

**COINAGE IN THE IRON AGE:
ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF
SIMONE SCHEERS**

Edited by

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SPINK
London
2009

The carnyx and other trumpets on Celtic coins

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1. Introduction

As a non-numismatist who has stumbled into Celtic coinage for the insights its iconography can offer, the work of Simone Scheers has been an invaluable guide to an alien world. This paper is offered as some thanks for that assistance. It concerns a small part of a much wider study on the carnyx, the animal-headed trumpet, in Iron Age Europe.¹ The carnyx is one of the most distinctive icons of the European Iron Age, with its straight, vertical tube curving into a ferocious animal head, often a boar. Its occurrence on Celtic coinage has long been noted,² and many of the types discussed here are well-known. However, others are less well studied, while over the years carnyces have been claimed on coins which this author would dismiss. This paper will provide a critical review of the evidence for carnyces on Celtic coins, with an appendix of *falsae* and uncertain examples, and discuss the implications which arise. It will also consider the few other forms of trumpet and horn depicted on coinage.

These coins provide some of our most useful depictions of carnyces. While their small scale limits the amount of technical detail they provide, they have compensating advantages – they give us our most abundant images of carnyces created by people who actually used them. Such coins provide valuable insights into contemporary life and ideas. Yet this aspect of Celtic coinage has seen surprisingly little work, despite Derek Allen's ground-breaking attempt to use the British coins as 'illustrations of life'.³

Although both coinage and carnyces were widespread in late Iron Age Europe, carnyces only feature on coins in south-east Britain and parts of Gaul. A detailed study of each type will appear in a forthcoming monograph, where full arguments over dating, identification and attribution may be found. What follows will summarise the key characteristics and attempt to put them into context. Abbreviations used are listed at the end.

2. British coins

Coinage in the British Iron Age was very much a southern phenomenon, with production restricted to the area south of the Humber-Severn line. In the extreme south-east, under the influence of Roman contacts from the later first century BC onwards, quite naturalistic images were created. It is among these that we find depictions of carnyces.

There are six issues which feature a carnyx, two each for Tasciovanus, Dubnovellaunus and Eppillus (Table 1; Figs. 1 and 3). Other coins which have been claimed to show carnyces should be dismissed, although a silver minim (VA 153) may ultimately prove to be another once less worn examples emerge (see Appendix). All the carnyces are carried by horse-riders; in five instances the presence of helmets and/or chain mail identifies them as a warrior, confirming the image of the carnyx as a war trumpet. Where it can be determined, the warriors are male. The sixth (of Dubnovellaunus) shows a mounted naked female. The Tasciovanus issues are most plentiful, the others markedly less common. The date range spanned by the coins may be as little as forty or fifty years, from c 25 BC–AD 20.

¹ See F. Hunter, 'The Carnyx in Iron Age Europe', *Antiquaries Journal* 81 (2001), pp. 77-108; a full monograph is in preparation.

² e.g. M. de Lagoy, *Recherches numismatiques sur l'armement et les instruments de guerre des gaulois* (Aix, 1849); E. Hucher, *L'Art gaulois ou les Gaulois d'après leurs médailles* (Paris, 1868); *ibid.*, *L'Art gaulois ou les Gaulois d'après leurs*

médailles (deuxième partie) (Paris, 1874).

³ D. Allen, 'Belgic Coins as Illustrations of Life in the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age of Britain', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 24 (1958), pp. 43-63. See also D. Allen, *The Coins of the Ancient Celts* (Edinburgh, 1980), pp. 38-40, 131-50; B. Fischer, 'La vie des gaulois à travers leurs monnaies', *Études celtiques* 35 (2003), pp. 25-32.

No	Type	Issuer / inscription	Metal	Area	Description	Date
1	BM 1608-24	Tasciovanus	AV	Essex and Hertfordshire	Warrior on horseback brandishing carnyx	c 20 BC-AD 10
2	BM 1625-7	Tasciovanus (Sego)	AV	Kent	Warrior on horseback brandishing carnyx	c 20 BC-AD 10
3	BM 2507-8	Dubnovellaunus	AE	Kent	Female on horseback carrying carnyx	c 25-1 BC
4	-	Dubnovellaunus	AE	Kent / Hertfordshire?	Warrior on horseback carrying carnyx	c 25-1 BC
5	BM 1127-8	Eppillus	AV	Kent / Hampshire?	Warrior on horseback with carnyx over shoulder	c AD 1-20
6	BM 1132	Eppillus	AR	Kent	Warrior on horseback carrying carnyx	c AD 1-20
7	LT XX 6930	-	AV	Calvados, Armorica	Charioteer holding ?carnyx	c 250-200 BC
8	LT XIII 4551-2	-	AV, AR	Centre-west France	Carnyx and male bust	c 150-50 BC
9	-	-	Potin	Gué-de-Sciaux, Vienne	Carnyx	c 100-50 BC
10	LT XVIII 5967, 5980	-	AR	E Armorica	Horse and carnyses	c 75-25 BC
11	LT XV 5044	Dubnocov / Dubnoreix	AR	Burgundy	Warrior holding carnyx and standard	c 60-54 BC
12	BN 7050-5	Belenoc	AR	Centre-west France	Male head (?Apollo) with carnyx and standard over shoulder	c 60-30 BC
13	LT XX 6398	Magurix	AE	Middle Loire	Victory holding carnyx	c 50-1 BC

Table 1: British and Gaulish coins with carnyses. Abbreviations are listed at the end of the article.

