

# Four studies of the coinages of the Elisyces

Clive Stannard\*, Jean-Albert Chevillon\*\*, Joan Ferrer i Jané\*\*\* and Alejandro G. Sinner\*\*\*\*

\* *University of Warwick (Department of Classics and Ancient History)*

\*\* *Independent researcher*

\*\*\* *LITTERA group, University of Barcelona (2021 SGR 00074)*

\*\*\*\* *University of Victoria (Greek and Roman Studies)*

**Abstract:** Various groups of coins are given to the Ibero-Ligurian Elisyces of the Narbonnaise. Research has however so far concentrated on cataloguing site-finds and identifying and placing individual issues, without attempting to understand their structure, or the overall monetary environment. We here present four studies of coins from Montlaurès, which may serve as benchmarks for further investigation. Study 1 focuses on a number of archaic coins, all from Elisycian territory, which may be the first coins of Montlaurès. Study 2 considers the ‘obole au bucrane’, which perhaps began c. 250/240 BC and ended in the early first century BC. At some point during the Second Punic War, this coinage reflects some major political event. Study 3 reviews three substantial issues of silver obols that use reverse types copied from Carthaginian coins, and places these in the context of the Elisyces’ long mercenary tradition, and their service in the armies of Hannibal and Hasdrubal. Study 4 discusses a group of bronze coins with a North-Eastern Iberian legend, usually understood as **bineken**. We now interpret this as **binēmi**, and consider its possible meaning. We publish a new issue of lead pieces with the same legend, which uses a type borrowed from the Etruscan mint of Luca. We end with a number of reflections on the implications of the four studies for understanding the coinages of the Elisyces, and identifying otherwise unsuspected political events.

**Keywords:** Elisyces – Montlaurès – Ensérune – Carthage – Barcids – Massalia – Emporion – Rhode – Etruria – Archaic coinage – Mercenaries – Second Punic War – **binēmi**.

**Résumé :** Divers groupes de monnaies sont attribués aux Ibéro-Ligures Élisyques du Languedoc occidental. La recherche s’est toutefois jusqu’ici concentrée sur le catalogage des découvertes sur place et sur l’identification et le placement des émissions individuelles, sans tenter de comprendre leur structure ni l’environnement monétaire global. Nous présentons ici quatre études des monnaies de Montlaurès, qui pourront servir de points de repère pour des recherches plus approfondies. L’étude 1 s’attache à mettre en avant quelques spécimens archaïques, tous originaires du territoire élisyque, qui pourraient correspondre à une première production de Montlaurès. L’étude 2 porte sur l’obole « au bucrane » dont la frappe débute probablement vers 250/240 et s’est terminée au début du premier siècle av. J.-C. À un moment donné de la Seconde Guerre punique, cette monnaie reflète un événement politique majeur. L’étude 3 examine trois émissions consécutives d’oboles en argent qui utilisent des types de revers copiés sur des pièces carthagoises, et les place dans le contexte de la longue tradition mercenaire des Élisyques, et de leur service dans les armées d’Hannibal et d’Hasdrubal. L’étude 4 traite d’un groupe de monnaies de bronze portant une légende ibérique du Nord-Est, habituellement comprise comme **bineken**. Nous l’interprétons maintenant comme **binēmi**, et examinons sa possible signification. Nous publions une nouvelle émission de pièces en plomb avec la même légende, qui utilise un type emprunté à l’atelier étrusque de Luca. Nous terminons par un nombre de réflexions sur les implications des quatre études pour comprendre les monnaies des Elisyces et identifier des événements politiques autrement insoupçonnés.

**Mots clefs :** Élisyques – Montlaurès – Ensérune – Carthage – Barcides – Massalia – Emporion – Rhode – Etrurie – Monnaies archaïques – Mercenariat – Seconde guerre punique – **binēmi**.

## Introduction

The west coast of the Gulf of Lion that runs from about Béziers to the narrow coastal passage of the *Via Herculea* from Gaul to Iberia, and which is bound on the East by the Pyrenees—the Narbonnaise—was of strategic importance, while the Valley of the Aude was a trade corridor leading towards Toulouse, and beyond that to the Atlantic coast.

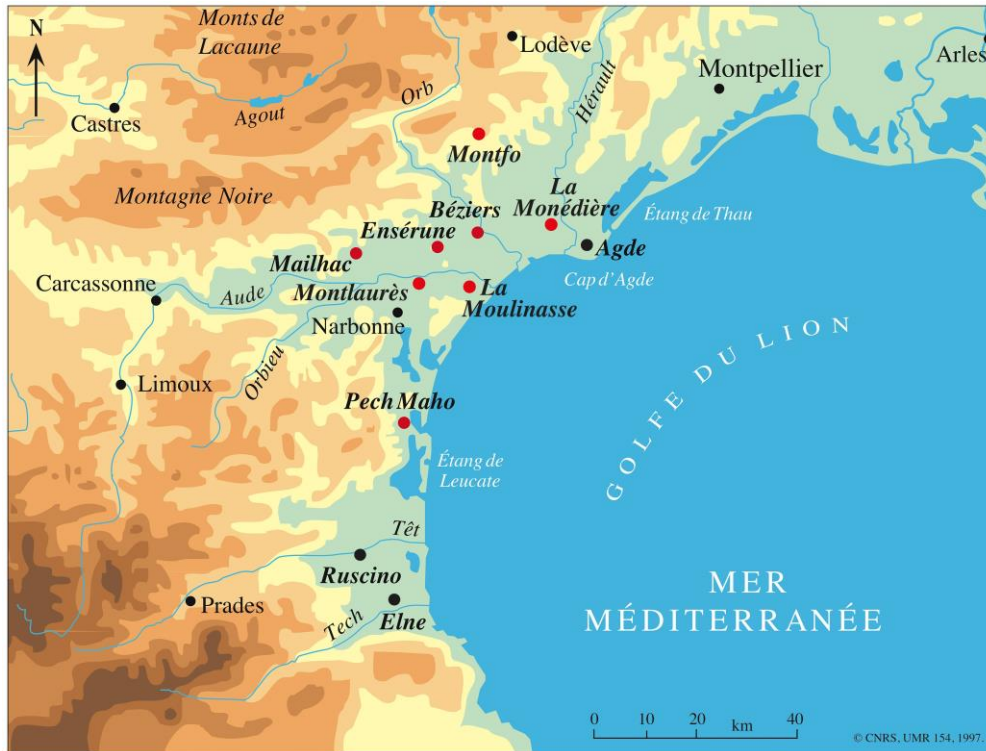


Fig. 1. The-main sites of the Elisyces, in red.

An Ibero-Lugurian people of the Narbonnaise, the Elisyces, is mentioned by Greek sources as being especially warlike. They were a long-time reservoir of mercenaries for the armies of Carthage, from the time of the wars with the Sicilian Greeks. Herodotus (*VII, 165-166*) says that Elisyces fought for Carthage at the battle of Himera in 480. They fought in 338 for the Carthaginians against Timoleon. They were a major part of the armies of the empire established by the Barcid family in metal-rich south-eastern Spain after Carthage's defeat in the First Punic War, as well as of the armies of Hannibal in Italy and his brother Hasdrubal in Spain during the Second Punic War. Roman interest and influence in the Narbonnaise began in the first half of the second century:<sup>1</sup> The Treaty of Ebro between Rome and Carthage in 226 recognised the north Catalan coast as a Roman sphere of influence.

Montlaurès was a principal site of the Elisyces,<sup>2</sup> and was founded at about the same time as other major Elisycian settlements, at Ensérune (Nissan-lès-Ensérune),<sup>3</sup> Pech Maho (Sigean)<sup>4</sup> and Cayla de Mailhac,<sup>5</sup> and a little later than La Moulinasse (Salles-d'Aude).<sup>6</sup> It is generally thought that Montlaurès is the Naro or Narbo mentioned 'as the great capital of a warlike kingdom' by Avienus,

All dates in this article are BC, except when otherwise indicated.

We thank Cédric Lopez, Pierre-Yves Melmoux, Pere Pau Ripollès Alegre and Romain Ravignot for their help and advice.

<sup>1</sup> Sanchez 2009, p. 18–22.

<sup>2</sup> Fariselli 2002, p. 260.

<sup>3</sup> Jannoray 1995.

<sup>4</sup> Gailledrat et al. 2012.

<sup>5</sup> Janin 2000.

<sup>6</sup> de Chazelles 2004, p. 6.

the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD author of the *Ora Maritima*,<sup>7</sup> because of the similarity in name to the Roman *Colonia Narbo Martius*, and because of the legend on the coins usually attributed to Montlaurès, **neronken**, and dated to c. 150–75.<sup>8</sup>

Recent research seems to have shown that a major early influence on the *oppida* of the Elisyces was the recently identified Greek settlement of Beziers I, thought to have been founded about 625, pre-dating the foundation of Massalia by the Phocaeans.<sup>9</sup> It was a Doric, not an Ionian venture, and Ugolini's reconsideration of the documentary evidence suggests that its name was 'Ρόδη, because of Rhodes' part in its foundation, or the involvement of the Doric colonies of Sicily, such as Selinous and Gela. The original attraction to the area was access to bronze and tin, and to fertile land. It acted as an emporion for Attic, Etruscan and Iberian goods. The development of Ensérune in particular, 11 km to the south-west, was stimulated by Beziers I/Rhode, as well as of Montlaurès further south. During the 5<sup>th</sup> century, Beziers I was by far the largest site west of the Rhône.

From about 475–450, the Iberian sites lost ground, with Ensérune and Montlaurès suffering a crisis about 400. From about 450, Beziers I began to decline, perhaps having lost entry to the Aude-Garonne axis, but also as the control of trade on the northern Spanish coast passed into Punic hands. The market slid towards Emporion, while La Tène cultural influence grew at Ensérune. By 300, Beziers I was abandoned. Massalia seems not to have attempted to replace it, probably because the economic competitiveness of the site was no more. Doric groups leaving Bezier I, probably with the participation of some Massalians, founded Rhode in Iberia soon after this, with the name of Beziers I being re-used for the new foundation.<sup>10</sup>

The *oppidum* of Montlaurès lies four kilometres from the River Aude, south-east of Narbonne. It is centred on a hill some 52 metres high, in the middle of a plain. The overall site was very large, and spread over an area of about ten hectares. Most dwelling appears to have begun at a lower level, only moving to the heights in the late second century.<sup>11</sup> In Antiquity, Lake *Rebresus* was larger than the present Étang de Bages, and gave Montlaurès an access to the sea.<sup>12</sup> Montlaurès was an emporion, exporting agricultural commodities from its hinterland, and redistributing goods from Greece, Etruria and the Punic world to the interior. No other site in the Narbonnaise has furnished such rich finds of Attic pottery, with a peak between the last quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> and the first quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>13</sup>

On the basis of her excavations, Claire-Anne de Chazelles has argued that there was a hiatus of occupation from the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century,<sup>14</sup> but the numismatic evidence that some of the obols 'au bucrane' and the silver coins with Carthaginian types, which we discuss in Studies 2 and 3, are from Montlaurès and date to the Second Punic War, make it probable that the occupation continued, at least in some part of the site, during this period.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Ugolini and Olive 1987; Ugolini and Olive 2003.

<sup>8</sup> For the coins of Neronken, *CNH*, p. 437–438; *ACIP*, p. 537–539. A misreading of the Iberian legend as if it were Greek —NEΔENEN— (cf. de la Tour 1892/1999), led to the mistaken invention of a hypothetical people, the Nédènes.

<sup>9</sup> The archaeological discovery of Beziers I is recent, and understanding has grown over the last 50 years.

<sup>10</sup> This synopsis relies on Ugolini 2018, *q.v.* See also Gomez and Ugolini 2020. These ideas have very extensive implications for the history of the western Mediterranean, and will be tested and refined over time, including the proposal that the Greek name for Beziers I was 'Ρόδη, and at that this name was re-used at Rhode, although the rose seen from below on Rhode's coinage, with its name, must relate to Rhodes.

<sup>11</sup> de Chazelles et al. 2000.

<sup>12</sup> de Chazelles 2004, p. 2–3.

<sup>13</sup> Gallet De Santerre 1977, p. 44.

<sup>14</sup> De Chazelles 2004, p. 13, notes that 'il est certain qu'un certain nombre de points ont été éclaircis, comme en particulier la chronologie de l'occupation marquée par un hiatus important et jusqu'alors insoupçonné'.

<sup>15</sup> Thus, Paris 2014, p. 85: 'l'oppidum connaît d'abord, entre 300 et 150 av. J.-C. une lente croissance de la circulation monétaire' and 'la fabrication des premières monnaies d'argent sur le site de Montlaurès est à placer à partir de la seconde moitié du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.'.

Ensérune, the second major *oppidum* of the Elisyces<sup>16</sup> was in a strategically important position at 100 metres above sea-level, which dominates the surrounding plains. It was permanently inhabited from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 1<sup>st</sup> century, and, like Montlaurès, an important emporion.

There was a period of violence in the Narbonnaise at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, with the supposed arrival of the Celtic Volcae tribes in 218,<sup>17</sup> who occupied the plain between the Rhône and the Garonne. The Arecomici subsequently created their capital at Nemausus (Nîmes) and the Tectosages theirs at Tolosa (Toulouse). Other groups, such as the Longosteletes, also settled in the region. In the same year, during Hannibal's march through Spain and Gaul to Italy, the Elisyces were the first major people whose territory he traversed. Hasdrubal's abortive attempt to reinforce his brother passed through in 207. Elisycian mercenaries formed an important part of both their forces.<sup>18</sup> Pech Maho, on the southern border of Elisycian territory with Spain, was sacked and burned at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, but it is not certain by whom.<sup>19</sup>

There have recently been a number of valuable compendia of site-finds from the Narbonnaise: extensive catalogues by Élodie Paris<sup>20</sup> and by Jean-Claude Richard<sup>21</sup> of coins of all dates from Montlaurès, while Guy Rancoule, Gisèle Gentric and Jean-Claude Richard Ralite have assembled a compendium of all pre-Augustan coins found in the Department of Aude.<sup>22</sup> Michel Feugère and Michel Py catalogued the various Ibero-Languedocian issues, and listed their find-spots in 2011,<sup>23</sup> on which the on-line catalogue, *Dicomon, Dictionnaire des monnaies de Gaule méditerranéenne*,<sup>24</sup> is based, and by which we cite coins discussed in this paper. The admirable new on-line catalogue, *Moneda Iberica (MIB)*,<sup>25</sup> edited by Pere Pau Ripollès and Manuel Gonzalbes, has been of real value in our research, beyond simple coin identification.

Coins of various types were made at Montlaurès and Ensérune before the Second Punic War. In this paper, we will be looking primarily at the coinage of Montlaurès, and have not considered a quite substantial issue of hemiobols with the legend TVII, which is attributed to Ensérune.<sup>26</sup> Jean-Claude Richard and Gisèle Gentric have catalogued the finds from Ensérune.<sup>27</sup>

Research has so far concentrated on the foundational task of cataloguing site-finds and attributing individual issues, without an attempt to study and understand the structure of individual issues, and of the overall monetary environment, with analytical techniques such as die-studies. An exemplary exception is Cédric López's exhaustive study of the 'monnaies à la croix'.<sup>28</sup>

Our aim in this paper is to undertake such in-depth studies of four groups of coins—three usually attributed to Montlaurès, and one newly isolated—with the aim of understanding something of the nature of coinage among the Elisycians until about the beginning of the second century. We hope to provide some elements of a structure, through which the study of these coinages can move beyond

<sup>16</sup> Jannoray 1955.

<sup>17</sup> But note, however: 'M. Py avait déjà attiré l'attention des historiens sur le phénomène « volque » et il en concluait qu'en réalité les « Volques » étaient plus une invention » romaine dictée par des raisons politiques qu'une véritable entité ethnique, puisque rien ne prouve, du point de vue de la civilisation matérielle, l'arrivée de ce peuple. Nous inclinons à suivre cette hypothèse'. (Ugolini and Olive 1987, p. 150).

<sup>18</sup> Fariselli 2002, p. 260–261.

<sup>19</sup> Beylier et al. 2008, p. 166; Py 1993; Gailledrat et al. 2012, p. 57.

<sup>20</sup> Paris 2014.

<sup>21</sup> Richard Ralite 2015, 2016.

<sup>22</sup> Rancoule, Gentric, and Richard Ralite 2019.

<sup>23</sup> Feugère and Py 2011, p. 18–19

<sup>24</sup> <http://syslat.fr/SLC/DICOMON/d.index.html>

<sup>25</sup> <https://monedaiberica.org/>.

<sup>26</sup> *Dicomon* IBL-193 and INL-194; Chevillon and Larozas 2000.

<sup>27</sup> Richard Ralite and Gentric 2019.

<sup>28</sup> López 2020.



individual issues, to a systematic and diachronic picture, around which a picture of the development of the early coins of the Elisycians, and of the Narbonnaise generally, can cohere. We feel this will contribute to the political, social and economic history of the region in the pre-Roman period.

### 1. An archaic coinage from Western Languedoc: Montlaurès?

A number of anepigraphic fractions of a rough style, with on the obverse a rudimentary head—facing left on fig. 2, 1–4,<sup>29</sup> and right on 5 and 6<sup>30</sup>—and with reverses made by a simple, square punch, have at various times been reported from a number of sites, mainly in the Aude Department, including the communes of Laure Minervois, Saint-Pierre-des-Champs, Sigean, and the Montlaurès area. Py classes these under his reference OBB, which groups a variety of issues not included in the Auriol find issues, but assimilable to them.<sup>31</sup> Allowing for wear, an average weight of about 0.30 g seems likely. There is also a coin, 7, again of 0.30 g, with an obverse griffin head left, and a similar square reverse punch.<sup>32</sup>



Fig. 2. Archaic coinage from western Languedoc (c 200%).

1. 7 mm, 0.30 g, OBB-42A. From Sigean (Aude).
2. 5.2 mm, Rancoule, Gentric, Richard 2019, 118, n° 601. From the commune of Laure Minervois.<sup>33</sup>
3. 6/5 mm, 0.20 g, La-detection.com, message-65931 = OBB-21\_1. From the Aude Department .
4. 0.21 g, OBB-21\_2. From La Fount d'Al Fraïche, Saint-Pierre-des-Champs (Aude).
5. 7/6.3 mm, 0.26 g, private collection (Catalonia). From the Montlaurès (Aude) area.
6. 6.5/6 mm, 0.19 g, private collection (Paris). From the Montlaurès (Aude) area. Slightly broken and holed.
7. 7 mm, 0.30 g, OBB-46\_1. From Sigean (Aude).

In our current state of knowledge, this group of coins does not appear to show the same characteristics as the three already known archaic Greek mints in the far-West Mediterranean: Massalia,<sup>34</sup> Théliné (Arles),<sup>35</sup> and Emporion.<sup>36</sup> They probably date to the first quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Given the early historical records of the Elisyces of Montlaurès, and the key strategic position of the *oppidum* at the entry to the Aude/Garonne axis, we hypothesize that they constitute the first coinage of Montlaurès.

<sup>29</sup> *Dicomon* OBB-21.

<sup>30</sup> *Dicomon* OBB-24A.

<sup>31</sup> In Py 2006, p. 18–19, he listed 17 issues; 35 are included in Feugère and Py 2011, p. 21–27; and 56 in *Dicomon*, as at August 2023.

<sup>32</sup> *Dicomon* OBB-47.

<sup>33</sup> The weight given for this coin, 0.07 g, is patently wrong.

<sup>34</sup> Furtwängler 1978; Chevillon, Bertaud and Guernier 2008, Chevillon 2013.

<sup>35</sup> Chevillon 2017.

<sup>36</sup> Ripollès and Chevillon 2013; Ripollès and Chevillon 2020.

## 2. The obol ‘au bucrane’

The so-called obols ‘au bucrane’ (a bucranium, or ox-skull, is a Greek symbol of sacrifice) are the first coins at Montlaurès, after the archaic issues described in Study 1, if those are in fact from Montlaurès. They circulated around the Elisycian sites of Pech Maho and Montlaurès. They belong to a large group of Iberian imitations of the Massaliot obol.<sup>37</sup> Feugère and Py note that all the varieties they describe of the obol were present at Pech Maho before its destruction *c.* 200.<sup>38</sup> *Appendix 1* lists the 83 coins which we illustrate.

The series begins with obverse heads imitating Massaliot issues of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. The reverse draws on the Massaliot four-spoked wheel with a central dot, and M and A in the two bottom quarters. The two other quarters are joined without a spoke, and contain an image usually described as a facing bucranium. We divide the obols ‘au bucrane’ into nine groups on stylistic bases. These fall into two distinct halves: classical style issues, and crude issues. The transition between these takes place at the same time that round flans are being replaced by square flans.

### 2.1. Group 1

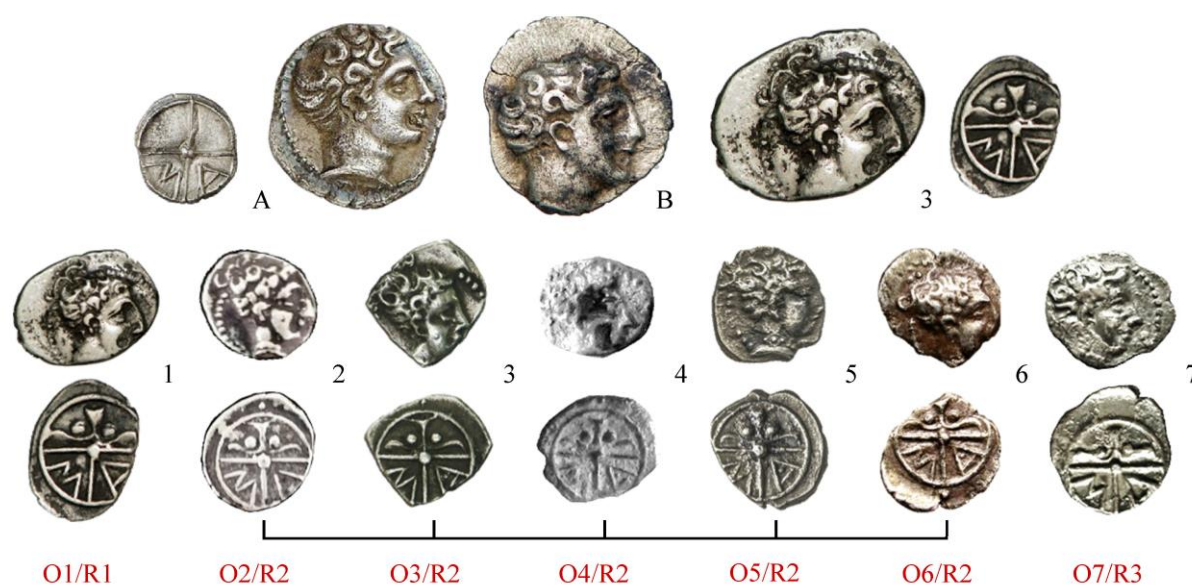


Fig. 3. Group 1 (c 150%).<sup>39</sup>

A. Gorny & Mosch, Auction 249, lot 34.

B. CGB bga\_310056.

Group 1 is characterised by a number of features that mark it out from other groups. The Massaliot prototype for the head (fig. 3, **A** and **B**) is the last group of ‘classical’ obols with a head of Lacydon facing right.<sup>40</sup> The issue has been extensively studied by Jérôme Casta, who notes that this differs from earlier issues by a particularly simplified treatment of the hair.<sup>41</sup> It is found in only two hoards—Ollioules<sup>42</sup> and Sainte Luce<sup>43</sup>—where it is the oldest issue present. It dates to just before the first left-

<sup>37</sup> Villaronga 1994, p. 56–59.

<sup>38</sup> Feugère and Py 2011, p. 306–307, IBL-163, IBL-163A, IBL-163B and IBL-163C. In the *Dicomon* online website, these issues are tentatively attributed as ‘Neronken?’, but we think this is unproven and anachronistic for issues earlier than the Neronken coinage.

<sup>39</sup> The details of all the obols illustrated in the figures of this study are in *Appendix 1*.

<sup>40</sup> Chevillon 2022b, p. 9.

<sup>41</sup> Casta 2013, p. 3–5.

<sup>42</sup> Brenot 1991, p. 255.

