 grains = 0.87 g with the note that “the true weight is less, as the coin has been mounted”).

20 *BMC Cyrenaica*:clxxx, p. lxxi, and p. 15, Nos. 62–63 (both 1.70 g). On the stylistic comparison, Robinson followed Head who commented on the same (Head 1911:873): “This gold coin is attributed to Barce simply on account of the style of the head of Ammon, which closely resembles that of some of the inscribed tetradrachms of the town”.

21 Six (1883:327) considered the style of the gold discussed here as not Cypriot. Hill (1921:177) also believed the style and fabric of these coins mitigated against an attribution to Cyprus.

The ram is only of secondary importance in fourth-century royal Cypriot issues and the attribution of the coins discussed to Evagoras I or Evagoras II can no longer be sustained. It is also highly improbable that the Kition king Pumayyaton issued these coins; his gold issues follow the iconographical tradition of his predecessors and there is absolutely no indication of an iconographical change during his reign, particularly for his coinage in gold.

On the contrary the iconographic evidence for the attribution of the coins to Barce in Cyrenaica is stronger. Barce minted gold coins, securely attributed to Cyrenaica because of the presence of Zeus Karneios on the obverse, with the same reverse as the coins discussed here. Furthermore, the iconography of the ram and the horse is common in gold, silver and bronze issues of Barce in the fourth century.

For the above reasons, and in the current state of our knowledge, the Cypriot origin of these coins can be rejected. The attribution to Barce in Cyrenaica, however, although supported by the iconography, still remains inconclusive — owing to the uncertain weight standard and the difficult-to-read legend. It is not impossible that these coins were issued by another as-yet-unidentified mint in Cyrenaica. One must await more coins of these types to come to light. Provenanced finds and/or those with better preserved legends would greatly help determine their mint attribution.

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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. Album 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*