1. Tasciovanus gold stater

BM 1608-24; VA 1730-6; Mack 154-7

Distribution: mainly Essex and Hertfordshire

Date: c 20 BC-AD 10

Gold staters from the second series of Tasciovanus show on the reverse a mounted warrior galloping right, raising a carnyx in his right hand. He is often helmeted and generally wears chain mail.⁴ Around the horse is the legend TASC. The series can be subdivided numismatically: Van Arsdell defined four separate types, while Kretz's detailed die-study identified three reverse variants featuring the carnyx, and at least 15 different reverse dies.⁵ However, iconographically they are slight variants of the same theme.

⁴ For detailed variations see R. Kretz, 'Tasciovanos' Second Coinage Staters – a First Classification', *Spink Numismatic Circular* 109 (2001), pp. 234-43.

⁵ R.D. Van Arsdell, *Celtic Coinage of Britain* (London, 1989), type 1730-6; Kretz, op. cit. (n. 4).



Figure 1: British Iron Age coins with carnyces (scale 2:1). 1: BM 1611; 2: BM 1626; 3: CCI 94.0420; 4: CCI 94.1182; 5: BM 1127; 6: CCI 94.0709. © British Museum (1, 2, 5), Celtic Coin Index (3), NMS (4, 6)

2. *Tasciovanus-Sego stater*

BM 1625-7; VA 1845; Mack 194

Distribution: mainly Kent

Date: c 20 BC-AD 10

Gold stater of Tasciovanus, the reverse with the same theme as the stater above but bearing the additional inscription *SEGO*. The term is found on other coins of Tasciovanus, and on the coins of Cunobelin and Amminus, all with a distribution concentrated in eastern Kent. Holman suggests all are connected with Tasciovanus and his dynasty asserting their newly-established control over Kent. 'Sego' means strong or powerful, and would be appropriate as an attribute of a conquering ruler in his new territory.⁶

⁶ D.J. Holman, '*SEGO* and *DUNO*: Reassessment and Reinterpretation', *British Numismatic Journal* 69 (1999), pp.

196-8; R. Kretz, 'The '*RICON*' Staters of Tasciovanus', *Spink Numismatic Circular* 108 (2000), pp. 97-102.



Figure 2: Gaulish coins with carnyces (scale 2:1). 7: BN 6930; 8: BN 4551; 9: Chauvigny 9863030; 10: BN 5967; 11: BN 5047; 12: BN 7055; 13: BN 6938. © Bibliothèque Nationale (except 9, Musée de Chauvigny)

3. *Dubnovellaunus bronze*

BM 2507-8; VA 181; Mack 291

Distribution: primarily Kent

Date: c 25-1 BC

Bronze coin of Dubnovellaunus, the distribution centred on Kent. The reverse shows a naked woman on horseback riding right, with a carnyx at an angle in her right hand. Hobbs suggests it is a sword, and Van Arsdell equivocates, but autopsy indicates that Allen was correct in seeing it as a carnyx.⁷ The rider faces forward on some coins, back (towards the carnyx) on others. Her left arm is partly obscured, and probably holds the reins visible below the horse's mouth. The horse is standing with its right foreleg raised, as if on parade. This is a very unusual pose on British Celtic coins, where horses are typically in more active motion (most commonly galloping, or sometimes rearing). It can be paralleled on a few issues where unaccompanied horses or winged horses stand or walk with a markedly raised foreleg, but this is the only instance with a rider.⁸

4. *Dubnovellaunus bronze*

Not in major catalogues; CCI 83.0385 and 94.1182

Distribution: Kent / Hertfordshire?

Date: c 20 BC-AD 10

A further rare bronze of Dubnovellaunus features a carnyx. Only four specimens are known, and it is not clear where it was struck.⁹ The obverse has a lion pouncing to the left, its head turned back to the right. There is a ring and pellet between head and tail; eight-point asterisks above and below the left foreleg; a five-point star below the body; pellets behind the rear leg and in front of the neck. The reverse shows a rider (probably a warrior) on horseback riding right, carrying what is probably a carnyx in his right hand. There is a ring and pellet in front of the rider's face and a pellet below the horse's jaw. Below the horse is the inscription DVBN. The rider is male with a bare torso; he wears a belt, perhaps for trousers, although these are not clearly shown. A projection behind his neck suggests he faces forward and wears a bowl helmet with a short neck guard.

The identification as a carnyx is not clear-cut because specimens seen by the writer lack the head, but it seems highly likely. In CCI 83.0385 the rider holds a long straight shaft which is unclear below the horse's tail; the top is lost off the flan. There appears to be a knob below the rider's hand and another just below the flan edge. CCI 94.1182 again has a long straight shaft, extending below the horse's tail and terminating in a straight end just before the horse's rear right leg. This also has two possible knobs on the shaft, in the same positions. Although the top is lost, the shaft curves and there are traces of what could be the upper and lower jaws. While it would take a clearer specimen for certainty, the indications of a knobbed tube, curved bell and possible jaws make a carnyx identification quite likely. The reverse is similar to another of Dubnovellaunus' Kentish issues (no. 3) and the silver unit of Eppillus (no. 6).

⁷ R. Hobbs, *British Iron Age Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1996), p. 151; Van Arsdell, *op. cit.* (n. 5), type 181; Allen, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 45 and n. 1.

⁸ Hobbs, *op. cit.* (n. 7), nos. 1223-36, 1651-3, 1686-7, 1987-90, 2351-65, 2499. For parallel poses in a Gallo-Roman context see the horse from Neuvy-en-Sullias and a relief of Epona from Burgundy; M. Green, 'The Symbolic Horse in Pagan Celtic Europe: an Archaeological Perspective', in S. Davies and N.A. Jones (eds.), *The Horse in Celtic Culture: Medieval Welsh Perspectives* (Cardiff, 1997), pp. 1-22.