<sup>43</sup> Chevillon and André 2016, p. 192–194.

facing heads, in the 380s.<sup>44</sup> It was also the prototype of the obol struck by the Gallo-Greek city of Glanon (St-Rémy-de-Provence) towards the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>45</sup>

On the obverse, the treatment of the hair closely follows the prototype, in particular the way in which the locks at the crown form an inverted heart shape, and the slight side-burns. Also characteristic is the large, round lobe to the ear. The engraving of the profile is modelled plastically, as a play of relief and depth: the eye-brow and nose stand out strongly, as is often the case with the art of La Tène. The border of dots is too close to encompass the whole image, and a volute extends from the crown well beyond the border. This is not an element of the prototype and needs explanation. The head sports a necklace of large beads, visible on **2**, **5** and **7**. The presence of feminine jewellery on seemingly male images is a phenomenon also seen in issue 1 of the obols of Third Punic War time that we discuss in Study 3 (figs. 16 and 18): it appears to be part of an iconographical complex that escapes a simple gender reference, which is seen in the very extensive Gallic imitations of the Emporitan drachm shown in fig. 24, **1**, which began to be struck c. 300.<sup>46</sup>

There are seven obverse dies, and three reverse dies. Different styles of the prototype seem to have been imitated: O1 and O2, for example, seem close to Lattes group **B**, and O7 to **A**.<sup>47</sup> A detail not found on the Massaliot prototype is the dots placed both above and below outside the circle of the wheel on R2—the flans of **2–5** are short below, and only show the upper dots, while **6** is short above, and only shows the lower dot—and in the upper part of the letter A. There are dots at various places outside the main design on the obverse too. It is difficult to explain their function, except, perhaps, as secret marks. The average weight of these coins is 0.70 g.



Fig. 4. Iconographic parallels to Group 1.

- A. Bituriges Cubi AU stater, 60–50, La Tour, p. 45–87.
- B. Drachm ‘style languedocien’, before 175, López 2020, vol. II, p. 63, A34.9.
- C. Drachm ‘à la tête triangulaire’, before 104, López 2020, vol. II, 221–229, A162.11.
- D. Palmette illustrated in Kruta 1987, p. 16, fig. 2-B, from the decoration of two ternary torques from the necropolis at Villeseneux (Marne) in the Musée municipal d’Epernay.
- E. Detail of a mid-4th century bracelet from Waldalgesheim in the Rhenish Palatinate, in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, illustrated in P.-M. Duval 2009, p. 143, fig. 8.
- F. ‘Chariot key’ of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, Paris(?), Champagne(?), in the Musée d’Archéologie nationale, illustrated in P.-M. Duval 2009, p. 177, fig. 128. Cf. <https://musee-archeologienationale.fr/actualite/le-mystere-des-cubistes-gaulois-de-paris>.

<sup>44</sup> Chevillon 2022a, p. 74–75.

<sup>45</sup> Mesclé and Chevillon 2013. The head on these coins also faces left.

<sup>46</sup> *MIB* 2/01–2/45.

<sup>47</sup> For these groups, Py 2006, p. 761–961.

The double volute issuing from the obverse head does not seem to feature in Iberian iconography, but there are probable parallels in Celtic iconography. In this image, the double volute springs from the head. This may be because, as Claude Sterckx notes, the skull or head can be understood as the seat of the *anima*, or vital principle, which is why the Celts collected the heads of enemies, and according to Posidonios refused to exchange them even for their weight in gold.<sup>48</sup> Similar volutes may be seen issuing from the mouths of the heads in the drachms ‘à la croix’, such as fig. 4, **B** and **C**, and derive from the common Iberian motive of two facing dolphins. For Michel Feugère, the importance for the Celts of orality is shown by such symbols on coins, where they are a sign of power of speech, which precedes writing.<sup>49</sup> On some coins of northern Gaul, this motive is more closed (almost like an onion), and associated with beaded cords: a representation of Ogmios, the god of eloquence, according to Paul-Marie Duval.<sup>50</sup> In the case of the stater of the Bituriges Cubi, **A**, Dominique Hollard suggests understanding it as a bow, speech being associated with an arrow, and illustrates other similar issues.<sup>51</sup>

A similar double shape, centred on a dot, is also part of the reverse image of the ‘bucrane’ of the obols, perhaps an example of symbolic polysemy. For Romain Ravignot,<sup>52</sup> who specializes in symbolism in Gallic coinages, this is a little-studied motive, not far from what Duval called the ‘palmette mask’ (fig. 4, **D**<sup>53</sup>), most often found in a more open form on various artefacts of the Second Iron Age (**E** and **F**).<sup>54</sup> The non-representational, conceptual nature of this face is fully in keeping with the cryptic hidden/revealed aspect of much La Tène art. Through the plasticity of these concepts, the Gauls often sought to represent the ineffable essence of divinity. Diodorus Siculus (XXII, 9) describes how Brennos, the leader of the Celtic armies that raided Delphi in 271, laughed at the Greeks for thinking that gods might be represented in human form, on seeing their statues.<sup>55</sup>

It seems probable that the image usually understood as a bucranium is instead the extremely stylized human head that formed part of Gallic iconography associated with divinity.

## 2.2. Group 2

Group 2 has as obverse prototype the Massaliot obol ‘au chignon’, fig. 5, **A**. This head is generally agreed to be the most beautiful amongst the coins of Massalia. With this issue, the head turns left, a change that took place about 380.<sup>56</sup> It is the oldest issue in the Lattes 1 and 2,<sup>57</sup> Martigues<sup>58</sup> and Avignon hoards.<sup>59</sup> The weight of these coins varies between 0.70 and 0.85 g, showing that they were struck on the old ‘Phocean-Persian’ standard that was replaced about 375<sup>60</sup> by the Campanian standard, with an obol of about 0.63 g (Lattes Group A and later issues).<sup>61</sup> They are the heaviest of all the obol ‘au bucrane’ groups.

<sup>48</sup> Sterckx 2016, p. 105–126

<sup>49</sup> Feugère 2013, p. 47. Also van Berg 2004.

<sup>50</sup> J.-M. Duval 1957.

<sup>51</sup> Hollard 2003 (décembre), p. 13–15.

<sup>52</sup> We thank him for his generous advice and help.

<sup>53</sup> P.-M. Duval 2009, fig. 69.

<sup>54</sup> Kruta 1987.

<sup>55</sup> Kruta 1992.

<sup>56</sup> Chevillon 2022b, p. 62, Chevillon and André 2016, p. 201.

<sup>57</sup> Py 2006, p. 780, fig. 242. Although included in his Group E (p. 784, fig. 242: 1/906, 0.70 g; 1/929, 0.61 g; 1/933, 0.62 g, and 1/940, 0.64 g), Py notes that the heavy wear on the obols ‘au chignon’ shows that they are earlier. There are also coins of Group D (p. 775, fig. 232: 1/464, 0.75 g).

<sup>58</sup> Casta 2021, p. 31, pl.13, buried at the end of the 2nd quarter of the 4th century.

<sup>59</sup> Chevillon 2022a, p. 63–64, fig. 3.

<sup>60</sup> Chevillon 2022b, p. 63.

<sup>61</sup> Py 2006, p. 763, fig. 216.



There are two varieties of the obol ‘au chignon’. The one imitated by the obols ‘au bucrane’ has a head with delicate traits, a slightly retroussé nose, a clearly defined chignon, a quite straight neck, and a little horn on the forehead that juts slightly out over the border of dots. The other variety has more rugged traits, a thicker neck, a larger and straighter nose, thicker horns, and a less-developed chignon.

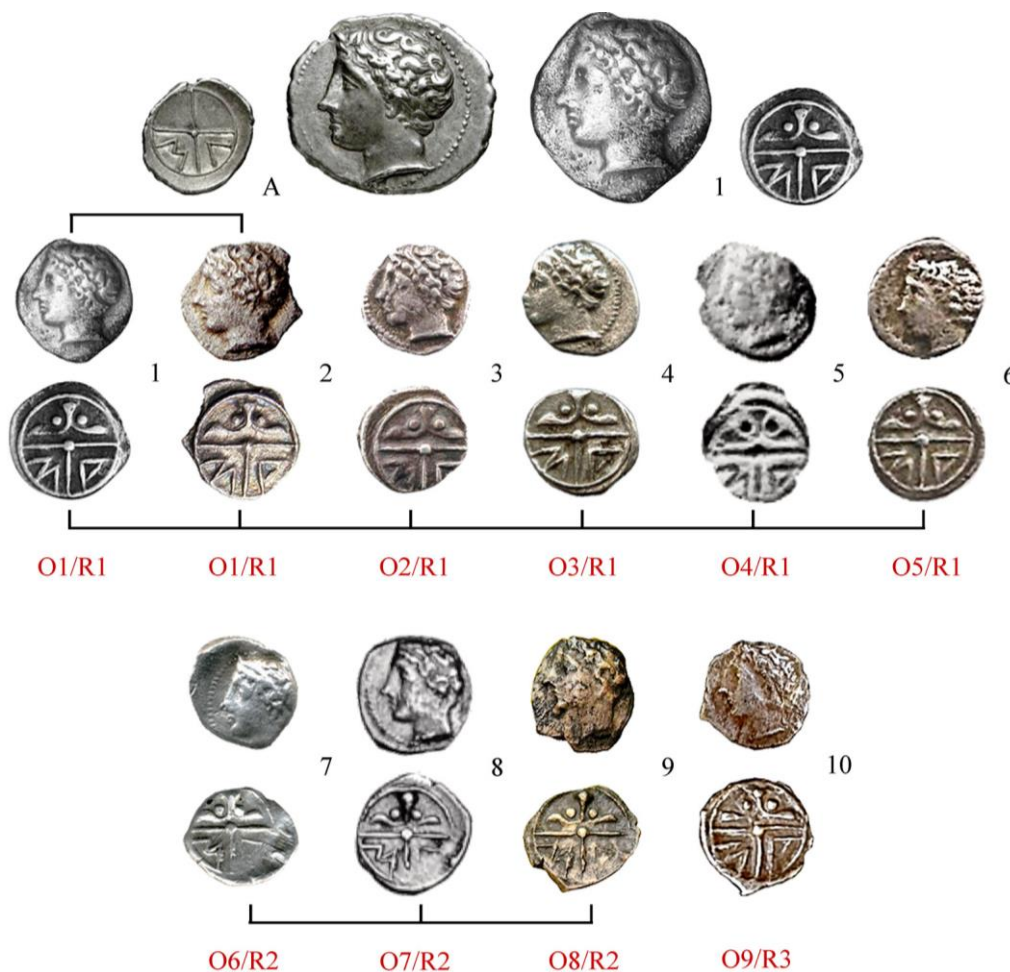


Fig. 5. Group 2 (c 150%).

A. 0,72 g. Bibliothèque nationale de France, GAU-750.

In this Group, there are nine obverse and three reverse dies. A number of engravers worked on the obverse dies. Die O1, in particular, is of a very high standard, and perfectly reproduces the elements of the prototype, and O6 and O7 are from the same hand. O3 and O4 are of relatively good style, by another hand. The coins O5, O6, O9 and O10 are poorly conserved and difficult to evaluate.

The reverse lettering is made without initial dots. The middle spoke is incomplete on R2, and curved on R3. On R2, the engraver cut by mistake two right middle strokes to M, and there are die-breaks in this area. The average weight of these coins is 0.64 g.

### 2.3. Imitations of Lattes Group D (Groups 3, 4, 5)

Imitations of Lattes Group D (our Groups 3, 4 and 5) are some of the most common obols ‘au bucrane’, the last obols of classical style.

These groups were almost certainly contemporaneous. Our division into three groups is therefore only a matter of convenience. The criteria used are stylistic: Group 3 and 4 appear to be imitating the

obverse style of fig. 6, A/fig. 7, A, while Group 5 appears to be imitating the obverse style of fig. 8, A, but Group 5 is also defined by the reverse dies it uses, where all the ‘eyes’ of the ‘bucranium’ slant downwards to right. Group 5 appears to follow another obverse prototype, but the same engraver cut O2 and O3 of Group 3, as well as O3 and O4 of Group 5: compare the way the ear and the hair behind the ear are treated, which, with wear, look rather like a leaf.

## 2.4. Group 3



Fig. 6. Group 3 (c 150%).

A. 0.53 g. eBay France, 263724925596.

The prototype for Group 6 is a variety of the Lattes group D, fig 7, A.<sup>62</sup> The left-facing head is of relatively good style, with a large, slightly retroussé nose and a small chin. The ear is shown, and there are no sideburns. The lips slant down right. The hair is formed of large, hooked locks which come forwards on the temples, and there are similar locks behind. Long parallel locks in high relief fall on the nape of the neck.<sup>63</sup> The reverse type is less well centred than in the earlier Groups, and the lower spoke is less perpendicular. There are three obverse and two reverse dies. The weight average is 0.54 g, but 1 is broken.

## 2.5. Group 4



Fig. 7. Group 4 (c 150%).

A. 0.53 g. eBay France, 263724925596.

<sup>62</sup> Py 2006, p. 777–778.

<sup>63</sup> The obverse die is very similar to that of coin no. 2 of the Fontès hoard: Richard Ralite and Gentric 2011, 8, fig. 2.

The only known example of this group is stylistically similar to Group 3, except that the head faces right, the neck is thinner and ends in a concave truncation. The style is poor. The hair has been reduced to a few thick, ill-defined lines. There is no border of dots. Letters do not have initial dots. The die may be worn. It is not easily assimilable into the other groups we have identified, but it is possible that this is a coin of Group 3 or Group 5, where a poor engraver reversed the image by mistake.

## 2.6. Group 5



Fig. 8. Group 5 (c 150%).

A. Py 2006, p. 766, fig. 219, and p. 861, fig. 281 (Group D, 1/1333).

Group 5 is derived from another variety of Lattes Group D, fig. 8, A, with an obverse head left.<sup>64</sup> The group has a long straight nose, lips and ear are strongly marked, and there are no side-burns. The glottis is shown lightly. The hair is complex, with interlocking, hooked locks of different sizes. At the forehead, a lock juts slightly out, where the horn used to be, and there is a dotted border. There are ten obverse and eight reverse dies. The average weight is 0.58 g.

<sup>64</sup> Py 2006, p. 766, fig. 219, and p. 862, fig. 282: Groupe D, 1/1333.

## 2.7. Groups of a crude style (Groups 6–9)

There is a complete hiatus between the classical obverse style of Groups 1–5, and the crude heads on Groups 6–9, accompanied by a change in the legend from MA to AM. There is no transition between the groups, which means that one cannot assume that the classical series and the crude series follow each other closely, nor even that they were made by the same people, or in the same place, particularly as we have not found any sure find-spots for the crude group. The only reports we have are of one Group 7 coin from Sigean, and a second from the Béziers area, as well as a single coin of Group 9 from Sigean.

It seems probable that some event, probably violent, must have occurred in the Elisycian area, sufficient to result in the abrupt replacement of a relatively skilled group of engravers by incompetents, in whatever group made the obols 'au bucrane'. There is a technical pointer that can provide a rough date for the beginning of the crude series: a change from round to square flans, between Groups 6 and 7. As we discuss below, this transition probably took place during the Second Punic War. Pech Maho (Sigean), of course, was destroyed about 200.

We place Group 7 next, because the most likely prototypes are not Massaliot, but drachms of Rhode or Gallic imitations of these. The Group is internally coherent, as this is the only Group where it is clear that all the heads are female.

Groups 8 and 9 show a further decline in the care given to the reverses, although there seems to be a transition from the more careful reverses of Group 7 at the beginning of the Group 8 (fig. 11, from R1 to R2, 2–3). Groups 8 and 9 were contemporary and shared a die-cutter, who used snake-like letter M's. We distinguish the groups by whether or not the lower spoke of the wheel is shown, but this division is arbitrary. The heads are of abysmal style throughout.

## 2.8. Group 6



Fig. 9, Group 6 (c 150%)

There are eight obverse and four reverse dies. All flans are round. The average weight is 0.52 g.



## 2.9. Group 7

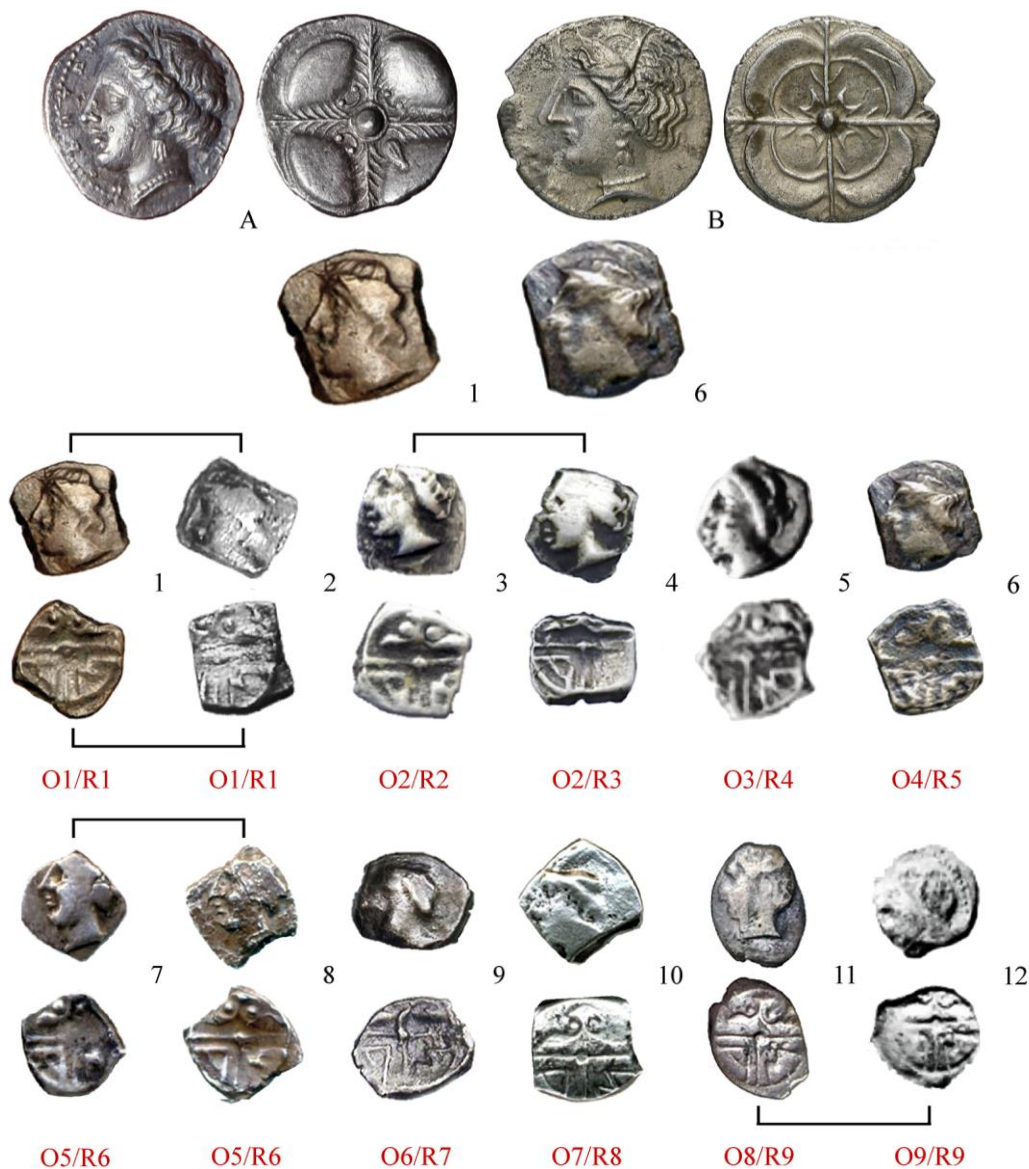


Fig. 10, Group 7 (c 150%)

A. AR drachm, Rhode, c. 260–225, *MIB* 4/09c ID 47678.

B. AR drachm, uncertain Gallic mint imitating Rhode, c. 288–200, *MIB* 5/10 ID 43765.

Group 7 is the first of the obols ‘au bucrane’ to be struck on square flans cut from sheet metal, and with a retrograde AM, which is the rule from hereon.

There is another peculiarity to Group 7: the obverse head is undoubtedly female, though she does not wear jewelry, except perhaps a necklace on O5 (8). It is difficult to identify a single convincing prototype, and the candidates all wear jewelry. The hairstyle, specifically the wavy hair at the back of the head, suggests the drachms of Rhode (fig. 10, A), or more probably the many imitations of these made in the Narbonnaise (B). Another possibility would be the head of Diana right, with a quiver on her shoulder, on the light drachm or triobol of Massalia, Group 1, c. 200–150, but this is less likely. The poor conservation of the coins, and unclear photographs, make the identification of the reverse dies hazardous. Most of the ‘eyes’ of the ‘bucranium’ are large, and slant down to right. There are probably nine obverse and nine reverse dies. The average weight is 0.57 g.

**2.10. Group 8.**

Fig.11. Group 8 (c 150%).

The coins of Groups 8 and 9 share their crude style. Group 8 still has the lower spoke of the wheel, which is gone in Group 9. The two groups are contemporaneous. There are various reverse styles.

In Group 8, R1 (1 and 2) continues the relatively neat style of Group 7, but is linked by O2 to R2–R6 (3–8), with a characteristic snake-like M, used on all Group 9. R7–R9 (9–12) are the only dies in any Group to use letters formed from initial guiding dots. They also stand out as being the only case among the rough style groups to have the legend MA, rather than AM. This may simply result from not having reversed the AM legend by mistake. There are 12 obverse and 10 reverse dies. The average weight is 0.60 g.

### 2.11. Group 9.



Fig. 12. Group 9 (c 150%).

The reverse dies of the coins grouped here as Group 9 all share a peculiarity: the bottom spoke of the wheel has completely disappeared, almost as if it has been assumed into the down-stroke of M, with its snake-like shape. The 'bucranium' has become much cruder, but note the relatively well-shaped one on R5 (12). O1, is O1 retouched, to lengthen the nose. There are eleven obverse and eight reverse dies. The average weight is 0.53 g.

### 2.12. Conclusions

The samples of the various groups that we have been able to assemble are not large enough for a statistical analysis to be robust. There are also varying degrees of wear, and a few coins are chipped. Nonetheless, tab. 1 seems to suggest a number of things.

Groups	Classical style			Crude style		
	1	2	3–5	6	7	8–9
Obverse dies	7	9	14	8	9	23
Reverse dies	3	3	11	4	9	18
N	7	10	18	8	12	29
N weighed	6	7	17	8	9	23
Average (g)	0.70 g	0.64 g	0.57 g	0.52 g	0.57 g	0.53 g
Coefficient of Variation	13.77%	12.04%	16.21%	18.90%	20.00 %	14.85%
N sized	3	5	11	6	5	21
Average (mm)	10.83 mm	10.10 mm	10.40 mm	11.63 mm	9.90 mm	9.23 mm

Table 1: The Groups compared.

Groups 1 and 2 are internally consistent and separate issues. A weight of about 0.67/0.63 g is similar to that of Massaliot obols after 370, when they began to be struck on the Campanian standard. We have taken Groups 3–5 together, as they are probably contemporaneous. Py notes that Group D obols in the Lattes hoard 1—which are the prototype of these issues—average 0.589 g, with a coefficient of variation of 13.53%.<sup>65</sup> The different weights in our sample, between the heavier Groups 1 and 2 and the lighter Groups 3–5, raise the intriguing possibility that the obols ‘au bucrane’ were copying not only the types, but also the weights of the prototypes. Groups 6 and 7 also seem to be internally consistent and separate issues, while Groups 8 and 9 are contemporaneous. They all follow the weight standard of Groups 3–5. Group 6, on round flans, is the first of the crude style. Group 7 is separate, because of its unusual female heads. It is the first of the square-flan issues. Groups 8–9 are obviously the last.

As is the case with Issues 1 and 2 of the obols of Second Punic War time (Study 3), the obols ‘au bucrane’ use many more ‘obverse’ dies (dies with the image of a head) than reverse dies (figs.17 and 19). In this case as well, the obverse dies rather than the reverse dies were set in the anvil.

We have questioned the meaning of the reverse image, usually explained as a bucranium. It seems most likely that it is, instead, an image of divinity in the form of an extremely stylized human head that was part of Gallic iconography. The first obverses also incorporate another image from the Gallic iconography: the speech-volute that issues from the head, which seems to be an icon expressing *anima* and speech, and the primacy of orality in these cultures. Group 1 also shows the influence in the Elisycian area of the important mint of Emporion, so much imitated in the Narbonnaise, in the necklace the head wears. It is interesting to see that these elements of Emporitan iconography are present only in the foundational issues, with the head reverting in subsequent issues of the classical style to a more-or-less faithful representation of the Massaliot head.

The obverse head on all the classical style obverses is drawn from fourth century Massaliot obols. Group 1 imitates Massaliot right-facing coins of just before 380, and Group 2 the left-facing obols ‘au chignon’ that follow immediately. Groups 3–5 reflect the obols of Lattes Group D, which Chevillon dates to about the middle of the fourth century.<sup>66</sup> These high dates of the prototypes do not, in themselves, mean that the obols ‘au bucrane’ need be dated high. Obols of high date were common in both in southern Gaul and in Iberia, and were at hand to serve as prototypes.

There is one good dating indication within the overall complex of obols ‘au bucrane’: the transition in the crude style series, after Group 6, from round to square flans. The square flan technique—which

<sup>65</sup> Py 2006, p. 778.

<sup>66</sup> Chevillon 2022a, p. 75, fig. 19.



was less labour-intensive than making round ones<sup>67</sup>—seems to appear in the Narbonnaise during the last two decades of the third century, as the evidence of the very intensive ‘monnaies à la croix’ shows. The first of these series—the so-called ‘série cubiste’—was round, while, from the following ‘série au panache’ on, almost all issues until Augustan times are square. Feugère and Py date the beginning of the ‘série cubiste’ to c. 225.<sup>68</sup> Eneko Hiriart has drawn attention to a number of hoards in Spain that contain ‘monnaies à la croix’ that are datable by Roman Republican issues they include to 208–206.<sup>69</sup> The square flan series were in use by the end of the century: US 52104 of the Lattes excavations, datable to c. 200, contained five square-flan coins among seven ‘monnaies à la croix’.<sup>70</sup> The Period 1 bronze coins of Malaga, which began to be made towards the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century during the Second Punic War, and which ended after 206, similarly used both round and square flans.<sup>71</sup> Study 3 shows that both round and square flans were used in the Elisycian area during the Second Punic War. Issue 3, on round flans, was probably struck at Ensérune. At Montlaurès, Issue 2 is mainly on round flans, but with a few square flans, and Issue 1 wholly on square flans.

This dates Group 6 to just before or more probably to the Second Punic War and Group 7 to the War or later, but probably not much later, including because it uses a female head obverse that probably derives from third century Emporitan coins.

A crucial question for the dating of the classical series Groups 1–3 is whether or not obols ‘au bucrane’ were present in the Fontès hoard, as has been reported. This hoard of c. 4000 coins was found by peasants in 1879 and dispersed. A block of 41 coins was bought by a local archaeologist, and kept in his family. They were sold to Jean Charra, who in 1973 showed them to Jean-Claude Richard: these are the coins published by him and Gisèle Gentric in 2011. They date the hoard by coin 31, which they identify as Lattes Group G, of the second half of the third century. We would, instead, class this coin as a variety of the early Lattes Group A. We also reviewed all the coins under 0.60 g in the hoard: they are all Lattes group A or D.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, none of the lettering in the hoard uses initial dots, which the authors confirm by classing all the reverses as Py’s R1, R2 and R3. We therefore believe that the Fontès hoard dates to third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. The Aniane hoard,<sup>73</sup> also from the Hérault valley, which is very similar, contains very worn obols ‘au chignon’, mixed with Lattes groups A, B and C, but no obols ‘au bucrane’.<sup>74</sup> It probably also dates to the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

The obols ‘au bucrane’ said to come from the Fontès hoard are those in fig. 13. They all imitate Lattes Group D obverses. We find it very difficult to imagine obols ‘au bucrane’ made contemporaneously with the Massaliot obols they imitate. We find it equally difficult to believe that the ‘au bucrane’ series runs from the fourth to the first centuries. We therefore suspect that these coins are interlopers, and not part of the hoard.

<sup>67</sup> We thank Cédric Lopez for this suggestion.

<sup>68</sup> Feugère and Py 2011, p. 247.

<sup>69</sup> Hiriart 2016, p. 140–142.

<sup>70</sup> Py 2006, p. 540. See the photos in Hiriart 2016, p. 140, fig. 5. Coin 1475 (round), is from US 4475, last quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. The other seven coins are from US 52104, c. 200, of which 1461, 1462, 1489, 1481 and 1482 are on flans cut from sheet metal.

<sup>71</sup> Mora Serrano 2014, p. 46.

<sup>72</sup> 21: 0.55 g = Lattes A, c. 375. 24: 0.59 g = Lattes D, mid second quarter of the fourth century.

30: 0.58 g = Lattes D. 31: 0.57 g = Lattes A.

37: 0.59 g = Lattes A or an imitation (contemporary?)

38: 0.58 g = Lattes A.

40: 0.53 g = Lattes A or an imitation (contemporary?)

<sup>73</sup> Richard et al. 2009.

<sup>74</sup> For us, no. 17 is a variety of Lattes group D: compare Py 2006, p. 773, fig 229, no. 1/383.



Fig. 13. Obols 'au bucrane' said to come from the Fontès hoard.

There is no significant evidence by which to date the beginning of the 'au bucrane' issues. They probably began in the second century, perhaps about 250/240, which would allow thirty or forty years in which to place Groups 1, 2 and 3–5, before the crude style groups begin. All groups—both classical and crude—seem to have each been struck in a brief period, and not as part of a continuous production. There are two weight standards: 6.3/6.7 g for Groups 1 and 2, and 0.57 g for Groups 3–5 and all crude groups. There may therefore be quite a gap in time between issues on these two standards. Groups 6 and 7 are probably from the middle or end of the Third Punic War and Groups 8 and 9 probably fall in the first quarter of the second century.

These issues were substantial and consumed 72 obverse and 49 reverse dies. The many singleton dies in the coins studied show that there are certainly further dies to discover. Some of the dies were worked hard, and it is likely that significant numbers of coins were struck. We can compare this to the 67 obverse and 44 reverse dies used during the three Carthaginian-type issues of Second Punic War obols considered in Study 3, while the obols au 'bucrane' were probably struck over perhaps sixty to seventy years.

### 3. Carthage and three issues of the Elisuces during the Second Punic War

In 1996, Brigitte Fischer and Paul-Francis Jacquier 1996 discussed three issues of silver obols with reverses that use Carthaginian types—two with a horse with its front-leg lifted and head turned back, and one with a horsehead—that they attributed to the *oppida* of Montlaurès or Ensérune.<sup>75</sup> These were further discussed by Jean-Albert Chevillon in 2002.<sup>76</sup> They are the subject of this study.

The use of Punic coin types was common in Iberia in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, when the Narbonnaise was culturally part of Iberia. It reflects long-standing mercenary service of the Elisuces and other Iberians in Carthaginian armies, from the early 5<sup>th</sup> century until the Second Punic War. Many of the prototypes are gold, the metal in which mercenaries were most frequently paid. At Emporion, which was an important centre for the enrolment of Iberian mercenaries until Rome occupied the city in 218,<sup>77</sup> the model used on its silver drachms (fig. 14, 2) is Carthage's electrum stater, which bears Tanit's head, with its crown of corn-ears and three-drop ear-ring (1), while the reverse Nike crowning the horse is probably taken from Neapolis (fig. 15, 6), even perhaps directly from Syracusan tetradrachms of the 5<sup>th</sup> or early 4<sup>th</sup> century. Iberian mercenaries fought in Sicily, in the struggles between Carthage and the Greeks: the coinage of Rhode (5) is influenced by Syracusan gold coinage (4), and, judging by the hair-style on 3, Carthaginian coinage as well.<sup>78</sup> Emporion and Rhode were major recruitment

<sup>75</sup> Fischer and Jacquier 1996.

<sup>76</sup> Chevillon 2012.

<sup>77</sup> For the role and of importance Emporion in the recruitment of Carthage's mercenaries: Fariselli 2002: 170–271.

<sup>78</sup> Fariselli 2002, p. 215, for Rhode's role in recruiting for Carthaginian armies in Sicily and Sardinia. Campo 2000. Ugolini 2018, 31: 'Ultimately, it is difficult to believe that there was – at any time – a strong Greek circuit. The Massalian ships perhaps frequented [Rhode], but they never represented the main trading force. The number of Punic products,

centres for Gallic<sup>79</sup> mercenaries, including from the Elisyces, until Rome debarked in the city in 218. Its drachms with the standing horse (2) were taken home to the Narbonnaise by mercenaries: they are not imitated in Iberia, but Gallic imitations are common, and continued to be made over a long period of time. Similarly, Rhode is not imitated in Iberia, but extensively in Gaul.<sup>80</sup>



Fig 14. Punic types in North-Eastern Iberia.

1. Carthage, EL stater, c. 350–320, Jenkins and Lewis Group IIIIf, 48, MAA 4; Heritage Auctions 3041, lot 32011.
2. Emporion, AR drachm, c. 300–260, MIB 2/193b ID 14828.
3. Rhode, AR drachm, ca. 260–225, MIN 4/09b ID 14676.
4. Syracuse, AU 60 litrai-decadrachm, Hiketas II, 287–278, BAR issue 41, HGC 2, 1277; Numismatik Naumann, Auction 110, lot 83.
5. Rhode, AR drachm, c. 300–260, MIB 4/01 ID 120.

Further south, the coins of Arse/Saguntum in the period immediately before the Second Punic War are particularly interesting, because they mix the types of Campanian Neapolis with Punic types. The city was a strategically important opponent of Hannibal's, who besieged it in 218, which provided Rome's ostensible *casus belli*. The many borrowings of the Neapolitan man-headed bull crowned by Nike (fig. 15, 6, with 3, 5 and 7) are evidence of strong trade-links between Arse/Saguntum and Campania, which laid the basis for Campanian traders to rapidly exploit the mineral and other resources of Hispania Ulterior after the war, particularly, it seems, Minturnaeans traders.<sup>81</sup> The Punic prototypes were Barcid, rather than Carthaginian proper, both the head of Melqart/Hercules with a club (1, with 3 and 4) and the horsehead (2, with 4 and 7), because this motive, while common on Barcid coinage, had last been used in Carthage, and especially in Punic Sardinia, between the end of the First Punic War and 241.<sup>82</sup>

always higher than that of Greek ones, leans toward the fast, and perhaps even immediate, affiliation of Rhode to the Punic network, as already proposed and confirmed by archaeological material as well as by the coins, even at Emporion.'

<sup>79</sup> Campo 2022, p. 33–34.

<sup>80</sup> Villaronga 2000. With very few exceptions, there is not a tradition of minting coinage among the Iberian groups at this time. It seems that it was adopted earlier in southern Gaul.

<sup>81</sup> Stannard et al. 2021, p. 264–264; Stannard, Sinner, and Ferrante 2019; Stefanile 2017.

<sup>82</sup> MAA 57 and 58.



Fig. 15. Carthaginian and Neapolitan types at Arse/Saguntum.

1. Hispano-Carthaginian AR 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>-shekel, c. 227–221, *MIB* 8/39 ID 7.
2. Hispano-Carthaginian Æ unit, c. 221–206, *MIB* 8/93 ID 28923.
3. Arse/Saguntum, AR drachm, c. 218–195, *MIB* 23/5 ID 116881.
4. Arse/Saguntum, AR obol, c. 300–218, *MIB* 34/08 ID 92510.
5. Arse/Saguntum, AR hemidrachm, c. 300–218, *MIB* 34/11 ID 16072.
6. Campania, Neapolis, AR didrachm, c. 300–275, *HN Italy* 579 (Roma Numismatics, Auction 4, 7).
7. Arse/Saguntum, AR hemidrachm, c. 300–218, *MIB* 34/07 ID 92496.<sup>83</sup>

The small silver obols with Carthaginian types from the Narbonnaise with which we are concerned are relatively common. There are three issues, of which we have found 181 photographs (*Appendix* 2). To better characterize them, we have tried to identify the dies, in the figures that follow. Some caveats. The coins are often worn and images incomplete, so that a few identifications are conjectural. Many of the images are from the internet, without sizes being clear. Most coins are between 7 and 11 mm in diameter, and the images in our figures are not to scale. We have set them to more or less twice probable size. Despite our large sample, there are not enough links between the obverse/reverse die-pairs to be able to establish the order in which dies were used, and the order we present them should not be understood as die-sequences.

### 3.1. Issue 1: Male head right; -ś/M / horse right with head turned back

*Obv.* Male head right; dolphin downwards to right; perhaps Greek M or North-Eastern Iberian ś/M, below chin; dolphin down to right; linear border.

*Rev.* Horse standing right, a foreleg raised and head turned back; linear border.  
*Dicomon* IBL-164; Chevillon 2012, issue 1.

We know 56 coins of this issue, and illustrate the dies in fig. 16. The issue is stylistically and technically coherent. All the flans were made in the same way, by cutting squarish pieces from sheet metal. Most obverse and reverse dies are so stylistically similar that they could have all been made by a single die-cutter, with O14 (18) and O35 (39) from another hand, and O36 (40)—which lacks the dolphins and has a dotted, rather than a linear border—from yet another. This suggests that the issue was made in a short period of time.

<sup>83</sup> The dates given for 4, 5 and 7 are from *MIB*, but this analysis shows that at least the start-dates should be later.





Fig. 16. Issue 1 (Dicomon IBL-164; DICAMON IBL-164B), die-pairs, c 200%.

Fig. 17 shows the pattern of die-use. There are 38 obverse dies, 15 reverse dies, and 42 die-pairs.

Because the upper die takes the shock of the hammer-blows, there are many more upper dies than dies set in the anvil, and, as the long die-chains of R6 and R9 show, the side with the horse was set in the anvil. The terms, ‘obverse’ and ‘reverse’, are used in numismatics with two different senses: ‘obverse’ can mean either the die with the principle type, usually a head, or the lower die set in the anvil, irrespective of its motif. This is a frequent cause of confusion, because the die with the principle type is not always the anvil die. Here, we use ‘obverse’ to mean the die with the head, including when it is used as an upper die, and ‘reverse’ for the die with the secondary type.<sup>84</sup> The pattern of use is of ‘reverse’ dies usually left in the anvil, paired with a good stock of obverse dies kept in a die-box, with one brought out at the beginning of each work-period.

There are few coins from each die-pair. The large number of obverse dies coupled with R6 and R9 suggests that neither obverses nor reverses were particularly heavily worked. There are few reverse die-breaks—on the back of the horse in R6, and on the tail in R9—and no evident obverse die-breaks. Heavy usage with many obverse dies would probably have resulted in more damage.

<sup>84</sup> For the ability to mount obverse and reverse dies in the upper or lower position: Stannard 1987, 1995, 2011.

It is difficult to estimate the size of the issue. The large number of singleton dies and die-pairs means that more dies remain to be discovered. Everything suggests a substantial issue made in a short period of time.

Finds are widely spread: *Dicomon* reports provenances from Ensérune (16), Montlaurès (13), Pech Maho (2), Sigean (2), the Beziers/Narbonne region (3), and the Corbières region (1).

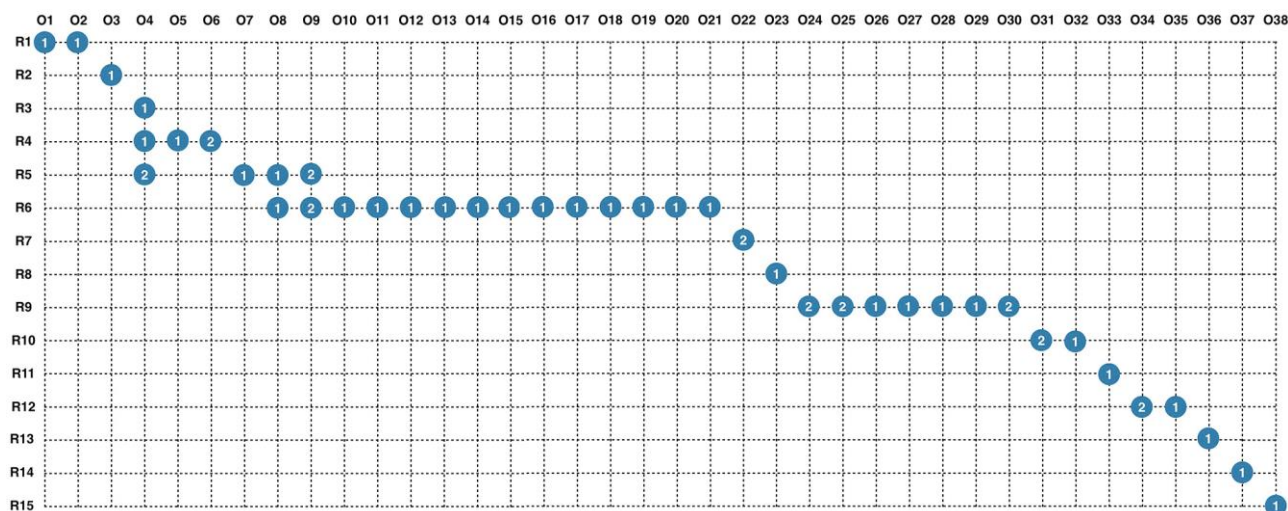


Fig. 17. Issue 1, obverse/reverse die-pairs, with the number of coins known for each die-pair.

### 3.2. Issue 2, Male head right / horse right with head turned back

*Obv.* Male head right, except on O20, with head left; a shape that derives from two dolphins, up and down, with heads touching, before; border of dots.

*Rev.* Horse standing right, left foreleg raised and head turned back; the horse most often wears a collar; linear or no border.

*Dicomon* IBL-164A and IBL-164B

We know 75 coins of this issue, and illustrate the dies in fig. 18. The issue is stylistically more diverse than Issue 1. There are two obverse styles. The heads on dies O1 to O11 draw on the Apollo head of Massaliot obols, with influences in the treatment of the hair, and in the stylized dolphin to right from Iberian imitations of Emporitan drachms. Dies O12 to O20 are much closer to the imitative Emporitan models (fig. 22, 5). The horse on the reverse is more stylized than in issue 1. Note that the horse—except on R1, R2 and R12—wears a collar: this is a significant detail to which we will return in discussing the prototypes (fig. 23). Dies R1, R2 and R12 are from the same hand, and the pairing of R1 and R12, from the same hand, with both Massaliot style obverses (O1/R1, 1) and Emporitan style obverses (O12/R12 and O13/R12, 18 and 19), proves that all these coins are part of a single issue. Another engraver made R4, R5 and R6, and perhaps R10, R9 another, and R11, R13 and R14 yet another. The small number of engravers indicates a short issue. Most of the flans are cut from sheet metal, but much greater care has been taken to make them round.





Fig. 18. Issue 2 (*Dicomon* IBL-164; Chevillon 2012, series 3 and IBL-164B; Chevillon 2003, series 2), c 200%.

Fig. 19 shows the pattern of die-use. There are 20 obverse dies, 14 reverse dies, and 26 die-pairs, and many more coins per die-pair than in Issue 1. Once again, there are few links between die-pairs. Dies were worked harder than in issue 1. The pattern we saw in Issue 1, of a ‘reverse’ die fixed in the anvil, and paired with an ‘obverse’ drawn from a die-box in each work-period, is seen again, with R2 paired with four ‘obverse’ dies (O2–O5), and R12 paired with six (O13–O18), but O10—which was retouched a number of times and worked to death—breaks this pattern, because in this case the obverse die was fixed in the anvil, and paired with four reverses from a die-box. This was a moment of intense production: fully 26 of 75 coins are from this obverse.

The many singleton dies and die-pairs again suggests that further dies remain to be discovered, and that this too was a large issue, probably made in a short period of time.

*Dicomon* records finds of IBL-164A (right-facing obverse) only from Montlaurès (11 coins), and a coin each of IBL-164B (left-facing) from Montlaurès and the Béziers-Narbonne region.

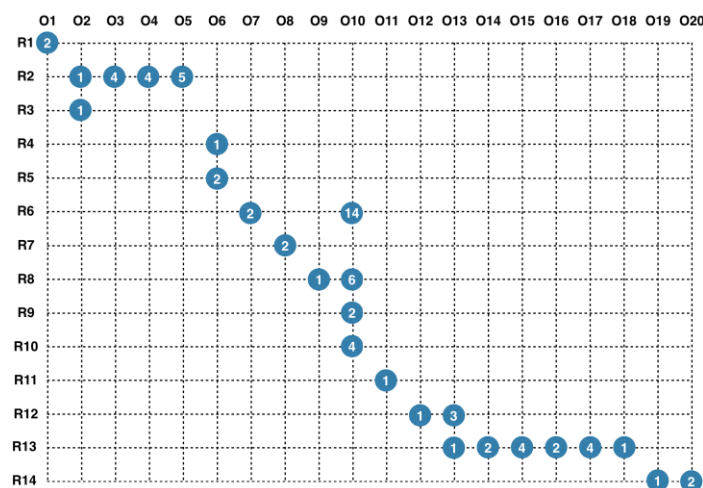


Fig. 19. Issue 2, obverse/reverse die-pairs, with the number of coins known for each die-pair.

Chevillon has proposed associating a hemi-obol (*Dicomon* IBL-807) with male head right / wolf, of which three specimens are known, with Issue 2, on the basis of a similarity of a head on one die with the head on **11**.<sup>85</sup>

### 3.3. Issue 3, Male head left / horsehead right

*Obv.* Male head left, except on O12, with head right, and on O6–O8, border of dots occasionally visible, and on O9 a linear border.

*Rev.* Horsehead right, except on R18, with horsehead left; on R4 (**5–6**) and R8 (**11**), uncertain symbols to left; no border.

*Dicomon* IBL-164; Chevillon 2012, series 3 and IBL-164B; Chevillon 2003, series 2

We know 50 coins of this issue, and illustrate the dies in fig. 20.

This too is a very coherent issue, as a glance at the reverses shows, which are all of the same peculiar style, and may even all be from the same hand: all share a similar construction of the jaws as two bars with a heavy dot on either end. The obverses heads on O2 to O5 show a similar mixture of Massaliot and Emporitan influences as in Issue 2, with a similar treatment to the hair, while O1 is more purely Massaliot. There were probably a number of obverse die cutters: probably for O1–O5, for O6–O8, and perhaps others for the crude O9–O11. There are no signs of recutting, and only one die-break, on the ears of the horse in die R3, unbroken in **3** and broken in **4**.

<sup>85</sup> Chevillon 2019.





Fig. 20. Issue 3 (*Dicomon* IBL-167, 'Celtic style'; *Dicomon* IBL-167A, 'heads of Massaliot style'; and *Dicomon*-167B, with types reversed), c 200%.

Fig. 21 shows the pattern of die-use. There are 11 obverse dies, 17 reverse dies, and 22 die-pairs. There is one significant difference in die-use between this issue and issues 1 and 2: here, it is the obverse die that was mounted in the anvil, as the die-chains of O1 with R1–R3, O4 with R6–R8, and O8 with R11–R14, show. As with Issues 1 and 2, the number of singleton dies and die-pairs suggests that there are still many dies to be discovered. Once again, this appears to have been a relatively large issue, over a short period of time, as the fact that all the reverses seem to be from the same hand, shows.

*Dicomon* lists six coins: the four coins of uncertain origin in Fischer and Jacquier 1996, which they gave to either Ensérune or Montlaurès, and the single specimen in the Bibliothèque Nationale,<sup>86</sup> and another two given to Montlaurès. No other find-sites are given. Richard and Gentric 2019 list three specimens from Ensérune (nos. 41, 49 and 391), but none of Issues 1 and 2.

<sup>86</sup> BN 1990/591 = Richard Ralite 2016, p. 5, no. 58.

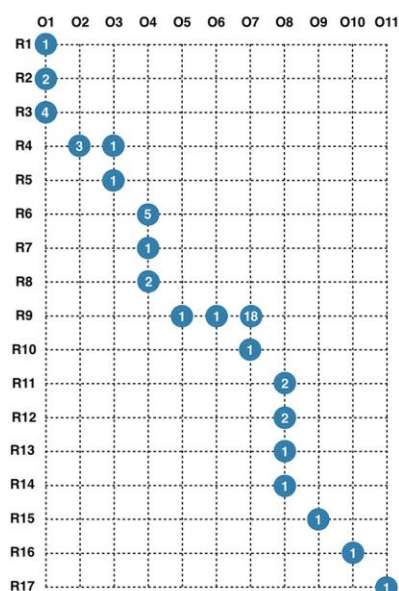


Fig. 21. Issue 3, obverse/reverse die-pairs, with the number of coins known for each die-pair.

### 3.4. Issues 1, 2 and 3 compared

	Issue 1	Issue 2	Issue 3
Obverse dies	38	20	11
Reverse dies	15	14	17
N	56	75	50
N weighed	41	55	45
Average (g)	0.48g	0.45g	0.42g
Coefficient of Variation <sup>87</sup>	19.44%	16.93%	16.06%
N sized	24	40	23
Average (mm)	9.39 mm	9.13 mm	9.14 mm

Tab. 2. Issues 1, 2 and 3 compared.

The die-studies demonstrate that Issues 1–3 were all short-lived, and sporadic.

Tab. 2 shows the three issues are virtually identical in terms of size and weight. They seem to have been made in the same cultural milieu. On the other hand, they are stylistically different, and were not made by the same teams of artisans, either because they were made in different places, or at different times. The use of reverse dies as anvil dies in Issues 1 and 2, but of obverse dies in Issue 3, could suggest that two different places of manufacture were involved. Despite the difference in style, it is likely that Issues 1 and 2—both of which use the stepping-horse reverse—belong together. Issue 3 may have been made elsewhere. The evidence of find sites is inconclusive, and the fact that more information is available from Montlaurès than from other sites must be borne in mind. The find-pattern for Issue 3, in particular, is poorly known. We propose that issues 1 and 2 are from Montlaurès, and issue 3 from Ensérune.

These coinages are stylistically and technically separate from the subsequent Neronken issues, and nothing intrinsic shows that these issues and the Neronken coinage were made by the same group.

<sup>87</sup> Standard deviation/average weight\*100.

### 3.5. The prototypes



Fig. 22. Obverse prototypes.