⁹ There are two series of coins for Dubnovellaunus, one struck

in Essex and Hertfordshire, the other in Kent. Although much debated, it is likely they were the same man. (See D. Holman, 'Iron Age Coinage in Kent: a Review of Current Knowledge', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 120 (2000), pp. 205-33 (pp. 212-3) for discussion and further references.) Two examples of this type are known from Hertfordshire and two from Kent. Holman sees it as Kentish (D. Holman, 'Iron Age Coinage and Settlement in East Kent', *Britannia* 36 (2005), pp. 1-54) and classifies it as DB2 in his scheme for Kent (*op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 4, fig. 2.7), but this is not certain on current evidence.

5. *Eppillus stater*

BM 1127-8; VA 431; Mack 301; Bean EPP4-1

Distribution: Kent / Hampshire

Date: c AD 1-20

Stater of Eppillus, the reverse showing a warrior on a saddled horse galloping right. The rider wears trousers and a helmet. Over his right shoulder he rests a carnyx, holding the end in his right hand. Only two examples are known, both from the same die. This type is normally seen as one of Eppillus' Kentish issues, but Bean argues it is part of his Calleva (Silchester) series, albeit with strong stylistic links to his Kentish coins; indeed, the same engraver seems to be at work in both areas.¹⁰ One was found in either Wallingford, near Silchester, or Watlington, Oxfordshire, and the other at Staple, Kent;¹¹ these divergent findspots make it hard to decide which origin is correct. It is in any case tangential to the iconographic interest here.

6. *Eppillus silver coin*

BM 1132; VA 441; Mack 306

Distribution: Kent

Date: c AD 1-20

Silver unit of Eppillus, circulating in Kent. The reverse shows a warrior galloping right with a carnyx held almost vertically in his right hand; prominent marks on his shoulders probably represent the shoulder plates of a chain mail tunic. On some specimens he wears a bowl helmet.

3. Gaulish coins

The Gaulish issues are geographically and chronologically more widespread than the British ones. As with the latter, several items have been claimed as carnyces but should be dismissed (Appendix), leaving seven types (Fig. 2; Table 1). The date range covers two or three centuries: the earliest is later third century BC, but most date from the late second – late first century BC; one is intimately linked to the Gallic War, while others are post-Conquest types. They span central France, with a concentration in the centre-west and Armorica (Fig. 3).

7. *Armorican quarter stater*

LT XX 6930; BN 6930; DT II 2049 var

Distribution: probably Calvados, Normandy

Date: c 250-200 BC

A rare Armorican quarter stater, its obverse with a head of Apollo quite close to Greek originals, has a reverse featuring a charioteer and horse, with a sword under the horse. The charioteer holds what may be a carnyx. The image of a charioteer holding something is a recurring one in the Armorican series: objects represented include torcs, swords and ships, and a carnyx would fit well among such important and powerful objects.¹² Muret initially identified a carnyx, but this is not entirely certain from the single specimen in the BN, as the coin is worn and indistinct; no other specimen is known to the writer.¹³ The differentiation between the charioteer's arm and the tube (?) is uncertain, but something is definitely being

¹⁰ Van Arsdell, op. cit. (n. 5), pp. 148-9; Hobbs, op. cit. (n. 7), p. 97; S.C. Bean, *The Coinage of the Atrebatas and Regni* (Studies in Celtic Coinage 4; Oxford, 2000).

¹¹ J. Claxton, 'A Victory for Common Sense', in R.J. Wallis and K. Lymer (eds.), *A Permeability of Boundaries? New Approaches to the Archaeology of Art, Religion and Folklore*

(BAR Int. Ser. 936; Oxford, 2001), pp. 85-92 (p. 85); J. Evans, *The Coins of the Ancient Britons* (London, 1864), p. 191; Hobbs, op. cit. (n. 7), p. 97, no. 1128.

¹² LT XX 6927-8, 6931, 6937-8.

¹³ E. Muret, *Catalogue des monnaies gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1889), p. 157.

held, with a possible tube, head, ear and upturned snout. It is hard to see what else this could plausibly be, as the artefacts depicted on similar coins tend to be quite naturalistic. On balance it is accepted as a simplified version of a carnyx, the head turned towards the bearer. A near-identical coin, but with the charioteer probably holding a boat rather than a carnyx, came from a later third century BC deposit at Ribemont-sur-Ancre.¹⁴ The distribution of related types suggests an attribution to the Calvados region.¹⁵

8. Stater and silver unit, perhaps of the Lemovices

LT XIII 4551-2; BN 4551-3

Distribution: Berry / Touraine / Limousin

Date: c 150-50 BC

This stater and silver unit share the same reverse type, although the obverse heads differ. The reverse shows a horse facing left; behind this is a dramatic depiction of a carnyx, also facing left. It is held near-vertically by a man whose head appears under the horse; he may be preparing to play the instrument. The carnyx and human need not be linked directly to the horse, which is the persistent reverse type throughout Gaul whatever else goes on around it.¹⁶

This issue is difficult to date or pin down to area, which makes contextualisation awkward. It is also unusual in having gold and silver types which share a common reverse.¹⁷ Nash links it to her middle phase issues from west Berry, while they are attributed by de la Tour to the Lemovices; Scheers is more circumspect, preferring a non-specific identification to the Berry / Touraine area.¹⁸

9. Potin 'à la tête chapeauté'

Unclassified

Findspot: Gué-de-Sciaux, Antigny, Vienne

Date: c 100-50 BC

A little-known and highly local series of potin coins comes from the temple site of Gué-de-Sciaux (Antigny, Vienne). Underlying the Gallo-Roman structures is evidence of a late La Tène sanctuary.¹⁹ Three potin issues from the site share a similar obverse, termed 'à la tête chapeauté' as it has a head wearing what looks like a soft hat. One reverse type is dominated by a detailed depiction of a carnyx, facing left, with a smaller unidentified S-shaped object to the left.