1. Fig. 16, **15**.
2. AR drachm, uncertain Iberian mint imitating Emporion, c. 215–206, *MIB* 3/011 ID 113983.
3. Fig. 18, **2**.
4. Fig. 18, **24**.
5. AR drachm, uncertain Gallic mint imitating Emporion, c. 275–200, *MIB* 2/25 ID 114635.
6. Fig. 20, **11**.
7. Fig. 20, **5**.
8. Massalia obol, Lattes Group F, late 4<sup>th</sup> century–c. 250/225; Py 2006, vol 2: 889, fig. 300; CGN bga\_230326.
9. Fig. 20, **13**.
10. Gallic mint imitating Rhode, c. 280–200, *MIB* 5/22 ; <https://www.numiscorner.fr/products/sud-ouest-de-la-gaule-drachme-imitation-de-Rhode-sup-argent-latour-2336>.
11. Fig. 20, **16**.
12. AR drachm, uncertain Iberian mint imitating Emporion, c. 215–206, drachm, *MIB* 3/097 ID 78174.
13. AR drachm, uncertain Iberian mint imitating Emporion, c. 215–206, drachm, *MIB* 3/141 ID 105152.

The obverse heads draw on both the ubiquitous obols of Massalia, and on the Gallic imitations of Emporitan drachms, common in the Narbonnaise. In Issue 1, the influence is singly Emporitan. In fig. 22, **1**, the ‘spike’ in the hair, the hair rolled on the side of the head, and the dolphins derive from drachm imitations like **2**, and ultimately from Syracuse, where the spike was a reed in the nymph’s hair. It is interesting that the apparently male head in this issue copies a female prototype. In Issue 2, Emporion still dominates: the hair is divided into sections by lines, and the presence of stylized dolphins (**3** and **4**), comes from coins like **5**. Massaliot influence can be seen in the naturalism of some of the heads. Massaliot influence is clearest in dies O1–O5 of Issue 3 (fig. 20), and the most likely prototype is Massaliot obols of the late 4<sup>th</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries, like **8**, above, that is, from coins perhaps two centuries earlier than the probable date of the issue. The diagnostic detail lies in the hair, including the lock falling forward under the ear, the tuft of hair at the nape of the neck, and in the arrangement of the hair at the crown of the head, which takes the form of two back-to-back



curves sweeping up to a point or curve, or two crescents back-to-back, as in **6**, **7** and **11**. This feature is also present in Gallic imitations of Emporitan drachms that *MIB* dates to c. 215–206, that is, to the Second Punic War. The obverse of **9** is similar to the Gallic imitation of Rhode, **10**, particularly in the depiction of the hair at the front of the head. The male heads in fig. 20, **13–19**, again derive from female Emporitan prototypes through Gallic imitations, and include the three-drop earrings that were originally borrowed from Carthage (fig. 14, **1** and **2**).



Fig. 23, Carthaginian reverse prototypes.

1. Æ shekel, c. 215–201, described as *SNG Cop.* 305, *MAA* 90 var., Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 349, lot 17.
2. Æ shekel, c. 215–201, described as *SNG Cop.* 305, *MAA* 90, over an unidentifiable Carthaginian coin, Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 349, lot 18.
3. Æ shekel, c. 215–201, *SNG Cop.* 303, *MAA* 90a, Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 378, lot 78.
4. Æ half-shekel, c. 203–201, as *SNG Cop.* 397–398, *MAA* 96 bis, Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 349, lot 19.
5. Æ shekel, c. 215–201, *SNG Cop.* 309–313, *MAA* 88f, Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 327, lot 715.
6. Æ shekel, c. 215–201, *SNG Cop.* 326–329, Jenkins 1987Jenkins, *MAA* 91, Savoca Numismatik, 10th Blue Auction, lot 858.
7. Æ trishekel, c. 220–215, *SNG Cop.* 344, *MAA* 84, Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 320, lot 19.



8. Æ trishekel, c. 220–215, *SNG Cop.* 341–343, *MAA* 84b, Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 374, lot 177.
- 9 EL three-eighths shekel, c. 220–205, *SNG Cop.* 334, *MAA* 73b, Classical Numismatic Group, Auction 100, lot 33.
- 10 EL three-eighths shekel, c. 220–205, *SNG Cop.* 332–333, *MAA* 73a, Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 361, lot 1.
11. Billon 1½ shekels, c. 203–201, *SNG Cop.* 391, *MAA* 81, Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 378, lot 8.
12. Billon 1½ shekels, c. 203–201, *SNG Cop.* 394, *MAA* 81a, Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic
13. AR ¼ shekel, c. 220–205, *SNG Cop.* 335, *MAA* A78, Numismatik Naumann, Auction 45, lot 327.
14. AU shekel, c. 149–146, *SNG Cop.* –, *MAA* –, Classical Numismatic Group, Auction 100, lot 36.

The two reverse types both derive from Punic types. On issues 1 and two, this is a high-stepping horse, its fore-arm held out horizontally, with the cannon hanging straight down from the knee. The head is turned back. The stance is quite specific: this combination of leg and head postures is not common. The prototype appears to be an issue of the mint of Carthage during the Second Punic War (fig. 23, **1** and **2**). It is not the same stance with the half-lifted leg seen on **3** (left leg), **4**, **11** and **12** (right leg). The prototype is in fact not listed in *SNG Cop.*, Jenkins 1987 or *MAA*, so that when **1** and **2** appeared at auction, they were listed as specimens of **3**. The high-stepping stance, but with head forward, of the same period can be seen on **6** and **9**.

There is a difference between the horses in Issues 1 and 2: in Issue 2, the horse wears a rope or a collar around its neck, in Issue 1 not. There are two possible origins for this feature, which may have come together: the collars on coins of the mint of Carthage during the War, and on the Emporitan drachms that imitated the Carthaginian stater, and Gallic imitations of those.

At Carthage, the collar appeared just before or at the beginning of the Second Punic War, and is seen on almost all the coins of the War, as fig. 23 shows. We are not aware that this has ever been remarked before, despite it being quite systematic. Ropes are seen on **1–6** (on **6**, the knot tying the rope is shown), as well as **11** and **12**. An alternative is a full horse-collar, as on **7**, **8**, **10** and **13**. On **12**, the horse also wears a blanket over its shoulders. The motif of the rope remains in use on some issues down to the Third Punic War, for example, **14**. On electrum of that war—mercenary pay—horses both without (**9**), and with ropes or collars (**10**), occur. The bronzes, Visonà remarks, were minted for use in North Africa, where most finds and hoards are concentrated,<sup>88</sup> but Carmen Alfaro Asins notes that the huge block of bronzes, as well a number of electrum pieces, that was dredged from the harbour of Melilla in 1981, was probably being sent to pay mercenaries in Barcid Spain.<sup>89</sup>

The only instance of a collar on a horse in Iberia is on the Emporitan drachm with Tanit and the standing horse crowned by Nike, dated by *MIB* to c. 300–260. Some of these have no collar (Fig. 14, **2**), others do (fig. 24, **1**). This issue is never imitated in Iberia, but very widely imitated in the mercenary recruitment area of the Gallic South-West, over a long period of time. These imitations are much commoner than the Emporitan original itself, and most show the horse with a collar. *MIB* dates the imitations down to as late as c. 200, including because the dolphins that surround the head on the later Emporitan drachm with a Pegasus reverse, which was struck until c. 218 (fig. 24, **4**), are often imported into the design (fig. 22, **5**; fig. 24, **2**, **5** and **6**). These are the dolphins that appear on the obverse of issues 1 and 2. There are also obols—never found in Spain—without dolphins, and

<sup>88</sup> Visonà 1998, p. 18.

<sup>89</sup> Alfaro Asins 2000, p. 32.

with the horse and Nike reverse (3). By contagion, the collar even appears on Pegasus (6), imitated from drachms like 4.

It is an enigma as to why the horse-collar should have appeared on the Tanit/Nike standing horse Emporitan drachms, which reflect the recruitment of mercenaries for Carthage. It was not taken from the coinage of the mint of Carthage, nor from the coins of the Barcids, nor is there any earlier or later use of the motif in Spain. It does seem to have been very popular in the areas of mercenary recruitment. It is probable that the collar on Carthaginian coinage during the war also fed into the collar on the Elisycian obols.



Fig. 24. Gallic imitations of Emporion

1. AR drachm, c. 300–260, Emporion, *MIB* 1/193a ID 19626.
2. AR drachm, uncertain Gallic mint imitating Emporion, c. 275–200, *MIB* 2/23 ID 19066.
3. AR obol, c. 275–200, Gallic imitation of Emporion, *MIB* 2/49 ID 14902.
4. AR drachm, c. 260–218, Emporion, *MIB* 1/204a ID 14840.
5. AR drachm, uncertain Gallic mint imitating Emporion, c. 275–200, *MIB* 2/37 ID 14862.
6. AR drachm, uncertain Gallic mint imitating Emporion, c. 275–*MIB* 2/269b ID 43878.

The iconography of the Elisycian obols—the high-stepping horse with head back, and the horse head—indicates a date in the Second Punic War. This is supported by the dating of the imitative silver coins with the collared horse down to the time of the War, and by the use on the obols of the highly stylised dolphins of the late imitations.

A precise dating of the three issues is not possible, nor do we know whether they were made at about the same time, or at different times. There is no obvious special reason that led to the need for these coins, nor any information as to the use that was made of them. If it is correct that Issues 1 and 2 are from Montlaurès and 3 from Ensérune, they responded to a need that probably involved much of, or the whole of, the Elisycian territory.

The sudden appearance of these philo-Carthaginian issues must reflect the presence of Elisycian mercenaries in Carthaginian armies, whether they served with Hasdrubal in the Barcid Empire in Southern Spain or with Hannibal in Italy. The horse-head on Issue 3 seems to derive specifically from mercenary service in Barcid Spain, during the war or even earlier, because the horsehead type had last been used by Carthaginian and Sardinia mints between the end of the First Punic War and 241,<sup>90</sup> but continued to be commonly used on Hispano-Carthaginian coins in the Punic South-East until 206 (for example, fig. 15, 2), where Elisycian troops would have seen it. As shown in fig. 15, this horsehead was also extensively imitated on the coins of Arse/Saguntum.

<sup>90</sup> *SNG* Cop. 144–178, *MAA* 57; and *SNG* Cop. 193–201, *MAA* 58. *SNG* Cop. 144–178 was very prolific, and is commonly found in Spain, particularly in the Guadalquivir valley (Alfaro Asins 2000, p. 27, fig. 11).

Ligurian Elisycian recruits fought in the Barcid armies throughout the whole period of the Second Punic War, and in all theatres:

‘Le leve liguri paiono costituire una percentuale consistente degli arruolamenti nel corso della seconda guerra punica. Mercenari liguri compaiono nell’ambito delle schiere che Annibale lascia in Spagna al fratello Asdrubale ... Apporti analoghi affluiscono alle truppe annibaliche, verosimilmente, dopo il suo passaggio in Italia. Nell’ambito delle operazioni di reclutamento di Asdrubale prima del passaggio in Italia, il contributo ligure non è inferiore a quello celtico.’<sup>91</sup>

Hannibal’s ambition to control North-East Iberia and the Narbonnaise in the period immediately before he left for Italy is probably linked to a desire to exploit the mercenary potential of the area.<sup>92</sup> The Barcids continued to use mercenary armies in their territories in the South-East until the end of the War. The arrival of the Scipio brothers in Emporion in 218 ended Emporion’s traditional role in recruiting troops from the North-East for Carthage, and the Carthaginians were forced to focus recruitment on the South, which is probably behind Livy’s statement that, towards the end of the War, the Saguntines chased Punic recruiters from their territory (xxx, 21, 3–4).<sup>93</sup> Nonetheless, it was only with the capture of Carthago Nova by Publius Scipio in 209, and Hasdrubal’s defeat at Baecula in 208 and his departure in 207 to join Hannibal in Italy, when he marched through the Narbonnaise, that the opportunities for mercenary employment declined.

The defeat of Carthage removed from the warlike Elisyces their long-term and economically significant tradition of service in the armies of Carthage, with Roman control in Hispania, and its growing interest in the Narbonnaise and the *Via Herculeia*, the land road into *Hispania*. No later issues from any Iberian mint imitate Carthage. In Gaul, however, Nemausus imitated a reverse type like fig. 23, 9, towards the end of the second century,<sup>94</sup> and Glanum, during the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 1<sup>st</sup> century, imitated the high-stepping horse of Third Punic War electrum<sup>95</sup> and silver,<sup>96</sup> which suggests that Carthaginian recruitment of Gallic troops from Gaul continued.<sup>97</sup>

#### 4. Bronze coins and lead pieces with North-Eastern Iberian legends

A number of small bronze coins have been attributed to Montlaurès, all of which bear versions of a legend in North-Eastern Iberian script: **binemi**/𐤁𐤍𐤍𐤓, and **bine**/𐤁𐤍𐤓 or 𐤁𐤍𐤓, according to the variant of the first glyph use. There is also a newly discovered struck lead issue with the legend **binen**/𐤁𐤍𐤍𐤓 or possibly **bineki**/𐤁𐤍𐤓𐤓. Many fewer of these bronze coins than of the silver issues discussed in study 3 have been recorded, and there has, as yet, been no systematic consideration of the group.

In fig. 25.1 and 25.2, we illustrate all the specimens we know (*Appendix 3*). The dies and legends are as follows.

O1–O4: Female head in crested helmet right.

O5: Helmet with cheek-pieces or helmeted head right.

O6: Owl facing.

O7: Owl facing.

O8: Helmeted head right; **bine**/𐤁𐤍𐤓 around.

O9: Facing female bust with elaborate coiffed hair; **binen**/𐤁𐤍𐤍𐤓 or **bineki**/𐤁𐤍𐤓𐤓 retrograde around.

<sup>91</sup> Fariselli 2002, p. 260–261.

<sup>92</sup> Fariselli 2002, p. 220.

<sup>93</sup> Fariselli 2002, p. 220.

<sup>94</sup> CGN, bga\_402918.

<sup>95</sup> Fig. 23, 14.

<sup>96</sup> MAA 100.

<sup>97</sup> Chevillon Forthcoming.

- R1: Dolphin left; crescent above; **binēmi**/𐤁𐤍𐤍𐤓/ below.  
 R2: Dolphin left; **bine**[𐤁𐤍] ?/ 𐤁𐤍𐤍𐤓[𐤍] ?  
 R3: Dolphin left; **binēmi**/𐤁𐤍𐤍𐤓/ below.  
 R4: Dolphin left; **bine**[𐤁𐤍] ?/ 𐤁𐤍𐤍𐤓[𐤍] ? and 𐤁𐤍𐤍𐤓[𐤍] ? below.  
 R5 Dolphin left; **bine**[𐤁𐤍] ?/ 𐤁𐤍𐤍𐤓[𐤍] ? and 𐤁𐤍𐤍𐤓[𐤍] ? below.  
 R6: Dolphin left; any legend obliterated.  
 R7: Dolphin left; **bine**/𐤁𐤍 retrograde around.  
 R8: Hippocamp left.  
 R9: Hippocamp right.

The bronze coins, **1–21**, are struck on squarish or oblong flans, quite inadequate to carry the full image on the die, with much of the image and legend off the flan—a usage so radical that Feugère and Py describe such coins as ‘découpé’, or cut down<sup>98</sup>—, which has led to a misunderstanding of the visible legend, **bine**/𐤁𐤍𐤍𐤓 on die R4, coins **14–20**, as **ane**.<sup>99</sup> The flans used for coins **22–26** and **27–31**, however, are round. Despite this difference, the shared legend means that all these bronze coins and the lead pieces belong together. The coins on round flans may be earlier than those on square flans, but this is uncertain.

The number of coins recorded is too low for statistical analysis to be significant. Nonetheless, tab. 3 provides limited but useful information. Small bronze coins of this type, as in the case with most ancient issues, were fiat coinages and not struck at weights representing full or near full value in metal. When a number of different values make up a bronze coinage, then a mint will arrange the relative weights and sizes, as well as the types, to distinguish the values, with size usually being the best indicator of value. The weights and sizes of the Montlaurès bronzes show that it is unlikely that they were a single denomination: in particular, coins **1–7** and **27–31** are bigger and heavier than the other issues.

The lead pieces, published here for the first time (**32** and **33**), are important, not only for the shared legend, but—through their prototypes—for documenting contacts between Montlaurès, Luca in Etruria, and Emporion.<sup>100</sup> The use of lead for coinage is quite frequent in Spain, in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries. Lead was sometimes struck with the same types as a city’s standard bronze coinage, to save bronze or to make good a paucity of small change. This is the case for some cities with Latin ethics: Carbula, Carisa, Carmo, Ostur and Searo.<sup>101</sup> A few mints that copy their bronze coins in lead use Palaeohispanic legends: **lakine**/𐤁𐤍𐤍𐤓𐤁, **arketurki**/𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕𐤓𐤁, **bolśken**/𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕𐤓𐤁 and **baitolo**/𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕𐤓𐤁.<sup>102</sup>

Other mints strike lead that does not copy its bronze coinage. This is the case of the Montlaurès lead pieces, which, though they share a legend with the bronze issues, do not share types, and so cannot be shown to share a value, unless, as we consider below, the legend is a value written out. It seems probable nonetheless that they had a monetary function.

<sup>98</sup> Feugère and Py 2011, p. 313.

<sup>99</sup> For example, *Dicomon* IBL-196.

<sup>100</sup> For a general review the use of lead coins as money (but not discussing Spain): de Callataj 2010, p. 221–226.

<sup>101</sup> Casariego, Cores, and Pliego 1987, p. 104 (this is the most substantive catalogue of Spanish struck lead). Also García-Bellido and Blázquez 2001, vol. 1, 77, and the entries for general individual mints; Ferrer i Jané 2014; Blázquez Martínez 1959.

<sup>102</sup> *Hesp.*: 22, 28, 40 and 8, respectively. Jesús Rodríguez Ramos 2001-2002.



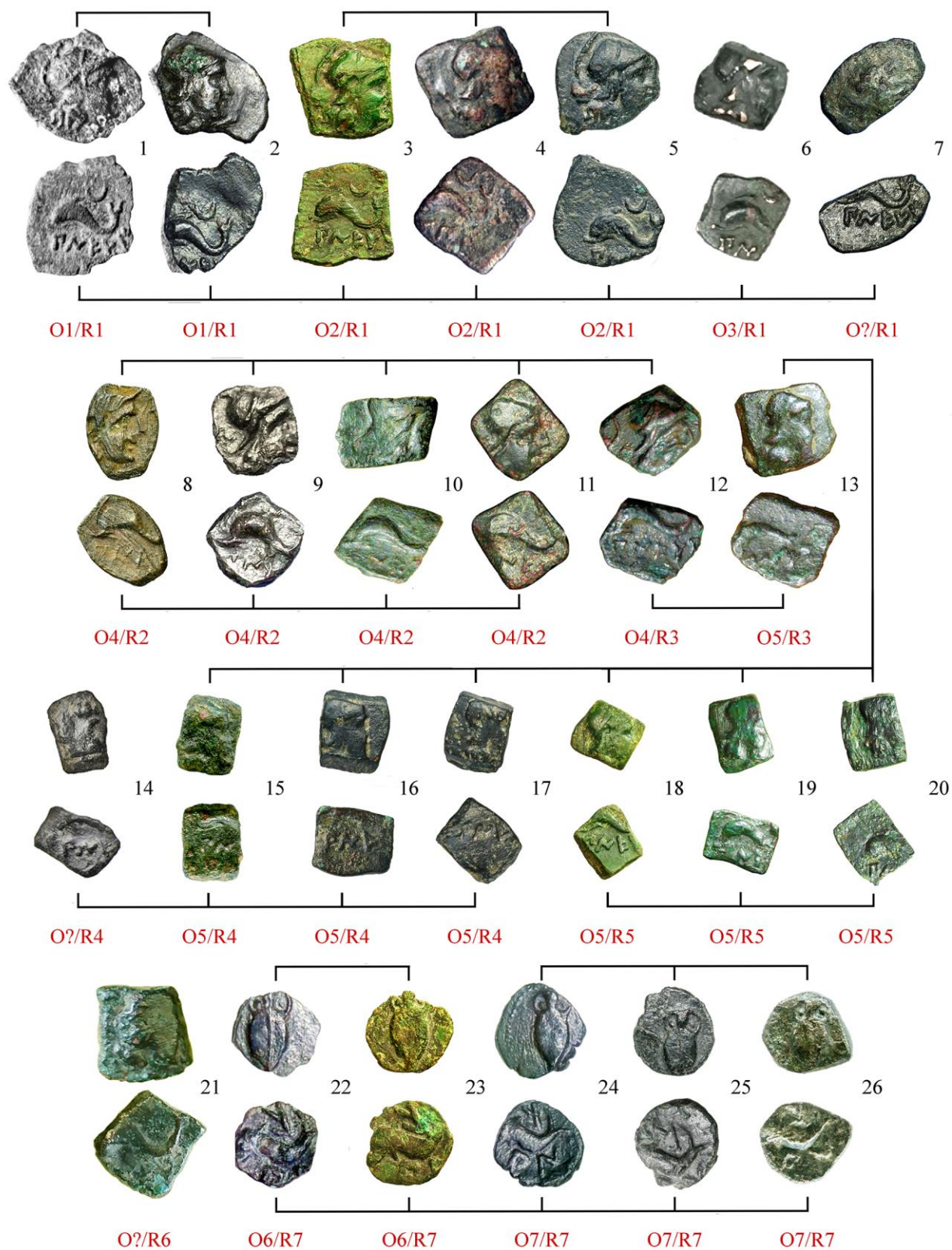


Fig. 25.1. The bronze coins and lead pieces, c 150%



Fig. 25.2. The bronze coins and lead pieces, c 150%

Coins	1–7	8–13	14–20	22–26	27–31	32–33
N	7	6	7	6	5	2
N weighed	5	4	7	5	4	2
Average (g)	1.01 g	0.44 g	0.57 g	0.68 g	1.06 g	3.35 g
Coefficient of Variation	30.02 %	17.64 %	20.28 %	37.31 %	29.26 %	8.87 %
N sized	4	2	4	4	2	2
Average (mm)	12.8 mm	8.3 mm	9.0 mm	9.9 mm	10.0 mm	15.5 mm

Tab. 3. The different issues compared

Of mints that do not copy their bronze coinage in lead, Salacia/**beuipon**<sup>103</sup> in Portugal uses a Southern non-Iberian ethnic,  $\text{𐌱𐌰𐌹𐌸𐌰}$  or  $\text{𐌱𐌰𐌹𐌸}$ , on both bronze and lead with different types.<sup>104</sup> Two probable mints use Celtiberian script: **burzau**/ $\text{𐌱𐌰𐌹𐌸𐌰}$ , with a recently published lead *semis*<sup>105</sup> and perhaps **segeiza**/ $\text{𐌱𐌰𐌹𐌸𐌰}$ .<sup>106</sup> Three further small issues of lead alone cannot be securely located. **kaitur**/ $\text{𐌱𐌰𐌹𐌸𐌰}$  uses a North-Eastern Iberian script.<sup>107</sup> The only known specimens were found together in Susaña (Mazarrón, Murcia). **sirbaiser**/ $\text{𐌱𐌰𐌹𐌸𐌰}$ <sup>108</sup> and **sabora**/ $\text{𐌱𐌰𐌹𐌸𐌰}$  (also known as **okanaka**/ $\text{𐌱𐌰𐌹𐌸𐌰}$ )<sup>109</sup> use the South-Eastern Iberian script. There are also a number of non-state lead pieces, many which use Italo-Baetican types, while some carry value-marks and must have served as

<sup>103</sup> Ferrer i Jané 2021, p. 74.

<sup>104</sup> ACIP, p. 168, 972.

<sup>105</sup> Hesp. 48; Aguilera Hernández 2015.

<sup>106</sup> DCPH II, p. 374; Hesp. 78; Jesús Rodríguez Ramos 2001-2002.

<sup>107</sup> Hesp. 115; DCPH II, p. 220.

<sup>108</sup> Casariego, Cores, and Pliego 1987, p. 104.

<sup>109</sup> Casariego, Cores, and Pliego 1987, 4, nos. 3 and 4; Hesp. 116; DCPH II, p. 297.

money. These were almost certainly made in Corduba during the 1<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>110</sup> Most use Latin, but one piece carries a North-Eastern Iberian inscription, **siuſ**/𐤱𐤕𐤱𐤳. It may have come from somewhere between Cartagena and Valencia.<sup>111</sup>

#### 4.1. Prototypes

The helmeted head of Athena, like that on dies O1–O4, is common throughout the Greek world, but not in Spain before the Roman period. Possible candidates as a Spanish prototype are from the Barcid Empire (fig. 6, **1**), and from Arse/Saguntum during the same period (**2**), and Athena is also used on the common bronze of Untikesken (fig. 31, **1**) in the second century.

The most probable prototype for R1—a dolphin with a crescent above—is Arse/Saguntum, where it is used from c. 218 (fig. 6, **3**) to the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century (*MIB* 34/82 and 83). The helmet on O8 is not a common type, but there is a possible model among the archaic coins of Emporion (**4**). There are others in the archaic coins of Massalia.<sup>112</sup> The facing owl on dies O6 and O7 ultimately derives from Athenian silver (**5**). Athenian coinage is much imitated in the early coinage of Emporion, including the hemidrachm (**6**), which copies the hemidrachm with the facing owl. It is possible that O6 and O7 were copied directly from an Athenian coin, but the model is much more likely to have been the Emporitan copy.

Dies R8 (bronze) and R9 (lead) both carry a similar hippocamp. The motif is not common in Spain. It is used as a symbol on Hispano-Carthaginian silver (**7**) just before the Second Punic War, and on the bronze of Kese<sup>113</sup> and Undikesken in the late second and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries.<sup>114</sup> A more likely prototype is **8**, a coin of the Etruscan city of Luca, of c. 280/270.<sup>115</sup> A particular point of similarity between the hippocamp on R7 and R8 and the Etruscan hippocamp is that the body is represented by a series of undulations, and not by the snake-like coils that are more commonly part of the ‘Greek’ image, for example in the symbol on **7**. Another similarity is the line rising at an angle from the body behind the head, which began life as a fin. Etruscan influences in the area were long and deep. Etruscan groups were as commercially active in western Languedoc as the Greeks of Massalia and those of Emporion in the fifth century, and the recruitment of Elisycian mercenaries for Punic armies may initially have been facilitated by Etruscans, in the context of their alliance with Carthage.<sup>116</sup>

We cannot suggest comparisons for the rudimentary head on O8, but O9—the facing female head on the lead pieces—seems once again to reflect early Emporitan models, where the front of the hair is represented by a string of dots, seen on many of the dies of the large issue of obols with the horseman reverse, *MIB* 1/163–1/180 (**9** and **10**).

Taken together, the possible prototypes underline the importance of contacts between the Elisyces and Emporion. Amongst the possible prototypes, the Emporitan imitation of Athens (fig. 26, **6**) is very probable. So is the Emporitan facing female head, with its characteristic rendering of the hair (**9** and **10**), very similar to the lead. The close iconographic parallels between the two Elisycian hippocamps and the Etruscan model (**8**) also make such a coin a convincing prototype. All these pieces are early, the latest being **8**. On the other hand the dolphin and crescent on the coin of

<sup>110</sup> For the Italo-Baetican iconography: Stannard 2020. For a catalogue of the Spanish Italo-Baetican types: Stannard et al. 2017, p. 84–101.

<sup>111</sup> Stannard et al. 2017, p. 98, no. 22.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. *Dicomon* OBB-15 and 15B (facing right, 475–450), and OBB-18 (facing left, 525–500). However, these are unlikely models, as they have three prominent dots to denote the hinge of the cheek-piece, which our bronzes lack.

<sup>113</sup> *ACIP* 1143; *CNH* 36.

<sup>114</sup> *MIB* 57/23.

<sup>115</sup> Vecchi 2008, p. 55; ‘The Gataiolla or Romito di Pozzuolo find of 1986 provides a clear *terminus ante quem* of ca. 270 BC’. *HNI*, p. 29, no. 97. The archaeological context of the hoard provides a clear *terminus ante quem* for the coinage, which fits well enough with the style.

<sup>116</sup> Fariselli 2002, p. 265–270.



Arse/Saguntum (3), and dolphin reverses in general, such as at Kese, date down to Second Punic War and later. Apart from these mints, coinages with Iberian script are otherwise very rare at this date. A non-Spanish prototype is unlikely, and it seems best to postulate a date of late 3<sup>rd</sup> to early 2<sup>nd</sup> century for the Elisycian bronzes, and for the lead pieces.



Fig. 26. Possible prototypes

1. *Æ*, c. 237-227, Hispano-Carthaginian, *MIB* 8/02 ID 12269
2. AR drachm, c. 300–218, Arse/Saguntum, *MIB* 340/10c ID 16062
3. *Æ* 1/8 unit, c. 218–195, Arse/Saguntum, *MIB* 34/28c ID 78311
4. AR obol, c. 480–440, Emporion, *MIB* 1/075 ID 138764
5. AR hemidrachm, c. 454–404, Athens, Kroll 12; Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 452, lot 267
6. AR obol, c. 440–400, Emporion, *MIB* 1/122d ID 14797
7. AR dishekel, c. 227–211, Hispano-Carthaginian, *MIB* 8/27 ID 17119
8. AR 10 units, c. 280/270, Etruria, Luca; I. Vecchi, *The coinage of Etruria and Umbria. Part 1*, 55, no. 8.6; *Historia Numorum, Italy*, 29, no. 97
9. AR obol, c. 400–300, Emporion, *MIB* 1/171 ID 101740
10. AR obol, c. 400–300, Emporion, *MIB* 1/179 ID 14822

#### 4.2. Legends

The legend on both bronze and lead uses the North-Eastern Iberian script, in long (𐤀𐤕𐤁𐤕𐤁𐤕: dies R1 and R3; fig. 25.1, 1–7 and 12–13) and short versions (𐤀𐤕𐤁𐤕 visible, but probably incomplete: dies R2, R4, R5; 8–11, 14–20); 𐤀𐤕 alone (certain): dies O6–O8; fig. 25.2, 22–31; as well as 𐤀𐤕𐤁𐤕; R9, 32 and 33).

The number of specimens we here assemble makes it possible to resolve doubts about the reading of the legends. This is important, because much speculation has been founded on them, particularly that the usual reading—**bineken**—is a place-name for Montlaurès or somewhere close by, or the ethnic of a people in the Narbonnaise: Corinne Sanchez, for example, provides a map, presumably depicting the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> centuries, where ‘Bineken?’ is placed as hypothetical people in a large area to the south-west of Narbonne and Montlaurès.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>117</sup> Sanchez 2009, p. 16, fig. 1.



From the first description of one of the coins with the long-legend on dies R1 and R3,  $\Gamma/\nabla\forall\forall\forall$ ,<sup>118</sup> the legend has usually been read as **bineken**,<sup>119</sup> although two other possibilities have been considered: **bineñi**<sup>120</sup> and **binean**.<sup>121</sup> The first three glyphs present no problems; they are **bi1**/ $\Gamma$ , **n2**/ $\nabla$  and **e1**/ $\epsilon$  or **e2**/ $\nabla$ . The last two signs are problematic; for the fourth, there are three possibilities, **ke3**/ $\zeta$ , **m1**/ $\nabla$ , and **a2**/ $\nabla$ ; for the fifth, there are two possibilities, **n2**/ $\nabla$  and **i1**/ $\nabla$ . With regard to glyph four, fig. 25.1, **1** might appear to show a line joining the main stroke to the dolphin (which might mean that the glyph was **ke3**/ $\zeta$ ), but **3** and **7** show that this is not the case, and that the glyph must be **m**: on **1–7**, the form used is **m1**/ $\nabla$ , while on **12** and **13**, the shape is closer to **m2**/ $\nabla$ . The fifth glyph is off, or partly off, the flan on most specimens, especially **3**, **5**, **10** and **11**, where it touches a break in the flan, which makes it look like **n1**/ $\nabla$ , but this would be inconsistent with the use of **n2**/ $\nabla$  for glyph two. The fifth glyph is luckily complete in **1**, and shows that what looked like the final stroke on the other specimens is in fact the middle stroke of **i1**/ $\nabla$ . Enough of the legend is on the flan in these specimens to be certain that no sign follows. The correct reading is therefore **bineñi**.

Earlier understandings of the visible legend  $\Gamma\Gamma\forall$  on R2 (**8–11**), R4 (**14–17**), and R5 (**18–20**), were confused for two reasons. First, so much of the image on the first known specimens was off the flan that it was not realised that the curve above the visible legend was the belly of a dolphin. Second, the first glyph is **bi3**/ $\rho$  rather than **bi1**/ $\Gamma$  and is easily confused with **a3**/ $\rho$ , which led to a proposed reading as **ane**/ $\rho\Gamma\forall$ .<sup>122</sup> However, **bi1**/ $\Gamma$  is clearly the glyph on other pieces, for example **6**.



Fig. 27. Legend on dies R2 and R4

The question is whether to read short **bine**/ $\Gamma/\nabla\epsilon$ , or long  $\Gamma/\nabla\forall\forall\forall$ /**bineñi**. On **18**, the first stroke of the fourth glyph, **m1**/ $\nabla$ , is clear. The proposed reading of dies R4 and R5 (**14–20**), then, is  $\Gamma/\nabla\forall\forall\forall$ /**bineñi**. The placing of the glyphs in relation to the dolphin on R2, also suggests the long reading for that die.

The owl / dolphin issue, fig. 28 (O6 and O7/R7, **22–26**) adds a third legend. The signs are small, three to four millimetres in height. There are two glyphs below; the first is certainly **bi1**/ $\Gamma$ , and the second is **n1**/ $\Gamma$  (**24**). While these glyphs run from left to right, with their bases downwards, the upper glyph appears to be  $\nabla$  (**22**), that is, a retrograde **e1**/ $\epsilon$ , with its base inwards, but no example of such a glyph is known, except if it were actually **s**/ $\epsilon$ . The legend therefore appears to be *boustrophedon*, from left to right below, and right to left above. In this case, the full reading is **bine**/ $\Gamma\Gamma\epsilon$ .

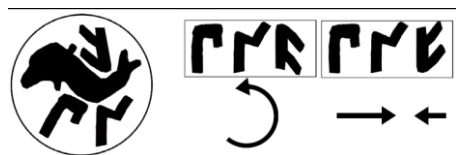


Fig. 28. The owl /dolphin legend

The head right / hippocamp issue, fig. 29 (die O8/R8, **27–31**) also bears the short legend; the three glyphs are clear: **bi2**/ $\rho$ , **n2**/ $\Gamma$  and **e1**/ $\epsilon$ .

<sup>118</sup> Richard and Untermann 1996.

<sup>119</sup> *DCPH*, 67; Feugère, Lhermet, and Py 2005, p. 15; Py 2006, p. 594, IBL-183; Feugère and Py 2011, IBL-183; Ferrer i Jané 2012a, p. 35; *Hesp Mon*-108; Richard Ralite 2015, p. 9, n° 14; Paris 2014, p. 100, 448-451; Amela Valverde 2016, p. 120.

<sup>120</sup> *DCPH*, 67; Luján 2005, p. 485, fn 19; *Hesp. Mon*-108.

<sup>121</sup> *ACIP* 2706.

<sup>122</sup> Feugère and Py 2011, p. 313, IBL-196; Paris 2014, p. 100, petit bronze à la légende ANE; Richard Ralite 2016, p. 5, nos. 93 and 94, correctly reads **bine**.



Fig. 29. The male head / hippocamp legend

On the lead issue, fig. 30 (O9/R9, **32 & 33**), the legend consists of two glyphs to the left and two to the right of the head, with their bases inwards. It runs around from right to left, which is unusual:  $\ve\ve\ve\ve$ . We normalise this, to read from left to right:  $\ve\ve\ve\ve$ . The first three glyphs are clear: **bi2**/ $\ve$ , **n1**/ $\ve$ , and **e1**/ $\ve$ . There are some doubts about glyph four, which may be another **n1**/ $\ve$ , but in glyph two, the left stroke is shorter than the right, while in glyph four, these ratios are reversed. This raises the possibility that it is instead a left-facing **ki6**/ $\ve$ . In fact, the difference between the two glyphs depends on whether we consider that the base of glyph four is inward or outward, and it is difficult to be sure in a circular legend: if we assume that the base of the glyph is outwards, and take into account its angle, it could well be left-facing **ki6**/ $\ve$ , but the form **ki1**/ $\ve$  would be usual in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century. With such small glyphs and the unusual right-to-left legend, an irregular **n1**/ $\ve$  or a left-facing **ki1**/ $\ve$  is possible: **binen** and **bineki** are therefore both possible readings.

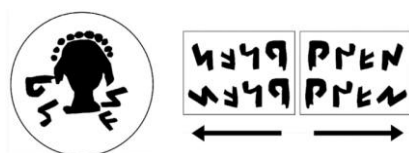


Fig. 30. The lead pieces: to left, as on the flan, and on the right, normalised. The lower register angles the fourth glyph, as on the lead pieces

In terms of palaeography, little can be learned from these legends,: vowels and consonantal glyphs only are used, with no syllabic glyph that might indicate whether or not the dual system is used.<sup>123</sup> As it stands, the variants of the glyphs are compatible with those commonly used in non-dual Iberian monetary legends of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries.<sup>124</sup> The variants are minor: rectangular **bi1**/ $\ve$  and rounded **bi3**/ $\ve$ , and **e1**/ $\ve$  or **e2**/ $\ve$ , with the elongated lower line.

#### 4.3. Semantic analysis of the legends

The legends, **bine**, **binen** and **binemí**, combine the stem, **bine**, with **en**, and perhaps **eki**, on the lead, and with **mí** on the crested helmet / dolphin bronze, but **bine** is found alone on the owl / dolphin and helmeted head / hippocamp bronzes (tab. 4).

Fig.25.1 & .2	Types	legends	segments
<b>1–13</b>	Æ: Head in crested helmet / dolphin left	<b>binemí</b>	<b>bine</b> <b>mí</b>
<b>14–20</b>	Æ: Helmet with cheek-pieces / dolphin	<b>bine</b> / <b>bine[mí]</b>	<b>bine</b> ([ <b>mí</b> ])
<b>21–26</b>	Æ: Owl / dolphin	<b>bine</b>	<b>bine</b>
<b>27–31</b>	Æ: Helmeted head / hippocamp	<b>bine</b>	<b>bine</b>
<b>32–33</b>	PB: Facing head / hippocamp	<b>binen</b> / <b>bineki</b>	<b>bine</b> <b>(e)n</b> / <b>(e)ki</b>

Tab. 4. Lexical components of the legends on the bronze and lead issues

The new reading of the final glyphs of the legend on the crested helmet, and the helmet with cheek-pieces, bronzes identifies the morph, **mí**, which usually accompanies anthroponyms in ownership marks,<sup>125</sup> or on funeral inscriptions, almost always after the morphs **ar**<sup>126</sup> or **en**<sup>127</sup>—for example

<sup>123</sup> There are two variants of the north-eastern Iberian script. The dual variant distinguishes glyphs for plosives as voiced and unvoiced by an additional stroke. A simple glyph denotes a voiced plosive, and a glyph with the extra stroke an unvoiced plosive. The non-dual variant is by far the commonest in inscriptions of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries (Ferrer i Jané 2005, p. 971). Inscriptions in dual glyphs are transcribed in cursive.

<sup>124</sup> Ferrer i Jané 2005, p. 971.

<sup>125</sup> cf. Moncunill and Velaza 2019, p. 324.

<sup>126</sup> Moncunill and Velaza 2019, p. 96.

<sup>127</sup> Moncunill and Velaza 2019, p. 52.

**míbebiur** + **ar** + **mí**, on a stela from Badalona,<sup>128</sup> or in **leisir** + **en** + **mí** on a lead sheet from Pech Maho<sup>129</sup>—or following a noun that identifies the object, for example, **ildirbigis** + **en** + **seltar** + **mí** on a stela from Cabanes (Castelló).<sup>130</sup> In some cases, it appears immediately after an anthroponym, such as, for example, **tafbanikoř** + **mí**,<sup>131</sup> on a stela from Canet lo Roig (Castelló). The interpretation of **mí** as a first-person singular pronoun would fit the pattern of ‘talking objects’, very usual in inscriptions of the time.<sup>132</sup>

The presence of the morph **mí** in a coin legend is new, unless Faria’s proposed reading of the legend on an imitative Emporitan drachm, usually read as **belsekuai**,<sup>133</sup> as **belsekumí**, is correct.<sup>134</sup> In any case, the closest parallel is the use of the morph **nai**, which is thought to be a variant of the morph **mí**, in the legend **ildirđasalirnai**<sup>135</sup> on a drachm of **ildirđa**.<sup>136</sup>

In the first of the two possible readings of the inscription on the lead pieces—**binen**—the final (e)n, could be interpreted as the genitive morpheme,<sup>137</sup> which usually combines with anthroponyms in marks of ownership, such as **ibeřor** + **en**,<sup>138</sup> which appears on two amphorae from Ensérune. It is probably also the last compound of the frequent termination on coins, **-esken** (**es** + **k** + **en**), as in **undikesken**, meaning something like ‘(coin) of those from *undika*’,<sup>139</sup> In the second possible reading—**bineki**—the final (e)ki, could be interpreted as the nucleus of **egiar**, which is normally used with marks of production, for example **bilosarķer** + **d(e)** + **egiar** on a grey ceramic from Cerdanyola,<sup>140</sup> and **neřsetikan** + **d(e)** + **egiar** + **mí**<sup>141</sup> on a bone pin, which indicates that the person identified by the anthroponym produced the object, and which can be assimilated to the Latin *fecit*.<sup>142</sup> On coins, this only appears in one of the issues of arse: **arřbigis** + **de** + **egiar**<sup>143</sup>, identifying **arřbigis** as the moneyer responsible for the issue.

Most coin legends contain a place-name that identifies the issuing authority, but moneyers’ names, and value-marks are also common.

#### 4.4. bine as a place-name

The usual current interpretation of **bine** is as a toponym, because the segment read as **ken**—which we now read as **mí**—was taken to be a variant of **sken/nken**, used in ethnonyms constructed from a place-name,<sup>144</sup> such as *ausa* (Ptol. II.69) for **auřesken**, or *indike* (S. Byz.) for **undikesken**. Our new reading eliminates this single case of the supposed form, **ken**. In any case, **bineken** was also an unlikely ethnonym, because **sken/nken** names refer to large territories, rather than individual sites, and it would be unusual to so mark only such small bronzes.

<sup>128</sup> *Hesp.* B.41.02.

<sup>129</sup> *Hesp.* AUD.05.38.

<sup>130</sup> *Hesp.* CS.11.01.

<sup>131</sup> *Hesp.* CS.01.02.

<sup>132</sup> Ferrer i Jané 2006, Annex 1, with earlier bibliography, p. 143. Moncunill Martí and Velaza Frías 2021.

<sup>133</sup> *Hesp.* Mon.110.11a.

<sup>134</sup> Faria 2004.

<sup>135</sup> *Hesp.* Mon.110.4.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. Ferrer i Jané 2012b, p. 33.

<sup>137</sup> Cf. Moncunill and Velaza 2019, p. 252.

<sup>138</sup> *Hesp.* HER.02.25.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. Moncunill and Velaza 2019, p. 260. Cf. Ferrer i Jané 2012b, p. 34.

<sup>140</sup> *Hesp.* B.20.4.

<sup>141</sup> *Hesp.* CS.16.01.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. Moncunill and Velaza 2019, p. 248.

<sup>143</sup> *Hesp.* Mon. 33.

<sup>144</sup> de Hoz Bravo 2002, p. 160; Luján 2005; Moncunill Martí 2007, p. 98; Ferrer i Jané 2012b, p. 34.

Nevertheless, it is still possible that the legends denote a place, as place-names are the commonest type of coin-legends. However, if the *oppidum* of Montlaurès was already called **naro** / **nero**, as mentioned by Avienus—the base of the later **neronken**, and Latin NARBO—it seems unlikely that a second name, **bine**, was in use for the site. It is, of course, possible that **bine** was a toponym not denoting the area named **naro** / **nero**, for example a sub-section or a peripheral part of the site.<sup>145</sup> However, neither the morph **ni** nor the morph **en** is common in toponyms, where the stem usually combines with **ku**, **r**, **s** or **sken** / **nken**.<sup>146</sup>

#### 4.5. **bine** as a moneyer's name

There are at least two possible moneyer's names in the later Neronken coinage: **tiuiś**, perhaps an Iberianised form of the Gallic name *Divix*,<sup>147</sup> and **biu**, which would relate to the Iberian anthroponym formant, **biur**.<sup>148</sup> Some fifty personal names have been identified on Iberian coins,<sup>149</sup> and most of these are interpreted as probable moneyer's names, for instance, **iskeŕbeleś**, **ildiraker** and **atabels** at **undikesken**; **ikoŕbeleś**, **biulakoś**, **balgaldur**, and **aiubas** at **ars**, or **ikoŕtaś** at **śaiti**.<sup>150</sup>

Toponyms and anthroponyms appear to be formed in the same way, and so to be almost indistinguishable, but **bin/bim** is most frequently found in contexts where it would appear to be part of an anthroponym, for instance:<sup>151</sup> **adinbin**;<sup>152</sup> **aurbim** and **bilosbim**, in the same inscription;<sup>153</sup> **bilosbin**;<sup>154</sup> **tigirsbin**;<sup>155</sup> **iskeŕbin**;<sup>156</sup> **basbin**;<sup>157</sup> **arśbin**;<sup>158</sup> **bintaŕ**;<sup>159</sup> **anbin**<sup>160</sup> and **ianbin**.<sup>161</sup>

In favour of **bine** being related to **bin** is the fact that most of the known occurrences of personal names with the **bin** element are from a relatively small group of sites from Catalonia and the Narbonnaise: Palamós, Empúries, Pech Maho and Ensérune. But against this is the fact that, with the exception of **bintaŕ**, **bin** is the second formant, not the first, as in **bine**, and that the supposed second element of the personal name, **e**, is not a usual compound of names, but the dative morpheme.<sup>162</sup> A similar use of **e** can only be identified in **adine** on one of the lead sheets from Pech Maho.<sup>163</sup>

On the other hand, **binen** appears on a pair of Campanian B plates from Azaila,<sup>164</sup> where it is usually thought to be a property-mark, with the most likely segmentation being the anthroponymic formant **bin**,<sup>165</sup> followed by the morph **en**, usually interpreted as a genitive marker. Nonetheless, if **bine** existed as an independent element, the segmentation could be **bine** + **(e)n**.

<sup>145</sup> Another coin from Montlaurès with non-Neronken types and a Latin legend, and so probably contemporaneous with the Neronken series, dated by *Dicomon* to 100–50 BC.

<sup>146</sup> Cf. Ferrer i Jané 2012b, p. 35.

<sup>147</sup> José Antonio Correa Rodríguez 1993, p. 116.

<sup>148</sup> *MLH*, no. 43; Jesús Rodríguez Ramos 2014a, no. 50.

<sup>149</sup> Cf. Ferrer i Jané 2012b, p. 32.

<sup>150</sup> *Hesp.* Mon.006, 33 and 35.

<sup>151</sup> *MLH*, no. 40.

<sup>152</sup> *Hesp.* AUD.05.34 and 36 and HER.02.16

<sup>153</sup> *Hesp.* GI.20.01.

<sup>154</sup> *Hesp.* AUD.05.36.

<sup>155</sup> *Hesp.* AUD.05.34 and 36.

<sup>156</sup> *Hesp.* HER.02.043-044.

<sup>157</sup> *Hesp.* AUD.05.34 and 36.

<sup>158</sup> *Hesp.* AUD.05.34.

<sup>159</sup> *Hesp.* GI.10.13.

<sup>160</sup> *Hesp.* AB.03.05-09.

<sup>161</sup> *Hesp.* V.04.04.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. Moncunill and Velaza 2019, p. 236

<sup>163</sup> *Hesp.* AUD.05.34.

<sup>164</sup> *Hesp.* TE.02.108-110.

<sup>165</sup> *MLH*, no. 40; Jesús Rodríguez Ramos 2014b, no. 47.



If **bine** is assumed to be an anthroponym, then **binēmi** would follow the pattern NAME + **mi**, and **binen** NAME + **(e)n**. Such forms do appear on personal objects and funeral stele, as already noted, but would be unusual on coins, as no combinatory morphs accompany moneyers' names in coin legends. If, however, the correct reading of the legend on the lead piece were **bineki**, then it would follow the pattern NAME + **(e)ki**, as in the case already mentioned of *ársbigisdeegiar*, on one of the drachms of *ars*,<sup>166</sup> although without the morph **de**.

#### 4.6. bine as a value-mark or coin-denomination

There are few examples of a denomination being written out in letters on Greek bronze coinage. The best known is OBOAOS on an obol of Metapontion, c. 425–350 BC, *HN Italy* 1640. Nevertheless, Ferrer i Jané<sup>167</sup> has proposed also identifying lexical denominations or values in the Iberian coinages of **undikesken**, **ars**, **šaiti**, **ildirđa**, the **tařakon** group (including **ildirđe**, **belse** and **eřu**), the **neronken** group (including **birigantin** and **šelonen**) and the **arsakos** group. This proposal develops an early hypothesis of Leandre Villaronga about the coinage of **undikesken**, but with a different interpretation of the legends.<sup>168</sup> The two most clear cases are the value-marks on its bronze units and the halves: **etaban**, formed with the denomination of the bronze unit, **eta** + the number one, **ban** (1), and **eterder**, also formed with **eta** + the number one-half, **erder** (1/2).

		Abbreviated mark (Obverse)	Full mark (Reverse)	Interpretation
Unit	1		etar et(a) (a)r	' of eta' = 'One eta'
Unit	1	eba e ba	etaban eta ban	'One eta'
Half	½	e= e =	Eterde- et(a) erder	'Half eta'
Quarter	¼	e- e -	e- e -	'One quarter of eta'
Sixth	1/6	ś	śeřkir	'One sixth (of eta)'
Sixth	1/6		sešte	<i>sextus</i> = 'One sixth (of eta)'

Tab. 5. Lexical denominations or values on the coins of Undikesken



Fig. 31. Lexical value-marks on the coins of Undikesken, c 170–150

1. MIB 57/19a ID 73763, *as*

*Obv.* Helmeted female head right; ⲁⲙⲓⲛⲉⲥⲕⲉⲛ/**undikesken** before.