Dating evidence is vague: the coins come from a hoard, scattered by later activity, which has not yet been studied in detail.²⁰ These potins are unlikely to post-date the Gallic War: analysis shows no Roman influence on the alloy, and there is nothing Roman about the imagery. The high tin levels and weight of the earlier classes also support a pre-Gallic War date. Absolute dating is impossible, but an early-mid first century BC date would seem appropriate.

¹⁴ L.-P. Delestrée and M. Tache, *Nouvel atlas des monnaies gauloises II. De la Seine à la Loire moyenne* (Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 2004), pp. 41, 45, no. 2049; L.-P. Delestrée, 'L'or du trophée laténien de Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Somme), témoin d'une bataille oubliée', *Revue Numismatique* 157 (2001), pp. 175-213 (esp. pp. 185-7).

¹⁵ P. de Jersey, *Coinage in Iron Age Armorica* (Oxford, 1994), map 2.

¹⁶ B. Fischer, 'Le bestiaire des monnaies gauloises', *Cahiers Numismatiques* 23/110 (1991), pp. 7-15.

¹⁷ The copper alloy core of a plated stater is known from Gué-de-Sciaux (Antigny, Vienne); the alloy is 94 % Cu, 5 % Ag. See C.-O. Sarthre, 'L'apport des analyses de monnaies découvertes au Gué-de-Sciaux (Antigny, Vienne) à la compréhension des monnayages pictons', in I. Bertrand (ed.), *Actualité de la recherche sur le mobilier romain non céramique* (Chauvigny, 2000), pp. 263-78,

Annexe 2, no. A26.

¹⁸ D. Nash, *Settlement and Coinage in Central Gaul c 200-50 BC* (BAR Supplementary Series 39; Oxford, 1978), pp. 59-60; H. de la Tour, *Atlas de monnaies gauloises* (Paris, 1892), pl. XIII 4551-2; H. de la Tour and B. Fischer, *Atlas de monnaies gauloises* (Paris, 1992); S. Scheers, *Un complément à l'atlas de monnaies gauloises de Henri de la Tour* (Paris and Maastricht, 1992).

¹⁹ Sarthre, op. cit. (n. 17); C. Richard, *Gué-de-Sciaux (Antigny/Vienne). Une ville gallo-romaine. Fouilles d'un sanctuaire* (Chauvigny, 1989), pp. 199-201; I. Bertrand, 'Les parures en métal, en lignite et en verre liées à l'occupation de la Tène finale dans le sanctuaire gallo-romain du Gué-de-Sciaux (Antigny, Vienne)', in A. Duval and J. Gomez de Soto (eds.), *L'Âge du Fer en Poitou-Charentes et régions limitrophes (= Journées d'études Poitiers 2005-2006; forthcoming)*.

²⁰ Sarthre, op. cit. (n. 17), pp. 269, 274.

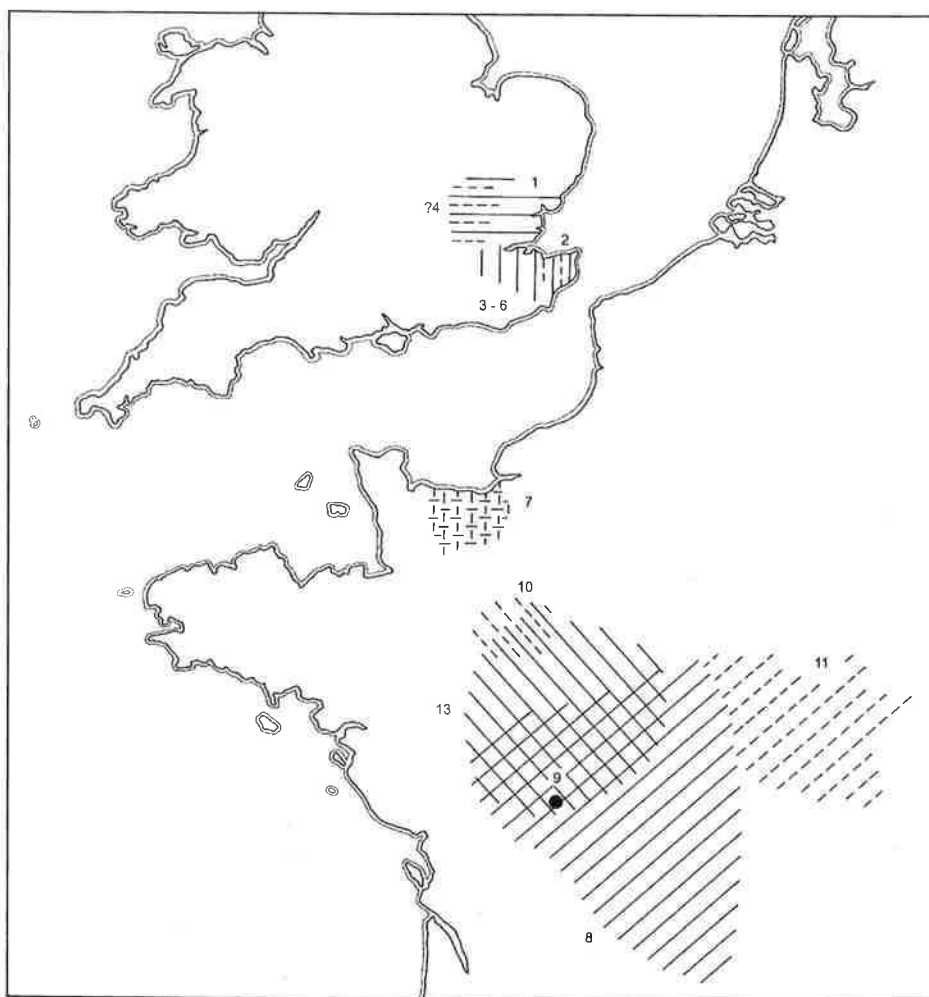


Figure 3: Distribution of coins with carnyces; numbers refer to catalogue entries. The 'Belenoc' coins (no. 12) are not mapped as they are not well-located, but they also lie somewhere in centre-west France. Drawn by Marion O'Neil

10. East Armorican silver coin

LT XVIII 5967, 5980; BN 5967-81; DT II 2368-71

Distribution: Sarthe, east Armorica

Date: c 75-25 BC

Among an extensive range of small silver units in northern France is a series with a head based on Emporion prototypes of Pallas Athena on the obverse, and a horse with devices above and below on the reverse. One type (LT 5967) has the obverse head and reverse imagery facing right; on the other (LT 5980) they face left. Early accounts describe the reverse devices as K symbols, but Allen first suggested they were stylised carnyces, and this has broadly been followed by other scholars.²¹ The identification of the carnyx is not clear-cut, but on balance is acceptable. The regular occurrence of a dot at the top of the vertical line makes it unlikely to be a K, and it may be read as an eye. The interpretation is less certain

²¹ Muret, *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. 133; D. Allen, 'Les pièces d'argent minces du comté de Hampshire: nouveau lien entre la Gaule Celtique et la Grande-Bretagne', *Revue Numismatique* (1965), pp. 79-93, esp. p. 84. This was subsequently followed (*inter alia*) by K. Gruel and E.

Morin, *Les monnaies celtes du Musée de Bretagne* (Paris, 1999), p. 86; Delestrée and Tache, *op. cit.* (n. 14), no. 98; C. Brenot and S. Scheers, *Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon: Les monnaies massaliètes et les monnaies celtiques* (Leuven, 1996), p. 126, no. 934.

for LT 5967, as the lower motif is rather short, lacking any clear sign of a tube. However, LT 5980 is much more believable, with most examples having long vertical lines representing tubes. This feature also makes them unlikely to be bird heads, the other possible interpretation. The combination of tube, eye and gaping mouth make the interpretation plausible.

The spread of provenanced specimens suggests an origin in eastern Armorica, in the Sarthe department.²² Apart from the two main types (and a half-unit of LT 5967), there is also a rare stylistically later development, with a less formal obverse and a reverse with the carnyces even more stylised.²³

11. Aeduan silver coin of Dubnoreix

LT XV 5044; BN 5037-48

Distribution: Burgundy (Aedui)

Date: c 60-54 BC

One of the most evocative coins featuring a carnyx is an Aeduan issue of Dubnoreix. The reverse shows a fully armoured warrior, perhaps Dubnoreix himself, clad in chain mail, with a long sword by his right side, holding a boar standard and carnyx in his right hand and a severed head in his left. On the clearest specimens he has a knobbed bracelet on his right wrist.²⁴

This coin epitomises the image of Gaul, bringing together many of the icons of the period. Here the carnyx is clearly linked to use in warfare, although the attributes presumably also reflect the chief's power. It is connected to the Gallic War and can be seen as an icon of resistance; Dubnoreix is a form of Dumnorix, an Aeduan chieftain who came to oppose Caesar.²⁵ The other inscribed coin issued by Dubnoreix similarly stresses martial themes appropriate to those troubled times, with a foot soldier carrying a boar standard.²⁶

12. Silver coin inscribed *Belenoc*

BN 7050-5; DT II 2658-9

Distribution: centre-west France

Date: c 60-30 BC

This silver coin bearing an inscription of BELENOC has long been a source of debate over the reading of the inscription and the iconography. The imagery is complex, fascinating, and clearly non-martial. Its obverse shows a left-facing diademed head derived from images of Apollo, with a carnyx and standard (?) behind his shoulder. An S-shaped device on his shoulder on some examples is probably a bow brooch.²⁷ In front of his face is an inscription, best read as BELENOC.²⁸ The reverse shows a horse (perhaps a cult statue?) standing on the podium of a temple. The obverse is apparently derived from a rare Republican denarius of 67 BC, minted by Caius Piso L. f. Frugi, which shows Apollo with a bow and quiver over his shoulder.²⁹

Opinion has been divided as to whether Apollo's attributes of bow and quiver are modified on the Gaulish coin. Scheers saw them as unchanged in concept, as did Delestrée and Tache; Colbert de Beaulieu and Fischer tentatively identified a carnyx, while Muret identified carnyx and quiver, and Allen saw it as a carnyx and standard.³⁰

The typical classical quiver on the parent denarius, its conical top depicted by a stacked series of lines, has clearly been modified on the Gaulish coins into a shaft with separated diminishing lines. Similar items are

²² Brenot and Scheers, op. cit. (n. 21), p. 126; de Jersey, op. cit. (n. 15), map 25; Allen, op. cit. (n. 21), fig. 2.

²³ Delestrée and Tache, op. cit. (n. 14), no. 2370-1.

²⁴ C. Goudineau and C. Peyre, *Bibracte et les Éduens* (Paris, 1993), pp. 52-4, suggest he wears a torc and some form of headgear, but this is not substantiated in the specimens examined to date.

²⁵ *De Bello Gallico* I, 3, 9, 18-20; V, 6-7; J.-B. Colbert de Beaulieu and B. Fischer, *Recueil des inscriptions gauloises (RIG) Vol IV. Les légendes monétaires* (Gallia supplement 45; Paris, 1998), p. 142.