*Rev.* Pegasus with modified head right; ⲉⲧⲁⲃⲁⲛ/**etaban** below.

2. MIB 57/17a ID 1013, *semis*

*Obv.* Helmeted female head right; ⲁⲙⲓⲛⲉⲥⲕⲉⲛ/**undikesken** before.

*Rev.* Bull butting right; ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉⲩⲉⲣ/**eterder** below.

3. MIB 57 24b ID 87711, *sixth of unit*

*Obv.* Helmeted female head right; ⲁⲙⲓⲛⲉⲥⲕⲉⲛ/**undikesken** before.

*Rev.* Bridled horse-head right; ⲡⲉⲣⲓⲕⲓⲣ/**śeřkir** around.

<sup>166</sup> *Hesp. Mon.*33.

<sup>167</sup> Ferrer i Jané and Giral Royo 2007; Ferrer i Jané 2007.

<sup>168</sup> Villaronga i Garriga 1964, p. 331; 1979, p. 127; 1973, 531; 2004, p. 122.

In the case of Montlaurès, there is also an unpublished one-sixth unit, of which we know three specimens, that also carries the legend  $\text{𐌆𐌵𐌹𐌵𐌹𐌸𐌰}/\text{śerkiŕ}$  (fig. 32). Coinage in the Narbonnaise in all epochs was heavily influenced by Emporion/**undikesken**, and so it is not surprising that the use of lexical value-marks was copied. In terms both of style and of imagery (helmeted head/dolphin) it is similar to the **binēni** group, but the imagery is ubiquitous, and it is not sure that these coins belong with our other bronzes.



Fig. 32. A lexical value-mark (sixth of unit) on a coin from Montlaurès, c 150%

*MIB - ; Dicomon - ; sixth of unit*

*Obv.* Helmeted female head right.

*Rev.* Dolphin right;  $\text{𐌆𐌵𐌹𐌵𐌹𐌸𐌰}/\text{śerkiŕ}$  around.

1. 10 mm, 1.3 Delcampe website, 5 November 2018, 5 November 2018.

2. 10 mm, 1.50 g, <https://www.ebay.fr/itm/NERONKEN-NEDENES-Bronze-au-dauphin/233507320298>.

3. 11 mm, 0.65 g, <https://www.ebay.fr/itm/NEDENES-Obole-au-cheval-retourne/233507314962>.

It is therefore germane to consider whether **bine** could be the name of some fraction of a bronze unit, in which case **binēni** might perhaps be a truncation of [**nero**]**binēni**, following the same pattern as **ildirđasalirnai** at **ildirđas**,<sup>169</sup> where **śalir** identifies the silver unit.<sup>170</sup> As for the **en** morpheme, the closest parallel would be the use of the **ar** morpheme in coin inscriptions, where both mark a genitive. The **ar** morph accompanies value-marks or denominations,<sup>171</sup> such as **eta** (**eta** + **ar**) on the bronze units of **undikesken**, **etebanar** (**ete** + **ban** + **ar**) on the hemioboles of **ars**, and **kitar** (**kita** + **ar**) on its silver units. The genitive marker **ar** accompanying value-marks or coin-denominations is interpreted as denoting the attribution of a value to the coin. If so, **binen** could be understood as ‘of **bine**’, that is, as attributing the value of **bine**, whatever that might have been, to the coin. The alternative reading **bineki** could not, however, be understood in this way.

The value of **bine**, if it is indeed a coin-denomination, could be related to the fact that the Iberian element **bi/bin** is part of the Iberian numeral system that resemble Basque numerals (tab. 6),<sup>172</sup> with the value of two (2). The lexical numerals so far identified in Iberian that contains **bi** / **bin** (2) are **biei** (second) and **abafkebi/(a)baŕbin** (12), and perhaps **binike**, of unknown meaning. The bronze coins under discussion are small, and it is therefore possible that **bine** was fraction of an implicit bronze unit, although no coin of such a value is known from Montlaurès before the later **neronken** coinage. We know that ‘sixth’ ( $1/6$ ) was written lexically on bronze coins of **undikesken** (fig. 31, 3), as well as on the coin from Montlaurès in fig. 32, as **śerkiŕ**, from **śei** (6),<sup>173</sup> so a better candidate is ‘twelfth’ ( $1/12$ ), as this is expected to contain the number two/**bin** (2) in addition to ten/**abaf** (10). Iberian ordinals and partitives seem to have been regularly derived by the addition of the morph **ei** to the base numeral (Num + **ei**), except in the case of **śerkiŕ**. It is therefore possible that the partitive equivalent

<sup>169</sup> *Hesp. Mon.* 110.4.

<sup>170</sup> Cf. Moncunill and Velaza 2019, p. 426

<sup>171</sup> Ferrer i Jané and Giral Royo 2007; Ferrer i Jané 2007.

<sup>172</sup> Orduña Aznar 2005; Ferrer i Jané 2009, 2022.

<sup>173</sup> Ferrer i Jané 2007.

to the fraction ‘twelfth’ ( $1/12$ ) was *\*(a)bař(ke)binei*, which, through a process of simplification, could be the origin of **bine**.

value	Basque	Cardinal	Ordinal? / Partitive?
$1/2$	<i>erdi</i>	erder	
1	<i>bat</i>	ban	banei(a)
2	<i>bi</i>	bi(n)	biei
3	<i>(h)iru(r)</i>	irur	
4	<i>lau(r)</i>	laur	*laurei (Aquitanian <i>Laureia</i> )
5	<i>bortz / bost</i>	borste	*borsei (Aquitanian <i>Borsei</i> )
6	<i>sei</i>	śei	śe(i)řkir
7	<i>zazpi</i>	sisbi	sisbi(b)ei(a)
8	<i>zortzi</i>	sorse	sorsei
9	<i>bederatzi</i>	tor?	
10	<i>(h)amar</i>	abař	abařiei
20	<i>(h)ogei</i>	o(ř)gei	

Tab. 6. Iberian numerals that resemble Basque numerals.

Finally, it must be noted that **bine** as an independent element is known only on the latest lead sheet from Monteró.<sup>174</sup> The text is short: a line of six segments and four additional segments in the form of a double column, but without it being clear what role **bine** plays in the text. However, the fact that the element **abařar**—probably formed from number **abař** (10) plus the morph **ar**—is the first segment of the text favours the interpretation of **bine** as also being part of a field of numbers.

However, as the discussion of the coin weights and sizes in tab. 3 shows, the denomination or denominations of the bronze coins in discussion cannot be decided by metrology, nor can the denomination of the lead pieces be identified by common types. Moreover, the coins under consideration do not seem to be part of a coordinated series of issues, where the relationship between denominations can be established. Comparison with the later **neronken** issues cannot be significant, as there seems to be no correspondence between the various pre-**neronken** bronzes from Montlaurès—such as these—and the later **neronken** series. It is therefore not possible to establish the meaning of **bine** by numismatic considerations, and an estimation of its possible numeric value must therefore rely on linguistic evidence alone. In our current state of knowledge, it seems unlikely that **bine** is a coin-denomination or value-mark on these coins, though further research and data may change this conclusion.

#### 4.7. Conclusions

The larger number of specimens of the bronzes from the Montlaurès area that we now know, as well as the new type with a hippocamp, and the lead pieces, all with variants of the single legend,  $\overline{\text{P}}\text{V}\text{V}\text{V}\text{V}$ , which we now read as **binerñi** rather than **bineken**, make it clear that this was a more consistent phenomenon than has so far been realised, although the die-analysis shows that the issues involved were small. These are the only pre-Neronken coins from Montlaurès with a North-eastern Iberian legend, and it is to be hoped that further discoveries shed more light on these coins and their legends.

The possible prototypes underline the importance for the Elisyces of contacts with Emporion and coastal sites such as Kese and Arse/Saguntum, while the very probable prototype from Etruscan Luca is a confirmation of the role played by Montlaurès through trade and mercenary activity in the wider Mediterranean. Most of the likely Emporitan prototypes are early, earlier than the 280–260 date of the Etruscan prototype. The type of a dolphin with a crescent above, however, does not seem to have been used in Iberia before the last two decades of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. It is tempting to date the **binerñi** group, like the silver obols in study 3, to the time of the Second Punic War—but it seems wiser to

<sup>174</sup> Camañes et al. 2010; *Hesp.* L.1.3.

postulate a wide date of *c.* 218–180 for these coins. However, if the sixth-unit in fig. 32 is in fact associated with the **binemí** group, then—like the coins with lexical value-marks at Undikesken—these coins probably date to *c.* 170–150. There is no sign that these coins are related to the later **neronken** issues.

Our proposed new reading of the  $\text{𐌃} \text{𐌆} \text{𐌆} \text{𐌆}$  as **binemí** rather than **bineken** does away with one of the possible Iberian ethnonyms that end in **sken** or **nken**, which include **neronken**. In fact, **bineken** was always unlikely, because coins ending in **sken** or **nken**—probably a genitive plural morph—tend to correspond to large territories, while **bineken**, if it were an ethnonym, would need to share not only territory but also population with **neronken**, if there is continuity in populations.

The three most plausible interpretations of **bine** are: a place name identifying the issuing authority, a moneyer's name, and a coin-denomination/mark of value, but all have issues, and we cannot decide which is the most likely.

The probability that **bine** is an earlier name of Montlaurès is low, given the mention of Naro or Narbo 'as the great capital of a warlike kingdom' by Avienus, and the fact that the Roman *Colonia Narbo Martius* founded in 118 seems to continue this name. It is, however, possible that **bine** was a toponym corresponding to a particular part of the large *oppidum*, or a peripheral site.

A second possibility is that **bine** was a moneyer's name, like **tiuiś** (*Divix*) and **biu** (**biur**), which occur as probable moneyers' names on some coins of the **neronken** series. But the interpretation of **bine** as an anthroponym is forced, since the element **e** added to the anthroponymic formant **bin** is not easily explained. Neither do the combinations NP + **en**, or NP + **eki**, and especially, NP + **mi**, find a good explanation in a monetary context, although some examples of **binen** on pottery property-marks leave open the possibility that **bine** was an Iberian name.

Finally, the possibility that **bine** is a coin-denomination or a lexical mark of value is small, but cannot be excluded. But minor bronze coins do not usually carry full value by metal weight, which is why bronze coins often carry a value-mark, to make evident their conventional value, as is the case with the coin marked **śerkir** from Montlaurès.

## 5. Final thoughts on the coinages of the Elisyces

### 5.1. The nature of these coinages

All the coinages studied here are probably from Montlaurès, the principal settlement of the Elisyces, with the exception of Issue 3 of the Second Punic War obols with Punic types (Study 3), which is probably from Ensérune.

The archaic coinage that we propose attributing to Montlaurès (Study 1) would make it the fourth mint of the Western Mediterranean in this period, with Massalia, Théliné (Arles) and Emporion. It is a coinage for small-scale local transactions, at a period of intense interaction between the Narbonnaise and the wider Mediterranean economy. Montlaurès was in a strategic position for the export of agricultural products, and the importation and redistribution to its hinterland of luxury goods from Greece, Etruria and the Punic world. No other site in the Narbonnaise has furnished such rich finds of Attic pottery, which peak in the last quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> and the first quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>175</sup> The Elisycian area drew traders from all over, as shown by a 5<sup>th</sup> century contract on a lead sheet from Pech Maho, agreed between an Ionian-speaking Greek and an Etruscan.<sup>176</sup>

<sup>175</sup> Gallet De Santerre 1977, p. 44.

<sup>176</sup> Pébarthe and Delrieux 1999; Lejeune, Pouilloux, and Solier 1988.



A hiatus in coinage follows until the obols ‘au bucrane’, in about the middle of the third century (Study 2). Foreign coin and precious metal continued, however, to reach the Narbonnaise, including many Massaliot obols of the very last series with head right, those ‘au chignon’, and Lattes series A, B and D, of between about 380 and 350, probably linked to the trade in British tin through the Aude-Garonne corridor.<sup>177</sup> These provided the prototypes for the first obols ‘au bucrane’. Contacts with Etruria are seen in the use of the style of hippocamp on the coins of Luca of c. 280/270 (fig. 26, 8) on bronze and lead coins of the Second Punic War (fig. 25.2, 27–31 and 32–22).

We have counted 72 obverse and 49 reverse dies of the obols ‘au bucrane’, and the number of singletons show there are many more to be found. They divide into two distinct styles: a ‘classical’ style in Groups 1–5, and a crude style in Groups 6–9, with a hiatus between these during the Second Punic War. Taking Groups 3–5 and 8–9 as single issues, there are six sporadic issues, each of short duration, spread over perhaps 50 years.

Another source of precious metal was mercenary service, particularly in Carthaginian armies in a number of theatres, from early times. The recruiting centres—Emporion and Rhode—became main sources of coin imagery. The Emporion drachm, which itself imitated the Carthaginian stater (*MIB* 1/192–195; fig. 14, 2 and 1), was very extensively imitated in the Narbonnaise during the second half of the third century, but never in Iberia, as was also the case with the Emporion Pegasus drachm (fig. 24, 4). The third century was clearly a time of rapidly increasing monetisation in the area, including for longer distance trade, when imitations of Rhode (*MIB* 5/37), as well as Massaliot obols, travelled the tin route to Bordeaux-Saint-Clair (Seine-Maritime).<sup>178</sup>

A last reflection of these mercenary contacts is the issues with Carthaginian types at Montlaurès (figs. 16 and 18) and at Ensérune (fig. 20) during the Second Punic War, throughout which the Elisyces fought in both the southern Spanish Barcid Empire and in Hannibal’s Italian campaigns. These were quite coherent and intensive issues: they use, at current count, 67 obverse and 44 reverse dies in three short-lived issues, and dies were probably worked quite intensively. As with the obols ‘au bucrane’, there are many other dies to be found. Individual issues were larger than the individual issues of the obol ‘au bucrane’. These minor series served a different function to the larger imitations of Emporion and Rhode. They seem to have circulated mainly between Montlaurès and Sigean.

It is instructive to try and compare the possible bullion value of the ‘au bucrane’ and Punic-type obols with that of the Gallic imitations of Emporion. We stress that the following calculations are wholly hypothetical, and are merely an analytical tool. In tab. 7, we extrapolate from the observed dies and weights of the obol series. Since both used many more reverses than obverses, we calculate from reverses, rather than from obverses. For the imitative drachms, we counted the obverse dies illustrated in *MIB* 2/01–2/45, that is, only imitations of *MIB* 1/192–195, the Emporitan issue with Carthaginian types.

	<b>Dies</b>	<b>Average</b>	<b>1000 coins/die</b>	<b>5000 coins/die</b>
Obols ‘au bucrane’	72	0.60 g	29.4 kg	147 kg
Punic type obols	67	0.45 g	19.8 kg	99 kg
Gallic imitations of Emporitan drachms with Punic types	102	4.50 g	459 kg	2,295 kg

Tab. 7. Theoretical projection of silver consumed.

It is impossible to estimate with any conviction the average number of coins per obverse die for a sporadic, informal coinage like the drachm imitations. In *MIB*, there are few records with more than a single die-pair, or with die-links between issues with different catalogue numbers, which probably

<sup>177</sup> Mairecolas and Pailler 2010, p. 143, p. 147; Jannoray 1955, p. 292–295.

<sup>178</sup> Delestrée and Pilon 2011, pl. 3, nos. 73–78. For a discussion of the trade and economy of this area over time: Ugolini 2018. For the tin route at a later stage, at the time of ‘les monnaies à la croix’: Hiriart 2015.

means that the number of coins per die-pair was low. These dies would together have consumed 450 kg of silver for every thousand coins that they on average each produced, over perhaps 50 years. There were also other imitative drachm groups to be taken into account: imitations with Pegasus, and imitations with hybrid types (tab.8). Reasoning from the comparative number of issues recorded in *MIB*, we can double the consumption of silver by all varieties of drachms imitating Emporion. If we include imitations of Rhode (*MIB* 5/1–5/53), we can triple it. As a comparison, Leandre Villaronga estimates that Emporion itself used 48 obverse dies for its drachms with Punic types, and 236 for its Pegasus drachms.<sup>179</sup>

	<i>MIB</i>	Date	Types/sub-types illustrated
With Punic types	2/01–2/45	275–200	52
With Pegasus types	2/53–2/72	215–200	24
Hybrid types	2/73–2/81	215–200	17

Tab. 8. Gallic drachms imitating Emporion.

Both sets of obols were probably struck more intensively: at 5000 coins/die, this would mean a total of 147 kg for the ‘au bucrane’ and 99 kg for the Punic type obols, used in a limited number of punctual issues made in a short bursts, substantial in number, but small in value in comparison to overall value of the imitative drachms.

We have no idea who issued these coins. We know little of state structures in the population centres of the Elisyces, which does not mean that these societies, with their intense emporion activities and their contacts with the wide Mediterranean, were not economically and socially complex. Jean-Marc Doyen has stressed that Celtic cultures—and presumably the Ibero-Ligurian Elisyces—were much more technically and institutionally sophisticated than has often been thought.<sup>180</sup> However, none of these coinages indubitably indicate a state authority of issue, and local elites may have made them, as needed for any of a number of reasons. The lack of an ethnic—and *binen* on the bronze is not an ethnic—argues for this. On the other hand, the fixed type of the ‘bucrane’ over a number of successive issues does suggest some continuing authority of issue, and acceptance in the local economy. Moreover, the bronze coinage of Study 4 is fiduciary, and fiduciary coinage requires either a guarantor capable of imposing a value, or a market-demand strong enough to endow them with utility value.<sup>181</sup> Unfortunately, we have no information to carry these considerations further.

If we are correct in attributing both the obols ‘au bucrane’ and the Punic-type obols contemporaneously to Montlaurès and Ensérune during the Second Punic War, we have the problem of explaining the presence of two different weight standards: 0.56 g for ‘au bucrane’ and 0.44 g for Punic-type obols. It is possible that this is another example of coins of different weight issued by non-state players for specific reasons, or in different areas, but remains puzzling.

We have assumed that all the obols and the bronze coins pre-date the Neronken coinage, and we do not feel that there is any sure indication that they were issued by the same groups or authorities. The Neronken coinage implies a much more structured state authority, rather than a simple evolution from the sort of coinages we have studied. ‘Neronken’ may contain the element ‘Naro’—the city mentioned as the Avienus in the 4<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>182</sup> with the *sken/nken* particle indicating localization.<sup>183</sup>

<sup>179</sup> Villaronga 2000, p. 125–127.

<sup>180</sup> Doyen 2018, p. 126–127, who doubts that such states played a role in the commerce of commodities, such as metals and grain, believing that the organization of such markets was the private work of rich merchants.

<sup>181</sup> For the concept of utility value: Stannard 2021, 2018.

<sup>182</sup> Ugolini and Olive 1987; Ugolini and Olive 2003.

<sup>183</sup> Sinner 2017, p. 47–48: ‘El presente trabajo comparte la opinión de Javier Velaza, que ve en la partícula *-sken* un sufijo que se añade al topónimo, in que se pueda precisar aún su valor exacto, uno de los dos sufijos podría marcar el lugar *ubi*—esto es, el locativo (*ildur-o*: «en la ciudad»)— y, el otro, el lugar *unde* o ablativo (*laiešken*: «de Laie»). Esto haría inválida la tan extendida teoría de que el sufijo *-sken* marca etnónimos.’

It is also possible that ‘pre-Neronken’ coins continued to be struck at Montlaurès after the Neronken series began, which raises the question of the relationship between Montlaurès and this coinage. An example is fig. 33, with the same, though ubiquitous types as fig. 25.1, **1–21**, and the Latin legend anthroponym EPVR, so presumably after 118 and the establishment of *Colonia Narbo Martius*. *Dicomon* lists three coins from Montlaurès and two from Sigean.



Fig. 33. Bronze from Montlaurès after the beginning of the Neronken coinage (200%)  
*Dicomon* IBL-613, dated by Py to 100–50; [identification-numismatique.com](http://identification-numismatique.com).

## 5.2. Iconography

The major sources of prototypes are Massalia, Emporion, and Carthage, which all provide not only the subject, but also elements of style. It is interesting that the prototypes are often considerably earlier than the imitations, silver, bronze and lead.

We have considered in detail the possible signification of the ‘bucranium’ on the obols ‘au bucrane’, drawing on the iconological analysis of Romain Ravignot, which he most kindly put at our service. This suggests that this icon should instead be understood as a non-representational cipher for the aspect of divinity. A word of caution: all the examples that are cited are from the Celtic, rather than the Ibero-Ligurian world, and we have no idea whether the concepts involved were shared by the Elisyces, who bordered to the north on Celtic peoples.

## 5.3. Coin production technology

A discovery from our die-studies is that the obols ‘au bucrane’, as well as Issues 1 and 2 of the Punic-type obols—which we attribute to Montlaurès—all used many more obverse dies than reverse dies. This must mean that the reverse (meaning the side not bearing a head) was set in the anvil. This is the opposite of Greek and Roman minting practice, because the engraving of the obverse die was frequently more labour-intensive than the reverse, but also because of an iconological tradition of using the reverse as a comment on or extension of the obverse, that is, as a secondary type. Issue 3 of the Punic-type obols, however—which we attribute to Ensérune—may have set the obverse in the anvil. Further die studies of other issues in the Elisycian area are needed—in particular the issues given to Ensérune—to know if this was a general habit of the region, or specific to Montlaurès.

## 5.4. Coinage as a sign of political events

A glance at the difference between the classical and crude groups of the obols ‘au bucrane’ shows a clear rupture between them, which we date to the Second Punic War, by the passage from round to square flans between Groups 3–6 and 7–9. From Group 6 on, we also go from relatively good Massaliot heads to chaotic and barbarised forms. This is not merely a change from a classical to a local style. The Massaliot head disappears, replaced in Group 7 by female heads drawn from Gallic imitations of the Emporion Pegasus drachm, and elsewhere by miserable and deformed male heads. Although the reverses also deteriorate in quality, the reverse design continues. Another sign of continuity is the maintenance of the 0.56 g standard.

How can this be interpreted? The artisans who made the classical issues disappeared abruptly. The society of which they were a part must have been severely disrupted. This suggests that Montlaurès suffered grievously towards the end of the Second Punic War, perhaps with a loss or replacement of population, and a weakened society trying to maintain or re-establish itself afterwards. Could this be related to Claire-Anne de Chazelles' identification of a hiatus of occupation at Montlaurès? She dates this from the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, but this dating should be reviewed on the basis of our numismatic evidence. The destruction of Pech Maho to the south, about 200, shows great violence in the area at this time. Violence continued in Northern Iberia, with which the Elisycians had been so involved. A large-scale revolt by the Iberians against Rome from 197–195 ended with the destruction of Rhode by Marcus Porcius Cato. The effects of this unsettled world on the Elisycians can only be guessed at.

It is against this numismatic evidence, and the broader historical picture, that the appearance of the Neronken series must be assessed. Whether or not they were made at Montlaurès, a much more consistent institutional structure was required, able to manage the production of a substantial coinage that included a range of denominations, struck consistently over time. There is no technical or monetary continuity between the coins we have considered and the Neronken coinage. The appearance of this coinage may also represent yet another political event in the Elisycian area.