²⁶ LT XV 5026; Colbert de Beaulieu and Fischer, op. cit. (n. 25), pp. 239-40.

²⁷ Well illustrated in Colbert de Beaulieu and Fischer, op. cit. (n. 25), p. 132.

²⁸ Colbert de Beaulieu and Fischer, op. cit. (n. 25), no. 67.

²⁹ S. Scheers, *Les monnaies de la Gaule inspirées de celles de la République romaine* (Leuven, 1969), pp. 50-1; cf. H.A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* (London, 1910), p. 468, no. 3815; E.A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (London, 1952), p. 145, no. 878; M.H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (Cambridge, 1974), no. 408/1b.

³⁰ Scheers, op. cit. (n. 29), pp. 50-1; S. Scheers, *Monnaies gauloises de Seine-Maritime* (Rouen, 1978), no. 418; Brenot and Scheers, op. cit. (n. 21), nos. 856-7; Delestrée and Tache, op. cit. (n. 14), p. 145, nos. 2658-9; Colbert de Beaulieu and Fischer, op. cit. (n. 25), no. 67; Muret, op. cit. (n. 13), p. 161; D. Allen, 'Temples or Shrines on Gaulish Coins', *Antiquaries Journal* 53 (1973), pp. 71-4.

found on other Gaulish coins; the most likely interpretation is a standard or sceptre, or a tree-symbol.³¹

Only part of the bow is shown on the original denarius, and it has something of a zoomorphic appearance. This was modified to a carnyx by the Gaulish die-cutters. The key feature which confirms the carnyx identification is the segmented tube, an unnecessary feature for a bow. In addition the expansion of the bell and depiction of jaws rather than a string are all but impossible to see as a misconstrued bow. A single specimen appears to have a much more typical solidly-drawn naturalistic carnyx jaw, rather than a pellet-defined one, but tantalisingly most of the image is lost off the flan edge.³²

It is tempting to link obverse and reverse on this issue, a phenomenon known on only a few other issues.³³ The portrait is a distinctive one, and it is plausible that the prototype was selected because it was known to be Apollo – perhaps for a Gaulish god with the same properties? An intriguing chain of connections arises from this. Apollo was equated in Gallo-Roman times with Belenos, a solar deity with healing powers, who must be the *Belenoc* of the inscription.³⁴ Horses were closely connected with solar deities, and horse statuettes are known from some of Belenos' temples – perhaps in homage to the cult statue of a horse, as depicted in the temple on the reverse?³⁵ Finally, a musical instrument such as the carnyx would be appropriate for Apollo, the god of music, although we do not know if Belenos shared this role. A number of strands fit together here, and it seems a convincing example of the potentially complex information and symbolism locked in some of these issues.

The area of origin and tribal affiliation of the coin are unclear. The distribution is thin and dispersed.³⁶ Scheers and Nash favour an origin in the centre-west of France, the latter attributing it to the Pictones; subsequent finds of six from the Gué-de-Sciaux (Vienne) sanctuary would support this.³⁷

13. Bronze coin inscribed *Magurix*

LT XX 6398; BN 6398-9; DT II 2670

Distribution: middle Loire

Date: c 50-1 BC

An intriguing series of bronze issues from the middle Loire includes one with an obverse bust facing left with a quiver (perhaps derived from Diana) and the legend *MAGVRIX*; the reverse has Victory facing left, resting on an oval shield in her left hand and holding a carnyx which faces her in her right. It is a rare type, but the reverse design links it to others from the middle Loire area, all showing strong Roman influence; denarius prototypes for some indicate a post-Gallic War date.³⁸

What makes this coin of particular interest is the depiction of the carnyx in post-conquest coinage, using classic Roman triumphal iconography of Victory among captured barbarian weaponry. This seems a little insensitive for such an icon of Gaulish identity: it was presumably a potent symbol of the recent campaigns to the very locals who were using the coinage. The whole series is highly Romanised, but some of the other reverses also have Gallic overtones: those of *TVRONA / DRVCCA* with what may represent a standard (again with a Victory), a similar (?) standard held by a nude winged figure on coins of *ACVTIOS*, those of *ACVSSROS* with a running boar under an ear of corn, and perhaps that of *OXOBNOS* with a horseman.³⁹ The rest appear entirely Roman in their iconography. Such a localised issue may of course reflect local politics, a pro-Caesarian noble or magistrate commemorating their successes over neighbouring tribes. Yet in many ways it seems more appropriate to Roman triumphal imagery minted at a safe distance from the recently-calmed trouble spot, and it remains rather enigmatic.

³¹ e.g. D. Allen, *Catalogue of Celtic Coins in the British Museum with Supplementary Material from Other British Collections. Vol II. Silver Coins of North Italy, South and Central France, Switzerland and South Germany* (J. Kent and M. Mays (eds.); London, 1990), nos. S197-200; LT VI 2630, XI 3730, XLVII 9782.

³² Allen, op. cit. (n. 30), no. 22.

³³ Allen, op. cit. (n. 3), p. 137.

³⁴ M. Green, *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend* (London, 1992), pp. 30-1; N. Jufer and T. Luginbühl, *Les dieux gaulois: répertoire des noms de divinités celtiques connus par l'épigraphie, les textes antiques et la toponymie* (Paris, 2001), pp. 28-9.

³⁵ E. Thevenot, 'Le cheval sacré dans la Gaule de l'est', *Revue archéologique de l'Est et du Centre Est* 2 (1951), pp. 129-41.

³⁶ Scheers, op. cit. (n. 30), pp. 100-1; Allen, op. cit. (n. 31), pp. 47-8; Colbert de Beaulieu and Fischer, op. cit. (n. 25), p. 132; Nash, op. cit. (n. 18), pp. 256-7.