## APPENDIX 1

## Study 2. The obol 'au bucrane'

No.	Obv.	Rev.	mm	g	
1	O1	R1	12	0.74	CGB bga_351342
2	O2	R2			eBay.fr/itm/362820401641/
3	O3			0.64	Editions V. Gadoury. Auction 2019, Lot 271
4	O4				eBay.fr/itm/362820401641/
5	O5			0.64	Editions V. Gadoury. Auction 2019, Lot 271
6	O6		11/10	0.57	la-detection.com/dp/message-15542 (Aude)
7	O7	R3		0.80	eBay.fr/itm/353671717199

Group 1 (fig. 3)

No.	Obv.	Rev.	mm	g	
1	O1	R1	11/10	0.71	G.A. Private collection, Nice = <i>Dicomon</i> IBL-163_2 and 3, which are both this coin
2	O1	R1		0.49	Broken. Bibliothèque national de France 1990-630 = <i>Dicomon</i> 163.
3	O2	R1	9	0.61	iNumis = <i>Dicomon</i> 163_3
4	O3	R1			<i>Dicomon</i> 163
5	O4	R1			Richard Ralite and Gentric 2011, 10, fig. 3, n° 1 (old Rouzaud collection)
6	O5	R1			<a href="http://monnaie-reims.yo.fr/2019/06/01">monnaie-reims.yo.fr/2019/06/01</a>
7	O6	R2	9	0.60	J.-C. Bedel collection (Grenoble)
8	O7	R2		0.65	Burgan Auction, 28/7/1995, no. 182. Richard Ralite, Gentric 2011, 10, fig. 4
9	O8	R2	10	0.71	wikimoneda.com, WM no. 2218
10	O9	R3	12	0.67	Forum OMNI : <a href="http://www.identification-numismatique.com/t2772-catalogue-des-monnaies-gauloises-a-la-croix">www.identification-numismatique.com/t2772-catalogue-des-monnaies-gauloises-a-la-croix</a>

Group 2 (fig. 5)

No.	Obv.	Rev.	mm	g	
	O1	R1		0.53	eBay France, 263724925596
	O2	R1	11	0.52	Broken. CGB bga_186351
	O3	R2			Richard Ralite and Gentric 2011, 10, fig. 3 (Société archéologique de Montpellier)

Group 3 (fig. 6)

No.	Obv.	Rev.	mm	g	
	O1	R1	0.53		eBay France, 263724925596

Group 4 (fig. 7)

No.	Obv.	Rev.	mm	g	
1	O1	R1	11	0.71	colleconline.com/fr/Artefact/Viewer/1d04a086-78e4-4920-9e94-7a264dc2bb86

2	O1	R1	9	0.62	J.-C. Bedel collection (Grenoble)
3	O2	R1		0.53	Jean Vinchon Numismatique, French and World Coins, 29/11/2017, lot 34
4	O3	R1		0.67	<a href="https://www.ebay.fr/itm/Obole-au-bucrane-Narbonne-/142368761970">eBay.fr/itm/Obole-au-bucrane-Narbonne-/142368761970</a>
5	O3	R1		0.56	eBay France 232723802640
6	O4	R1		0.74	Private collection
7	O5	R2	10	0.55	J.-C. Bedel collection (Grenoble)
8	O6	R3			Ralite and Gentric 2011, fig. 3, no. 41
9	O7	R4	11	0.48	CGB bga_171838
10	O7	R5		0.55	Broken. Delcampe.fr, 603424264
11	O7	R6	10.5	0.49	CGB v26_0541
12	O8	R7	10.6	0.48	CGB v25_0526
13	O9	R8	9.5	0.42	CGB bga_828866
14	O10	R8	11.5/ 10	0.56	Bibliothèque national de France 2176 (1), GAU-222

Group 5 (fig. 8)

No.	Obv.	Rev.	mm	g	
1	O1	R1	9.5	0.57	CGB v15_0173
2	O2	R1	12	0.69	CGB bga_540094
3	O3	R2		0.56	<a href="#">Poinsignon-numismatique</a> , réf : 28404
4	O4	R3	9.8	0.53	CollecOnline, réf : P / I 71
5	O5	R4	10	0.53	J.-C. Bedel collection (Grenoble)
6	O6	R4	10	0.48	CGB bga_181790
7	O7	R4	9.5	0.42	CGB v15_0174
8	O8	R4	9	0.37	CGB v28_0521

Group 6 (fig.9)

No.	Obv.	Rev.	mm	g	
1	O1	R1	11	0.69	CGB bga_260499
2	O1	R1		0.40	delcampe.fr 603424264
3	O2	R2	10/9	0.57	eBay France 223742147445
4	O2	R3		0.62	eBay France, 232699716291 (Béziers region)
5	O3	R4			Richard-Ralite and Gentric 2011, 10, fig. 3 (Sigeon)
6	O4	R5		0.50	Bibliothèque national de France, 1990.632 (GAU-11865)
7	O5	R6	9	0.40	J.-C. Bedel collection (Grenoble)
8	O5	R6	9	0.70	J.-C. Bedel collection (Grenoble)
9	O6	R7			CGB, lot of 5 obols, bga_459196
10	O7	R8	12/10	0.65	J.-C. Bedel collection (Grenoble), ex Bergerac sale of 14/03/2009, no. 86
11	O8	R9		0.57	Bibliothèque national de France 1990-633 ( <i>Dicomon</i> . IBL-163B, p. 306)
12	O9	R9			Richard Ralite, Gentric 2011, fig. 3, no. 8 (Old Rouzaud collection)

Group 7 (fig. 10)

No.	Obv.	Rev.	mm	g	
1	O1	R1	10	0.40	eBay France 323088619196
2	O2	R1	9	0.56	CGB bga_720138
3	O2	R2	8.5	0.63	CGB bga_597796
4	O3	R3			<a href="#">eBay France 233369112088</a>
5	O4	R4	10/9	0.71	delcampe.fr, 534151520
6	O5	R5	9	0.57	detecteur.net/forum/viewtopic = 121804
7	O6	R6		0.39	<a href="#">delcampe.fr, 646870576</a>
8	O6	R6	8.5	0.43	CGB, bga_295472
9	O7	R7			Monnaies d'antan, z202043
10	O8	R7	11	0.62	CGB bga_587793
11	O8	R7	10	0.57	mm, g, CGB bga_423424
12	O9	R7		0.55	delcampe.fr, <a href="#">616512772</a>
13	O10	R8	10	0.50	CGB, bga_210276
14	O11	R9	8	0.52	eBay France, 162487687434
15	O12	R10			eBay France 232691058719 (in a lot)

Group 8 (fig. 11)

No.	Obv.	Rev.	mm	g	
1	O1	R1	7.8	0.50	CGB v25_0527
2	O1'	R1	8	0.56	J.-C. Bedel collection (Grenoble)
3	O1'	R1	9	0.49	Private collection (Nice)
4	O2	R1			CGB, in a lot de 5 oboles, bga_459196
5	O2	R1	9	0.58	Monnaies d'antan
6	O2	R1	10	0.45	honorat-numismatique
7	O3	R1			CGB bga_115074
8	O4	R1	10	0.61	delcampe.fr 534146822
9	O5	R2	9	0.56	delcampe.fr, 646871587.
10	O6	R3	10.5	0.59	CGB v15_0172
11	O7	R4			identification-numismatique.com/t158
12	O8	R5	8.5	0.46	CGB bga_735762
13	O9	R6	8	0.54	delcampe.fr, 631510117 (from Sigeau)
14	O10	R7	10.5	0.50	CGB bga_210277
15	O11	R8	9	0.48	<a href="#">wikimoneda.com/id=1603</a>

Group 9 (fig. 12)

No.	Obv.	Rev.	mm	g	
1					Our fig. 6, <b>3</b> = Richard Ralite and Gentric 2011, fig. 3 = Société archéologique de Montpellier
2			11	0.73	Our fig. 8, <b>8</b> = Ralite and Gentric 2011, fig. 3, no. 41
3			11.5/ 10	0.56	Our fig. 8, <b>14</b> = Richard Ralite and Gentric 2011, fig. 3 = Bibliothèque nationale de France 2176 (1), GAU-222

Said to come from the Fontès hoard (fig. 13)

## APPENDIX 2

## Study 3. Carthage and three issues of the Elisuces during the Second Punic War)

No.	Obv.	Rev.	mm	g	
1	O1	R1	9	0.41	Delcampe website, 21 June 2018
2	O2		10	0.45	GV collection
3	O3	R2	10	0.44	J.-C. Bedel collection (Grenoble).
4	O4	R3	8.5	0.44	CGN bga_382396 = iNumis mail bid sale 30, lot 37, 13 October 2015
5		R4			Leu Numismatik Auktion 4, lot 76, May 2019
6		R5		0.60	<i>Dicomon</i> IBL-164_1 BN 1990-643
				0.46	Richard 2016, no. 107
7	O5	R4	11	0.65	GV collection
8	O6	R5	8.5	0.50	CGN bga_238326
			8	0.42	Richard 2016, no. 12
9	O7				Fischer & Jacquier 1996
10	O8			0.50	Vinchon, 29 November 2017 Auction, 33
11		R6	8	0.52	Delcampe website, 21 June 2018
12	O9	R5	8.5	0.47	CGN bga_181796
				0.51	eBay France 232760325533
13		R6	9	0.52	iNumis, mail sale 24, lot 123 18 March 2014
		R6		0.40	<i>Dicomon</i> IBL-164_2; Richard 1981
14	O10	R6		0.43	Künker, eLive Auction 49, lot 5, 15 May 2018
15	O11			0.51	CNG, mail bid sale 79, lot 5, 17 September 2008
16				0.5	Editions V. Gadoury, Coin Auction 2019, Lot 283
17	O13		9	0.55	CGN bga_459188
18	O14		8.8	0.46	CGN v28_0522
19	O15			0.60	<i>Dicomon</i> IBL-164_5 = Richard 2016, no. 111
20	O16		9.2	0.57	CGN v25_0530
			9	0.50	CGN bga_423423
21	O17		11	0.56	Fischer & Jacquet 1996, 14
					Fischer & Jacquier 1996, 13
22	O18			0.53	Richard 2016, no. 108
				0.35	Richard 2016, no. 109
23	O19				Fischer & Jacquier 1996, 3
				0.51	No information
24	O20				eBay France 232699714039
25	O21			9	J.-C. Bedel collection (Grenoble).
26	O22	R7		0.35	<i>Dicomon</i> IBL-164 = BN 1990-641
				0.51	eBay France 232751978970
27	O23	R8			Fischer & Jacquier 1996, 2
28	O24	R9	10	0.47	CGN bga_186350
			9.5	0.47	CGN bga_396228
29	O25		9.8	0.52	CGN v25_0531



No.	Obv.	Rev.	mm	g	
					Fischer & Jacquier 1996, 5
30	O26			0.54	Leclere Auction, Monnaies celtes et gauloises, 10 October 2015, no. 41
31	O27				eBay France 233245397618 = J.-C. Bedel collection (Grenoble)
32	O28				eBay France 232958089477, October 2018
33	O29			0.24	eBay France 232747516375
			9.5	0.53	CGN bga_396226
34	O30				eBay France 232951026375, October 2018
35	O31				<i>Dicomon</i> IBL-164_4
		R10			Fischer & Jacquier 1996, 15
36	O32				eBay France 232992027247, 5 November 2018 = FGW Numismatique website 23 April 2001
37	O33	R11	11	0.49	CGN v15_0199
38	O34			0.46	<i>Dicomon</i> IBL-164_3 = Richard 1981 = Richard 2016, no. 110
		R12	10.5	0.73	CGN bga_459189
39	O35		10.5	0.49	CGN bga_388726
40	O36	R13	8	0.26	J.-C. Bedel collection (Grenoble).
41	O37	R14			Fischer & Jacquier 1996, 1
42	O38	R15		0.31	Richard 2016, no. 112

Issue 1: Male head right; -ś/M / horse right with head turned back

No.	Obv.	Rev.	mm	g	
1	O1	R1	10	0.48	GV collection
			8	0.41	Identification-numismatique, 27 June 2017
2	O2	R2			<i>Dicomon</i> IBL-164A
3		R3	9.5	0.46	CGN bga_472481
4	O3		9	0.44	<a href="http://www.forumfw.com/t10701p30-mes-monnaies-gauloises">http://www.forumfw.com/t10701p30-mes-monnaies-gauloises</a> 6 September 2018
					Fischer & Jacquier 1996, 6
					Fischer & Jacquier 1996, 16
			7.8	0.47	CGN v29_0569
5	O4			0.52	Richard 2016, no. 113
				0.48	Richard 2016, no. 117
				0.43	Richard 2016, no. 116
			19	0.39	CollecOnline 7 June 2018
6	O5			0.44	WikiMoneta WM no. 5358, 18 May 1994
			9	0.42	Melmoux 2012, p. 91, no 306. Found at Perpignan
			8.5	0.45	Trade, Arles, 3 September 2018
			8	0.42	J.-C. Bedel collection (Grenoble).
			8	0.45	J.-C. Bedel collection (Grenoble).
7	O6	R4	9	0.52	Delcampe website, 5 November 2018
8		R5	9.88	0.38	CGN bga_132353 = v15_0198
					Fischer & Jacquier 1996, 7
9	O7	R6	9.5	0.44	CGN bga_178518
					Private collection, September 2018

No.	Obv.	Rev.	mm			
10	O8	R7			eBay Spain 18 05 208	
			0.47	CMTP Numis website 20 May 2018		
11	O9	R8	9.3	0.46	CGN v25_0533	
12	O10			9	0.44	Delcampe website, 21 June 2018
						eBay France 232992025032, 5 November 2018
				8	0.47	WikiMoneda WM No. 1601
					0.56	<i>Dicomon</i> IBL-164A_1 = Richard 2016, no. 114
						Fischer & Jacquier 1996, 8
					0.46	Richard 2016, no. 120
13		R6		11	0.41	CGN bga_255403
				9	0.42	CGN bga_255404
				8.4	0.42	CGN v25_0532
				8.5	0.35	CGN bga_396227
				7	0.24	Delchamp website, 5 June 2018
						Fischer & Jacquier 1996, 12
						Fischer & Jacquier 1996, 10
					0.44	Briscadieu Bordeaux, auction of 24 March 2018, lot n° 45
			8	0.39	Delhay website 7 June 2018	
					eBay France 232992026068, 5 November 2018	
			8	0.54	Delhay website 7 June 2018	
			9	0.46	J.-C. Bedel collection (Grenoble).	
			10	O.55	J.-C. Bedel collection (Grenoble).	
				O.54	J.-C. Bedel collection (Grenoble).	
14	R9		9	0.56	CGN bga_209388	
			0.51	eBay France 232760323605		
15	R10				Picclicking 232772253657, 15 June 2018	
					eBay France 232941088514, October 2018	
			0.57	Richard 2016, no. 115		
			0.46	Richard 2016, no. 118		
16	O11	R6	9.5	0.51	Richard 2016, no. 35	
				0.51	eBay France 232760326741	
17		R11		0.51	eBay France 232760324698	
18	O12	R12	8.5	0.56	Trade, Arles, 3 September 2018	
19	O13				eBay France 322846762738	
				9	0.38	CGN bga_459192
			8	0.35	J.-C. Bedel collection (Grenoble).	
20		R13	9	0.26	J.-C. Bedel collection (Grenoble).	
21	O14		9.3	0.44	iNumis VSO, 3 November 2006, Lot 72	
					Fischer & Jacquier 1996, 9	
22	O15		9	0.48	Delcampe website, 5 November 2018	
			9.5	0.46	Delcampe website, 5 November 2018	
		9	0.41	Delchamp website, 5 June 2018		

No.	Obv.	Rev.	mm		
					eBay France 233259542502
23	O16				No information
			8.5	0.54	CGN bga_459194
24	O17				Trade, France, October 2018
			8.6	0.48	iNumis, mail sale 26, lot 60
			9.5	0.56	CGN bga_459191
				0.26	Ars Time Company, eAuction 2, 17 December 2013
25	O18			0.55	Richard 2016, no. 119
26	O19			0.56	<a href="https://www.ebay.fr/itm/NEDENES-Obol-au-cheval-retourne/233507314962">https://www.ebay.fr/itm/NEDENES-Obol-au-cheval-retourne/233507314962</a>
27	O20	R14	9.5	0.36	CGN bga_255448
			9	0.35	J.-C. Bedel collection (Grenoble).

Issue 2, Male head right / horse right with head turned back

No.	Obv.	Rev.	mm		
1		R1		0.46	Elsen Auction 85, lot 6
2		R2	8.5	0.51	CGN bga_260659
				0.47	Delcampe website, 13 August 2018
	O1	R3			Fischer & Jacquier 1996, 20
3					Fischer & Jacquier 1996, 19
4		R3'			eBay France 232951037454, October 2018
5				0.45	Delcampe website, 13 August 2018
	O2		9.5	0.47	<i>Dicomon</i> IBL-167_7
6		R4			Private collection
			10	0.50	GV collection
7	O3		9.5	0.45	CGN v36_1203
8		R5	10	0.35	CGN bga_396222
9				0.58	<i>Dicomon</i> IBL-167_6, Richard 2016, no. 59
			10.5	0.42	CGN bga_164160
		R6		0.36	Delcampe website, 13 August 2018
			9.5	0.40	Richard & Gentic 2019: 44, no. 41
			9	0.42	Richard & Gentic 2019: 44, no. 49
10		R7			Fischer & Jacquier 1996, 17
11		R8	9	0.44	GV collection
					eBay France, 314311737668
12	O5				Private collection, September 2018
13	O6		9	0.39	CGN bga_255450
14				0.34	Paul-Francis Jacquier Auction 44, 13 September 2018, lot 42
			10	0.40	CGN bga_186349
	O7	R9	9.1	0.56	<i>Dicomon</i> IBL-167_4
			8.4	0.54	CGN v32_0838
					No information
					No information

No.	Obv.	Rev.	mm		
			9	0.42	CollecOnline
					<i>Dicomon</i> IBL-167_3
					<i>Dicomon</i> IBL-167_5
			8.3	0.37	Private collection
			8	0.37	Delcampe website, 21 June 2018
					Fischer & Jacquier 1996, 14
			9.4	0.44	Private collection France
				0.45	Delporte website, 13 August 2018
					<i>Dicomon</i> 167A_4
			8.3	0.37	Private collection, France
			8.8	0.44	Private collection, France
					Private collection
15		R10			Private collection, September 2018
16	O8	R11	10	0.35	CGN v38_1501
			8.5	0.38	CGN bga_529422
17		R12	9	0.49	CGN bga_260501
				0.41	eBay.fr 232723810379
18		R13			Fischer & Jacquier 1996, 18
19		R14			<i>Dicomon</i> IBL-167_1
20	O10	R16			<i>Dicomon</i> IBL-167_2
21	O11	R17		0.32	Delporte website, 13 August 2018 = <i>Dicomon</i> 167A
22	O12	R18		0.28	Delcampe website, 13 August 2018

Issue 3, Male head left-/horsehead right



## APPENDIX 3

## Study 4. Bronze coins and lead pieces with North-Eastern Iberian legends

No.	Obv.	Rev.	mm	g	
1	O1	R1	15	1.22	<i>MIB</i> 151-1 ID 136766; <i>Dicomon</i> IBL-183; Richard and Untermann 1996; Musée archéologique de Narbonne
2				1.00	CMTP Numis website 20 May 2018
3	O2		12.5	1.20	<i>MIB</i> 151-1 ID 142418; CGB bga_459214
4			10	0.87	<a href="https://www.colleconline.com/fr/items/271998/monnaies-antiques-celtes-neronkens-petit-bronze-au-dauphin">https://www.colleconline.com/fr/items/271998/monnaies-antiques-celtes-neronkens-petit-bronze-au-dauphin</a>
5				1.23	<i>MIB</i> 151-1 ID 142419; Bibliothèque nationale de France 1976.11 (GAU-11569
6	O3			0.54	<a href="https://www.ebay.fr/itm/NERONKEN-NEDENES-Bronze-au-dauphin/233507318899">https://www.ebay.fr/itm/NERONKEN-NEDENES-Bronze-au-dauphin/233507318899</a>
7	?		13.5		CMTP Numis website 20 May 2018

Obv. Female head in crested helmet right.

Rev. Dolphin left; crescent above; **binēmi**/𐌲𐌶𐌵𐌹 below.

No.	Obv.	Rev.	mm	g	
8	O4	R2		0.39	MIB 151-1 ID 142420; Bibliothèque nationale de France 1991.809 (GAU-11944)
9					CMTN Numis website 20 May 2018
10				0.36	J.-C. Bedel collection (Grenoble).
11			8	0.53	MIB 151-1 ID 142507; J.-C. Bedel collection (Grenoble).

Obv. Female head in crested helmet right.

Rev. Dolphin left; **bine[mi]**?/𐌲𐌶𐌵[𐌹]? below.

No.	Obv.	Rev.	mm	g	
12	O4	R3	8.1/ 9	0.47	J.-C. Bedel collection (Grenoble).

Obv. Female head in crested helmet right.

Rev. Dolphin left; **binēmi**/𐌲𐌶𐌵𐌹 below.

No.	Obv.	Rev.	mm	g	
13	O5	R3			<i>Dicomon</i> IBL-183_1; Bibliothèque nationale de France 1987-11

Obv. Helmet with cheek-pieces or helmeted head right.

Rev. Dolphin left; **binēmi**/𐌲𐌶𐌵𐌹 below.

14	O?	R4		0.42	MIB 151-1 ID 142422; J.-C. Bedel collection (Grenoble).
15	O6		9	0.53	MIB 151-1 ID 142506; Bibliothèque nationale de France 1990.626 (GAU-11859
16				0.74	MIB 151-1 ID 142421; Bibliothèque nationale de France 1990.625 (GAU-11858); Richard 2016, no. 93
17				0.71	MIB 151-1 ID 142423; Bibliothèque nationale de France 1990.627 (GAU-11860)
18		R5	9.5	0.53	MIB 151-1 ID142417; CGB bga_459216
19	7.4/ 9.6		0.60	J.-C. Bedel collection (Grenoble).	

20			8.2 /10	0.49	J.-C. Bedel collection (Grenoble).
----	--	--	------------	------	------------------------------------

*Obv.* Helmet with cheek-pieces or helmeted right.

*Rev.* Dolphin left; **bine**[mi]?/P/V[VR]? and P/V[VR]? below.

No.	Obv.	Rev.	mm		
21	O?	R6			<a href="https://picclick.fr/Rare-bronze-NERONKEN-N%C3%89D%C3%88NES-Bronze-au-232711524932.html">https://picclick.fr/Rare-bronze-NERONKEN-N%C3%89D%C3%88NES-Bronze-au-232711524932.html</a>

*Obv.* Uncertain.

*Rev.* Dolphin left; any legend obliterated.

No.	Obv.	Rev.	mm		
22	O6	R7	9	0.44	Delcampe website, 15 September 2018
23			10	0.53	MIB 151-2 ID 142444; CGB_bga_459218
24	O7		10.5	0.63	MIB 151-2 ID 19078; Delcampe website, 15 September 2018, 631526413
25				0.72	MIB 151-2 ID 142495; private collection
26			10	1.10	Private collection (France); photo: Benenina Darnbaud

*Obv.* Owl facing.

*Rev.* Dolphin left; **bine**/P/V retrograde around.

No.	Obv.	Rev.	mm		
27	O8	R8		0.69	Bibliothèque nationale de France 1991.58 (GAU-11931)
28				0.92	Bibliothèque nationale de France 1996.72 (GAU-11972)
29				1.26	Trade, France, October 2018
30			10		CTMP Numis website 20 May 2018
31			10	1.37	<a href="http://www.identification-numismatique.com/t4444-oppidum-montlaures">http://www.identification-numismatique.com/t4444-oppidum-montlaures</a> . 5 Nov 2018

*Obv.* Helmeted head right; **bine**/P/V.

*Rev.* Hippocamp left.

No.	Obv.	Rev.	mm		
32	O9	R9	15	3.56	Old collection of the region
33			16	16	Old collection of the region

*Obv.* Facing female bust with elaborate coiffed hair; **binen**/P/V or **bineki**/P/V retrograde around.

*Rev.* Hippocamp right.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ACIP = VILLARONGA L., BENAGES J. (2011) *Ancient Coinage of the Iberian Peninsula*. Barcelona: Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics.
- AGUILERA HERNÁNDEZ, A. (2015) Propuestas de interpretación para un plomo monetiforme inédito en Bursau. *Acta Numismàtica*, p. 451–8.
- ALFARO ASINS, C. (2000) Consideraciones sobre la moneda púnica foránea en la península ibérica y su entorno. *Boletín del Museo Arqueológico Nacional XVIII*, nos. 1 y 2, p. 21–67.
- AMELA VALVERDE, L. (2016) Monedas del Aude. *Varia Numismatica* V, p. 119–124.
- BEYLIE, A.; GAILLEDROT, E.; MARCHAND, G.; PIQUÈS, G.; ANWAR, N.; CURÉ, A.-M. et CAVERO, J. (2008) *Pech Maho (Sigean, Aude) 2008. Programme triennal 2008-2010. Rapport intermédiaire 2008*. Lattes.
- BLÁZQUEZ MARTÍNEZ, J.M. (1959) Notas a la contribución de la Península Ibérica al erario de la República romana. In *Homenagem ao Prof. Doutor Mendes Correa (Trabalhos da sociedade portuguesa de Antropologia e Etnologia 16)*, p. 175–182. Porto.
- BRENOT, C. (1991) Un trésor de monnaies de Marseille découvert sur le site de La Courtine d'Ollioules (Var). *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France Année 1989*, p. 252–257.
- CAMAÑES, M.P.; MONCUNILL, N.; PADRÓS, C.; PRINCIPAL, J. y VELAZA, J. (2010) Un nuevo plomo ibérico escrito de Monteró 1. *Palaeohispanica* 10, p. 233–247.
- CAMPO, M. (2000) Las producciones púnicas y la monetización en el nordeste y levante peninsulares. In *Los cartagineses y la monetización del Mediterráneo occidental : actas de la mesa redonda celebrada en Madrid, enero 1999*. GARCÍA-BELLIDO M.P., CALLEGARIN L., (Eds.), p. 89–100. Madrid: AESPA XXII.
- CAMPO, M. (2006) La moneda a Rhode: producció i circulació. In *La colònia grega de Rhode (Roses, Alt Empordà)*. PUIG A.M., and MARTÍN A., (Eds.) p. 575–583. Girona: Sèrie Monogràfica 23, Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya-Girona.
- CAMPO, M. (2022) Las emisiones monetarias de la colonia griega de Rhode. In *La moneda grega a Ibèria. Seqües i circulació monetària. In memoriam Paloma Cabrera Bonet*. AQUILUÉ X., RIPOLLÈS P.P., (Eds.) p. 41–52. Centre Iberia Graeca-Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya.
- CASARIEGO, A.; CORES, G. y PLIEGO, F. (1987) *Catalogo de plomos monetiformes de la Hispania Antigua*. Madrid: Artis Traditio.
- CASTA, J. (2013) Un exemple d'obole de Marseille greque au buste juvenile tourné à droite et au revers MA. *Cahiers numismatiques* 197, p. 3–8.
- CASTA, J. (2021) Le trésor d'oboles de Marseille du quartier de l'Île-de-Martigues: milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> s. J-C (Martigues, Bouches-du-Rhône). *OMNI* 15, p. 7–35.
- CHEVILLON, J.-A. (2012) Les oboles et les bronzes « ibéro-languedociens » au cheval à la tête retournée. *OMNI* 5, p. 14–20.
- CHEVILLON, J.-A. (2013). La phase postarchaïque du monnayage de Massalia. *Revue Numismatique* 169, p. 135–158.
- CHEVILLON, J.-A. (2017) Le monnayage archaïque de la Théliné grecque (Arles, France). In *Proceedings of the XV International Numismatic Congress, Taormina 2015, addendum 2*, 1–3. Roma and Messina: Arbor Sapientiae.

- CHEVILLON, J.-A. (2019) Languedoc occidental : un nouveau groupe d'hémioboles au sanglier. *Annales du Groupe Numismatique du Comtat et de Provence*, p. 11–14.
- CHEVILLON, J.-A. (2022a) Le trésor d'Avignon : un remarquable ensemble d'oboles massaliètes du IV<sup>e</sup> et III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. Reprise des données. In *Monnaies et monnayages en Avignon entre Provence et Papauté. Actes du colloque d'Avignon des 25–28 mai 2017 au Musée Calvet – Avignon*. HOLLARD D., LE BRAZIDEC M.-L. (Eds.), p. 61–83. Paris: Société d'Études Numismatiques et Archéologiques (SENA).
- CHEVILLON, J.-A. (2022b) Les premières oboles de Marseille à la tête du dieu-fleuve Lacydon. *Cahiers Numismatiques* 231, p. 9–16.
- CHEVILLON, J.-A. (à paraître) Les reflets de Carthage dans les monnayages de l'Hispanie et de la Gaule, *Actes du Congrès International Numismatique XVI* (Varsovie, Pologne, 11–16 Sept. 2022).
- CHEVILLON, J.-A. ; ANDRE, P. (2016) Un petit ensemble d'oboles marseillaises du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. provenant du territoire Voconces (Journée Ouverte d'Histoire et de Numismatique 1, Grenoble, octobre 2015). *OMNI* 10, p. 187–207.
- CHEVILLON, J.-A. ; BERTAUD, O. et GUERNIER, R. (2008) Nouvelles données relatives au monnayage archaïque massaliète. *Revue Numismatique* 164, p. 209–244.
- CHEVILLON, J.-A. et LAROZAS, C. (2000, June) Les monnaies des Elysiques à légende : TVII. *Cahiers Numismatiques* 144, p. 3–9
- CNH =VILLARONGA, L. (1994) *Corpus Nummum Hispaniae Ante Augusti Aetatem*. Madrid.
- CORREA RODRIGUEZ, J.A. (1993) Antropónimos galos y ligures en inscripciones ibéricas. In *Studia Palaeohispanica et Indogermánica J. Untermann ab Amicis Hispanicis Oblata*. ADIEGO I.X., J. SILES, J., VELAZA J., (Eds.), p. 101–116. Aurea Saecula, 10.
- CORREA RODRIGUEZ, J.A. (2008) Cronica epigrafica del Sudeste I. *Palaeohispanica* 8, p. 281–293.
- CRAWFORD, M.H. (1974) *Roman Republican Coinage*. Cambridge.
- DE CALLATAÏ, F. (2010) Les plombs à types monétaires en Grèce ancienne : monnaies (officielles, votives ou contrefaites), jetons, sceaux, poids, épreuves ou fantaisies ? *Revue numismatique*, p. 219–255.
- DE CHAZELLES, C.-A. (2004). Montlaurès et son territoire à l'âge du fer. *ADLFI. Archéologie de la France - Informations [on-line]*, Languedoc-Roussillon, posted 1 March 2004, accessed 5 April 2017. URL : <http://adlfi.revues.org/11806>.
- DE CHAZELLES, C.-A. ; MAUNE, S.; ROPIOT, V. and SANCHEZ, C. (2000) *Autour des oppida de Montlaurès (Narbonne, Aude) et de Saint-Siméon (Pézénas, Hérault) : méthodes et résultats d'une recherche sur le territoire vivrier de deux agglomérations protohistoriques (VI<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> s. av. n. è.) Actes de la table ronde de Ullastret: Territori politic i territori rural durant l'edat del ferro a la Mediterrània Occidentà, May 2000*. Ullastret.
- DE HOZ BRAVO, J. (2002) El complejo sufijal –(e)sken de la lengua ibéri. *Palaeohispanica* 2, p. 159–168.
- DE HOZ BRAVO, J. (2010) *Historia lingüística de la Península Ibérica en la antigüedad. I. Preliminares y mundo meridional prerromano*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Actes du Congrès International Numismatique XVI (Varsovie, Pologne, 11–16 Sept. 2022), à paraître
- DE LA TOUR, H., revised FISCHER, B. (1892/1999) *Atlas des monnaies gauloises*. Paris: Claude Burgan/Maison Florange.



- DELESTRÉE, L.-P. et PILON, F. (2011) Un comptoir maritime de La Tène moyenne en Haute-Normandie : le site de Bordeaux-Saint-Clair (Seine-Maritime). In *La numismatique en Normandie. Actes du colloque de Bayeux, 17 avril 2010, Médiathèque municipale*. HOLLARD D. (Ed.), p. 21–58. Paris: SENA (Recherches et travaux de la Société d'études numismatiques et archéologiques 4).
- DEPEYROT, G. (2002) *Le numéraire celtique, I, la Gaule du Sud-Est*. Wetteren.
- DHPC = GARCÍA-BELLIDO, M.P. y BLÁZQUEZ, C. (2001) *Diccionario de cecas y pueblos hispánicos*. 2 vols. Madrid.
- Dicomon = Dictionnaire des monnaies de Gaule méditerranéenne. <http://cchum-kvm-syslat.in2p3.fr/SLC/Dicomon/d.index.html>. [Last consulted in September 2023.]
- DOYEN, J.-M. (2018) *Prolégomènes à l'économie des Celtes*. Brussels: éditions Archaion.
- DUVAL, P.-M. (1957) *Les Dieux de la Gaule*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France (Mythes et Religions 33).
- DUVAL, P.-M. (2009) *Les Celtes*. Paris: Gallimard Collection L'Univers des Formes.
- FARIA, A.M. (2004) Crónica de onomástica paleo-hispánica (8). *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia* 7-2, p. 175–192.
- FARISELLI, A.C. (2002) *I Mercenari di Cartagine. Biblioteca della Rivista di Studi Punici 1*. La Spezia: Agorà Edizioni.
- FERRER I JANÉ, J. (2005) Novetats sobre el sistema dual de diferenciació gràfica de les oclusives. In *Acta Palaeohispanica IX: Actes del IX Col·loqui Internacional de Llengües i Cultures Paleohispàniques, Palaeohispanica, 5 (Barcelona, 20-24 doctubre de 2004)*, p. 957–982. Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico.
- FERRER I JANÉ, J. (2006) Nova lectura de la inscripció ibèrica de La Joncosa. *Veleia* 23, p. 129–170.
- FERRER I JANÉ, J. (2007) Sistemes de marques de valor lèxiques sobre monedes ibèriques. *Acta Numismàtica* 37, p. 53–73.
- FERRER I JANÉ, J. (2009) El sistema de numerales ibérico: avances en su conocimiento. *Palaeohispanica* 9, p. 451–479.
- FERRER I JANÉ, J. (2012a) La lengua de las leyendas monetales ibéricas. In *La moneda de los íberos. Ituro y los talleres layetanos*. A.G. SINER (Ed.), p. 28–43.
- FERRER I JANÉ, J. (2012b) La lengua de las leyendas monetales ibéricas. In *Ituro y los talleres layetanos. Catalogo de exposicion, del 22 de Abril al 30 de Junio de 2012*. A.G. SINER (Ed.), p. 28–43. Mataró (Barcelona): Museu de l'Estampació de Premià de Mar.
- FERRER I JANÉ, J. (2014) A propòsit d'un sisè de bronze de baitolo amb la llegenda be II. *Acta Numismàtica* 44, p. 57–69.
- FERRER I JANÉ, J. (2021) La escritura turdetana en el contexto de las escrituras paleohispánicas. In *Aprender la escritura, olvidar la escritura: Nuevas perspectivas sobre la historia de la escritura en el occidente romano*. MONCUNILL MARTI N., RAMIREZ SANCHEZ M. (Eds.), p. 67–94. Anejos de Veleia, Series Minor 39.
- FERRER I JANÉ, J. (2022) El sistema de numerales ibèric: més enllà de la semblança formal amb els numerales bascos. *Revista d'Arqueologia de Ponent* 32, p. 9–42.
- FERRER I JANÉ, J. y GIRAL ROYO, F. (2007) A propósito de un semis de ildirda con leyenda erder. Marcas de valor léxicas sobre monedas ibéricas. *Palaeohispanica* 7, p. 83–99.

- FEUGERE, M. (2013). Oralité et autorité en Gaule préromaine d'après les monnaies gauloises méridionales. In *De nummis gallicis. Mélanges de numismatique celtique offerts à Louis-Pol Delestrée*. GUIHARD P.-M., HOLLARD D. (Eds.), p. 43–47. Paris: Société d'Études Numismatiques et Archéologiques (SÉNA).
- FEUGERE, M. ; LHERMET, M. et PY, M. (2005) Les petits bronzes longostalètes à la corne d'abondance. *Cahiers Numismatiques* 165, p. 13–21.
- FEUGERE, M. et PY, M. (2011). *Dictionnaire des monnaies découvertes en Gaule méditerranéenne (530-27 av. notre ère)*. Montagnac.
- FISCHER, B. et JACQUIER, P.-F. (1996) Nouvelles oboles de Narbonnais. *Études celtiques* XXXII, p. 73–86.
- FURTWÄNGLER, A.E. (1979) *Monnaies grecques en Gaule, le trésor d'Auriol et le monnayage de Massalia 525/520-460 av. J.-C.* Fribourg: Office du Livre, Typos III.
- GAILLEDROT, E. ; ANWAR, N. ; BEYLIER, A. ; CURE, A.-M. ; DUDAY, H. ; MUNOS, S. ; PIQUES, G. et VACHERET, A. (2012) *Pech Maho, comptoir lagunaire de l'Âge du fer (VIe-IIIe siècle avant notre ère)*. Les Carnets du Parc: Parc naturel régional de la Narbonnaise en Méditerranée.
- GALLET DE SANTERRE, H. (1977) La diffusion de la céramique attique aux V<sup>e</sup> et IV<sup>e</sup> siècles av. J.-C. sur les rivages français de la Méditerranée. *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise* 10, p. 33–57.
- GARCÍA-BELLIDO, M.P. y BLÁZQUEZ, C. (2001) *Diccionario de cecas y pueblos hispánicos*. 2 vols. Madrid.
- GOMEZ, É. et UGOLINI, D. (2020) Les premiers Grecs en France , le cas de Béziers I/Rhône. *Gaia. Revue interdisciplinaire sur la Grèce archaïque*, p. 22-23.
- Hesp = Estarán M. J., Beltrán F. (2015) Banco de datos Hesperia de lenguas paleohispánicas (B. II Numismática Paleohispánica,. [http://hesperia.ucm.es/consulta\\_hesperia/numismatica/acceso\\_numismatica.php](http://hesperia.ucm.es/consulta_hesperia/numismatica/acceso_numismatica.php). [Last consulted in September 2023].
- HIRIART, E. (2015) Les sites majeurs de l'axe Aude-Garonne, une approche statistique, économique et monétaire. In *Les Gaulois au fil de l'eau, 2. 37<sup>e</sup> colloque international de l'AFEAF, May 2013, Montpellier*, Vol. 1, p. 289-306. Montpellier.
- HIRIART, E. (2016) Les monnaies à la croix, retour sur l'un des principaux monnayages de la Gaule méridionale.' *Revue belge de Numismatique et de Sillographie* 162, p. 133–152.
- HNI = RUTTER, N.K.E. (2001) *Historia Numorum, Italy*. London.
- HOLLARD, D. (2003, décembre). La voix, la lyre et l'arc : images de Lugus sonore. *Cahiers Numismatiques* 158.
- JANIN, T. (Ed.) (2000) *Maihac et le Premier Âge du Fer en Europe occidentale. Monographies d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne* 7. Lattes: Publication de l'UMR 154 du CNRS.
- JANNORAY, J. (1955) *Ensérune. Contribution à l'étude des civilisations préromaines de la Gaule méridionale*. (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 145). Paris: Boccard.
- JENKINS, K. (1987) Some coins of Hannibal's time. *Bolletino di Numismatica* 4, Suplemento. Studi per Laura Breglia, vol. 1, p. 215–234.
- KRUTA, V. (1987) Le masque et la palmette au III<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C. : Loisy-sur-Marne et Brno-Maloměřice. *Études celtiques* 24, p. 13–32.
- KRUTA, V. (1992) Brennos et l'image des dieux : la représentation de la figure humaine chez les Celtes. *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 136-4, p. 821–846.

- LEJEUNE, M. ; POUILLOUX, J. et SOLIER, Y. (1988) Etrusque et ionien archaïques sur un plomb de Pech Maho (Aude). *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise* 21, Epigraphie et numismatique, p. 19–55.
- LOPEZ, C (2020) *Monnaies gauloises à la croix. I: Méthode et analyse. II: Répertoire*. Montpellier: Éditions OMNI.
- LUJAN, E.R. (2005) Los topónimos en las inscripciones ibéricas. *Palaeohispanica* 5, p. 471–489.
- MAIRECOLAS, M. et PAILLER, J.-M. (2010) Sur les « voies de l'étain » dans l'ancien Occident. Quelques jalons. In *Ab Aquitania in Hispaniam, Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à Pierre Sillères, Pallas*, 82. MORET P., RICO C. (Eds.), p. 139–167. Toulouse.
- MESCLE, T. et CHEVILLON, J.-A. (2013) Le monnayage des Glaniques. *Cahiers numismatiques de la SENA* 196, p. 3–8.
- MAA = ALEXANDROPOULOS, J. (2007) *Les monnaies de l'Afrique Antique*, Toulouse, Presses Universitaires du Mirail.
- MIB = RIPOLLES, P.P.; GOZALBES M. (Eds.), *Moneda Ibérica (MIB)*, Valencia, <https://monedaiberica.org> [Last consulted in September 2023].
- MLH = UNTERMANN, J. (1990) *Monumenta Linguarum hispanicarum. III: Die iberischen Inschriften aus Spanien*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- MONCUNILL MARTI, N. (2007) La llengua de les inscripcions ibèriques sobre moneda. In *La interpretació de la moneda: passat i present. XI Curs d'Història Monetària d'Hispania*, p. 87–101.
- MONCUNILL MARTÍ, N. y VELAZA FRÍAS, J. (2019) *Lexikon der iberischen Inschriften / Léxico de las inscripciones ibéricas. Monumenta J. Linguarum Hispanicarum. Band V, 2*. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- MONCUNILL MARTÍ, N. y VELAZA FRÍAS, J. (2021) *Tituli loquentes* en ibérico: una aproximación desde el análisis interno y la epigrafía comparada. *Emerita* 89/2, p. 309–333.
- MORA SERRANO, B. (2014) Nuevas aportaciones a la fase inicial de la amonedación de Malaca: los hallazgos de Ibn Gabirol (Málaga). In *Fenícios e púnicos, por terra e mar, 2. Actas do VI Congresso Internacional de Estudos Fenício Púnico*. ARRUDA A.M. (Ed), p. 44–50. Lisboa: UNIARQ.
- ORDUÑA AZNAR, E. (2005) Sobre algunos posibles numerales en textos ibéricos. *Palaeohispanica* 5.
- PARIS, É. (2014) Les monnaies de l'oppidum de Montlaurès (V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.-14 ap. J.-C.) : évolution et « romanisation » du faciès monétaire narbonnais. *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise* 47, p. 79–108. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.3406/ran.2014.1900>.
- PÉBARTHE, C. and DELRIEUX, F. (1999) La transaction de plomb de Pech-Maho. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 126, p. 155–161.
- PY, M. (1993) *Les Gaulois du Midi, de la fin de l'Âge du Bronze à la conquête romaine*. Poitiers.
- PY, M. (2006) *Les monnaies préaugustéennes de Lattes et la circulation monétaire protohistorique en Gaule méridionale*. 2 vols. *Lattara* 19. Lattes.
- RANCOULE, G. ; GENTRIC, G. et RICHARD RALITE, J.-C. (2019) Les monnaies pré-augustéennes trouvées dans le département de l'Aude. *OMNI* 13, p. 85–190.
- RICHARD RALITE, J.-C. ; GENTRIC, G., RAMONAT, G. et HADDAD, Y. (2009) Le dépôt monétaire d'oboles massaliètes d'Aniane (Hérault, France). *Bulletin du Cercle d'Études Numismatiques* 4, 3, p. 169–175.

- RICHARD RALITE, J.-C., UNTERMANN, J. (1996) Une monnaie divisionnaire en bronze à légende ibérique inédite de Montlaurès (Narbonne, Aude). *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique* 51, no. 6, p. 104–107.
- RICHARD RALITE, J.-C. (2015) Les monnaies antiques de l'oppidum de Montlaurès (Narbonne, Aude). Première partie : les dominantes de la circulation monétaire. *Bulletin du cercle d'études numismatiques* 52/3, p. 8–12.
- RICHARD RALITE, J.-C. (2016) Les monnaies antiques de l'oppidum de Montlaurès (Narbonne, Aude). Seconde partie : les catalogues. *Bulletin du Cercle d'études numismatiques* 52/3, p. 8–12.
- RICHARD RALITE, J.-C. et GENTRIC, G. (2011) Les oboles massaliètes du trésor de Fontès (Hérault) (III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.). *Études héraultaises* 41, p. 5–13.
- RICHARD RALITE, J.-C. et GENTRIC, G. (2019) *Catalogue des monnaies d'Ensérune*. Béziers: Cahier no. XXXV de la Société Archéologique Scientifique et Littéraire, Ancienne Académie des Belles-Lettres et Sciences de Béziers.
- RIPOLLÈS, P.P. and CHEVILLON, J.-A. (2013) The archaic Coinage of Emporion. *Numismatic Chronicle* 173, p. 1–21.
- RIPOLLÈS, P.P. y CHEVILLON, J.-A. (2020) Las acuñaciones post-arcaicas de Emporion (ca. 480/470–440 a.C.). *Archivo de Prehistoria Levantina* 33, p. 167–198.
- RODRÍGUEZ RAMOS, J. (2001-2002) Okelakom, Sekeida, Bolsken. *Kalathos* 20–21, p. 429–434.
- RODRÍGUEZ RAMOS, J. (2014a) Nuevo Índice Crítico de formantes de compuestos de tipo onomástico íberos. *Arqueoweb: Revista sobre Arqueología en Internet* 15, no. 1.
- RODRÍGUEZ RAMOS, J. (2014b) Nuevo Índice Crítico de formantes de compuestos de tipo onomástico íberos. *ArqueoWeb* 15, p. 81–238.
- SANCHEZ, C. (2009) *Narbonne à l'époque tardo-républicaine. Chronologie, commerce et artisanat céramique*. Montpellier: Revue archéologique du Narbonnaise, Supplement 38.
- SINNER, A.G. (2017) *La ceca de Ilduro*. *Archaeopress Archaeology*, 29. Oxford.
- STANNARD, C. (1987) Two-headed and two-tailed denarii in the Roman Republic. *Numismatic Chronicle* 147, p. 160-163.
- STANNARD, C. (1995, March) Two-headed and two-tailed *denarii* again. *Annotazioni Numismatiche* 1,17, p. 361-363.
- STANNARD, C. (2011) Evaluating the monetary supply: were dies reproduced mechanically in Antiquity? In *Quantifying Monetary Supplies in Greco-Roman times*. DE CALLATAÏ F. (Ed.), p. 59-79. Bari: Edipuglia.
- STANNARD, C. (2018) The crisis of small change in central Italy of the second and first centuries BC, and the function of overstriking. *Revue belge de Numismatique et de Sillographie* CLXIV, p. 97–170.
- STANNARD, C. (2020) Apollo and the little man with the strigils. In *Studies in Roman and Celtic Numismatics in Honour of Johan van Heesch*. STROOBANTS F., LAUWERS C., DE CALLATAÏ F., VAN LAERE R. (Eds.), In *Travaux du cercle d'études numismatiques*, p. 95–124. Brussels.
- STANNARD, C. (2021) Small change in Campania, from the fourth to the first century BC, and the newly discovered Second Punic War Roman mint of Minturnae. In *Merchants, Measures and Money. Understanding Technologies of Early Trade in a Comparative Perspective. Weight and Value*, 2. RAHMSTORF L., BERJAMOVIC G., IALONGO N. (Eds.), p. 261–287. Kiel, Hamburg: Wachholz Verlag.



- STANNARD, C.; SINER, A.G. and FERRANTE, M. (2019) Trade between Minturnae and *Hispania* in the late Republic. A comparative isotopic analysis of the Minturnae lead issues and the Spanish *plomos monetiformes* of the Italo-Baetic series, and numismatic and epigraphic evidence of the trade. *Numismatic Chronicle* 179, p. 123–172.
- STANNARD, C.; SINER, A.G.; MONCUNILL MARTÍ, N. and FERRER I JANÉ, J. (2017) A plomo monetiforme from the Iberian settlement of Cerro Lucena (Enguera, Valencia) with a north-eastern Iberian legend, and the Italo-Baetic series. *Journal of Archaeological Numismatics* 7, p. 59–106.
- STANNARD, C.; SINER, A.G.; MORA SERRANO, B.; GREGORI, G.L. (2021) Trade between Minturnae and *Hispania* in the late Republic (2). The mines and *societates* of southern Hispania. *Numismatic Chronicle* 181, p. 53–92.
- STEFANILE, M. (2017) *Dalla Campania alle Hispaniae. L'emigrazione dalla Campania romana alle coste mediterranee della Penisola Iberica in età tardo-repubblicana e proto-imperiale*. Naples.
- STERCKX, C. (2016) *Les mutilations des ennemis chez les Celtes préchrétiens*. Paris: L'Harmattan, Collection Kubaba.
- UGOLINI, D. (2018) The Greeks West of the Rhone (F). Genesis, Evolution and End of a Greek Area. *Journal of Greek Archaeology*, p. 203–243.
- UGOLINI, D. et OLIVE, C. (1987) Béziers et les côtes languedociennes dans l'Ora Maritima d'Avienus (vv. 586-594). *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise* 20, p. 143–154.
- UGOLINI, D. et OLIVE, C. (2003) Autour de la foundation de Narbo Martius; Atacini et autres peuples préromains de l'Aude. In *Peuples et territoires en Gaule méditerranéenne. Hommage à Guy Barruol*. BATS M., DEDET B., GARMY P., JANIN T., RAYNAUD C. et SCHWALLER M. (Eds.), p. 297–302. Montpellier: Revue Archéologique de la Narbonnaise, Supplement 35.
- VAN BERG, P.-L. (2004) L'art celtique de La Tène et les traditions culturelles indo-européennes. *Civilisations* 52-1, p. 49–60. <https://journals.openedition.org/civilisations/741#quotation>.
- VECCHI, I. (2008) *The coinage of Etruria and Umbria. Part I. The coinage of the Rasna*. Milan.
- VILLARONGA I GARRIGA, L. (1964) Las marcas de valor en las monedas de undicescen. In *VIII Congreso Nacional de Arqueología*, p. 331–339. Saragossa.
- VILLARONGA I GARRIGA, L. (1973) Marcas de valor en monedas ibéricas. In *XII Congreso Nacional de Arqueología*, p. 531–536. Saragossa.
- VILLARONGA I GARRIGA, L. (2000) *Les monedes de plata d'Empòrion, Rhode i les seves imitacions: de principi del segle III a.C. fins a l'arribada dels romans, el 218 a.C.* Barcelona: Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics, Institut d'Estudis Catalans.
- VILLARONGA I GARRIGA, L. (2004) *Numismàtica antiga de la Península Ibérica*. Barcelona: Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics, Institut d'Estudis Catalans.
- VILLARONGA I GARRIGA, L. (1979) *Numismática antigua de Hispania*. Barcelona: Cynys.
- VISONÀ, P. (1998) Carthaginian coinage in perspective. *American Journal of Numismatics* Second series, 10, p. 1–27.

Article received: 25/05/2023

Article accepted: 31/05/2023