³⁷ Sarthre, op. cit. (n. 17), pp. 265-6.

³⁸ J.-B. Colbert de Beaulieu, 'Le bronze d'*OXOBNOS* et l'ensemble des monnaies tardives de la Loire Moyenne', *Revue belge de Numismatique* 126 (1980), pp. 9-30, (pp. 22-6); S. Scheers, 'Enkele niet gekende Gallische nabootsing van Romeinse denarii', *La Vie Numismatique* 30/1 (1980), pp. 125-32.

³⁹ Colbert de Beaulieu, op. cit. (n. 38), pl. I, fig. 4, nos. 2, 3 and 5.

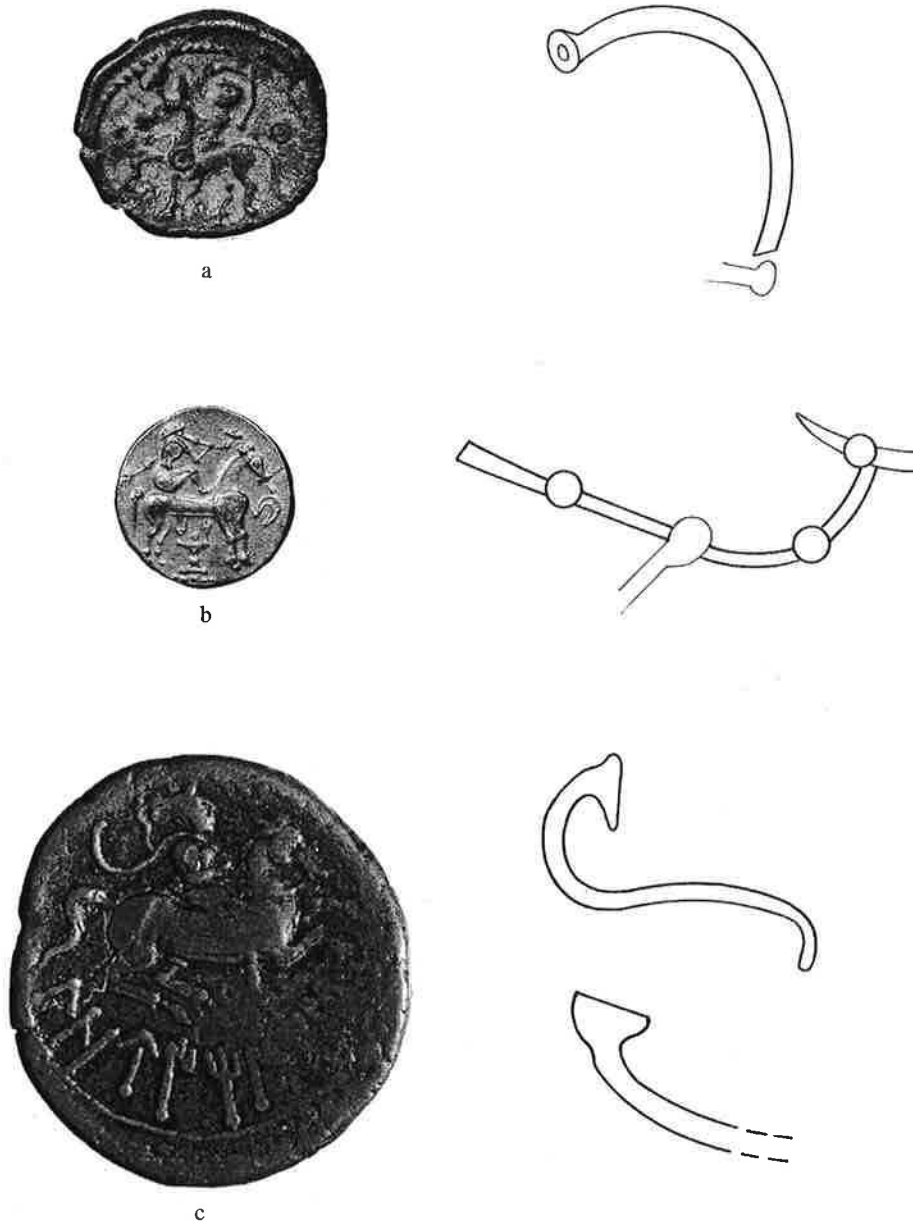


Figure 4: Other trumpets and horns on Celtic coins (scale 2:1). a: BN 8454; b: BN 10255; c: Celtiberian bronze of Louitiskos (Stockholm 1023), with the two instrument variants. © Bibliothèque Nationale / Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm. Details of instruments by Marion O'Neil

4. Other horns and trumpets (Fig. 4)

Music is represented on Celtic coins by a select range of instruments, predominantly the lyre.⁴⁰ Apart from the carnyx, other instruments are rare, and in some cases appear very classically inspired, such as

⁴⁰ e.g. C. Homo-Lechner and C. Vendries, *Le carnyx et la lyre. Archéologie musicale en Gaule celtique et romaine* (Besançon, 1993), pp. 36-7; J.V.S. Megaw, 'Music Archaeology and the Ancient Celts', in

S. Moscati, O.-H. Frey, V. Kruta, B. Raftery and M. Szabó (eds.), *The Celts* (Milan, 1991), pp. 643-8, esp. p. 647.

the centaur playing the double pipes on a bronze of Tasciovanus and another with a horn on a bronze of Cunobelin, its sinuous form suggesting it is a cow horn.⁴¹ However, there are three coins which offer valuable insights into other members of the Iron Age musical family.

1. Bronze coin, Belgic Gaul (Ambiani?)

LT XXXIII 8456; BN 8453-7; DT I 467; Scheers type 80c

Person on horseback holding a curved object in his left hand which curves over his head, expanding in width and terminating in an open circular mouth.⁴² Muret identified it as a *carnyx* but it has no characteristic features; Delestrée and Tache suggest it may be a whip.⁴³ Published illustrations are poor, but examination of specimens in the BN suggests it is indeed a musical instrument, although it is not being played. Such a highly curved instrument is probably a curved horn; the limited flare suggests it is a small version of the C-shaped type known from the sculpture of the Dying Gaul and (on a larger scale) the Loughnashade trumpets.⁴⁴ The coin dates to the late first century BC.⁴⁵

2. Gold half and quarter stater, Belgic Gaul

BN 10254-5; Scheers type 3 III b

This issue shows a person sitting on the back of a horse, playing a curved horn.⁴⁶ It has a tripartite tube, with a short, straight mouthpiece section, a long straight main part, and a shorter curved bell turning through 90°; a final section leads into a wide, flat mouth. It has been called a *carnyx*,⁴⁷ but there is no hint of a zoomorphic terminal, while the playing position is also at variance with what we know of *carnyces*. A related curved horn is held by a bronze male figurine from the *oppidum* of Stradonice (Czech Republic); actual fragments of a curved iron horn with bronze mounts bearing early La Tène decoration are known from Bad Dürkheim, Limburg, Germany (though this lacks the broad, flat mouth).⁴⁸ The coin dates probably to the third century BC.⁴⁹

3. Celtiberian bronze coin of Louitiskos

CNH 275-6; Madrid 1392

Among Celtiberian coinage, with its plentiful depictions of warriors, there is a single bronze issue showing a helmeted cavalryman riding right, carrying a curved or S-shaped horn which rests over his right shoulder.⁵⁰ The legend in Celtiberian characters is Louitiskos, an otherwise unknown group suggested to be from the upper Ebro valley in north-central Spain.⁵¹ The type is dated to the second century BC. Illustrated examples show two varieties of horn, one with a sinuous S-curve, the other with a single curve, the head ending approximately perpendicular to the tube. On many specimens the head is lost, and on others it gets confused with the crest of the rider's helmet, but there is no hint of zoomorphism; where well defined, the instrument ends in a broad, shallow flared mouth (or perhaps a decorative circular plate around the mouth).⁵²

⁴¹ BM 1728-35, 1968-71. For clear specimens see Allen, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 60, pl. VII, no. 52-3; *Chris Rudd List* 81 (2005), no. 65.

⁴² S. Scheers, *La Gaule Belgique: numismatique celtique* (second edition) (Louvain, 1983), pp. 538-40, type 80c, pl. XIV, 391-2.

⁴³ Muret, *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. 194; L.-P. Delestrée and M. Tache, *Nouvel atlas des monnaies gauloises I. De la Seine au Rhin* (Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 2002), p. 97.

⁴⁴ F. Coarelli, *Da Pergamo a Roma: I Galati nella città degli Attalidi* (Rome, 1995), ill. 3-5; B. Raftery, *La Tène in Ireland: Problems of Origin and Chronology* (Marburg, 1984), pp. 134-43.

⁴⁵ Scheers, *op. cit.* (n. 42), p. 123-6; Delestrée and Tache, *op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 80.

⁴⁶ J. Sills, 'A New Trumpet Type Half Stater', *Chris Rudd List* 58 (2001), pp. 4-5.

⁴⁷ Muret, *op. cit.* (n. 13), pp. 246-7; Scheers, *op. cit.* (n. 42), p. 229.

⁴⁸ T. Clodoric and C. Vendries, 'Le second âge du fer et la civilisation celtique (450-52 avant J.-C.)', in T. Clodoric and A.-S. Leclerc (eds.), *Préhistoire de la musique* (Nemours, 2002), pp. 101-27 (pp. 113-4, fig. 82); Megaw, *op. cit.* (n. 40), pp. 644-5; H. Bernhard and G. Lenz-Bernhard, 'Ein keltisches Metallhorn von der Limburg', *Archäologie in der Pfalz: Jahresbericht 2001* (2003), pp. 322-8.

⁴⁹ C. Haselgrove, *pers. comm.*

⁵⁰ First identified by H. Sandars, 'The Weapons of the Iberians', *Archaeologia* 64 (1912-13), pp. 205-94, fig. 57.

⁵¹ M.P. García-Bellido and C. Blázquez, *Diccionario de cecas y pueblos hispánicos. Volumen II: catálogo de cecas y pueblos que acuñan moneda* (Madrid, 2001), p. 272; F. Villar, 'Nueva interpretación de las leyendas monetales celtibéricas', in M.P. García-Bellido and R.M. Sobral Centeno (eds.), *La moneda hispánica: ciudad y territorio* (Anejas de Archivo Español de Arqueología 14, 1995), pp. 337-45, fig. 1.

⁵² Sinuous: Sandars, *op. cit.* (n. 50), fig. 57; L. Villaronga, *Corpus nummum Hispaniae ante Augusti aetatem* (Madrid, 1994), pp. 275-6, nos. 1-2; P. Pau Ripollès and J.M. Abascal, *Monedas Hispánicas: Catálogo del Gabinete de Antigüedades* (Madrid, 2000), no. 1392; A.M. de Guadán, *Las armas en la moneda ibérica* (Madrid, 1979), p. 76. Curved: Villaronga, *op. cit.* (n. 52), pp. 275-6, no. 4; A.M. de Guadán, *La moneda ibérica: catálogo de numismática ibérica e ibero-romana* (Madrid, 1980), no. 799; A. Vives y Escudero, *La moneda hispánica* (Madrid, 1924), pl. CLXXII, 12; García-Bellido and Blázquez, *op. cit.* (n. 51), p. 273.

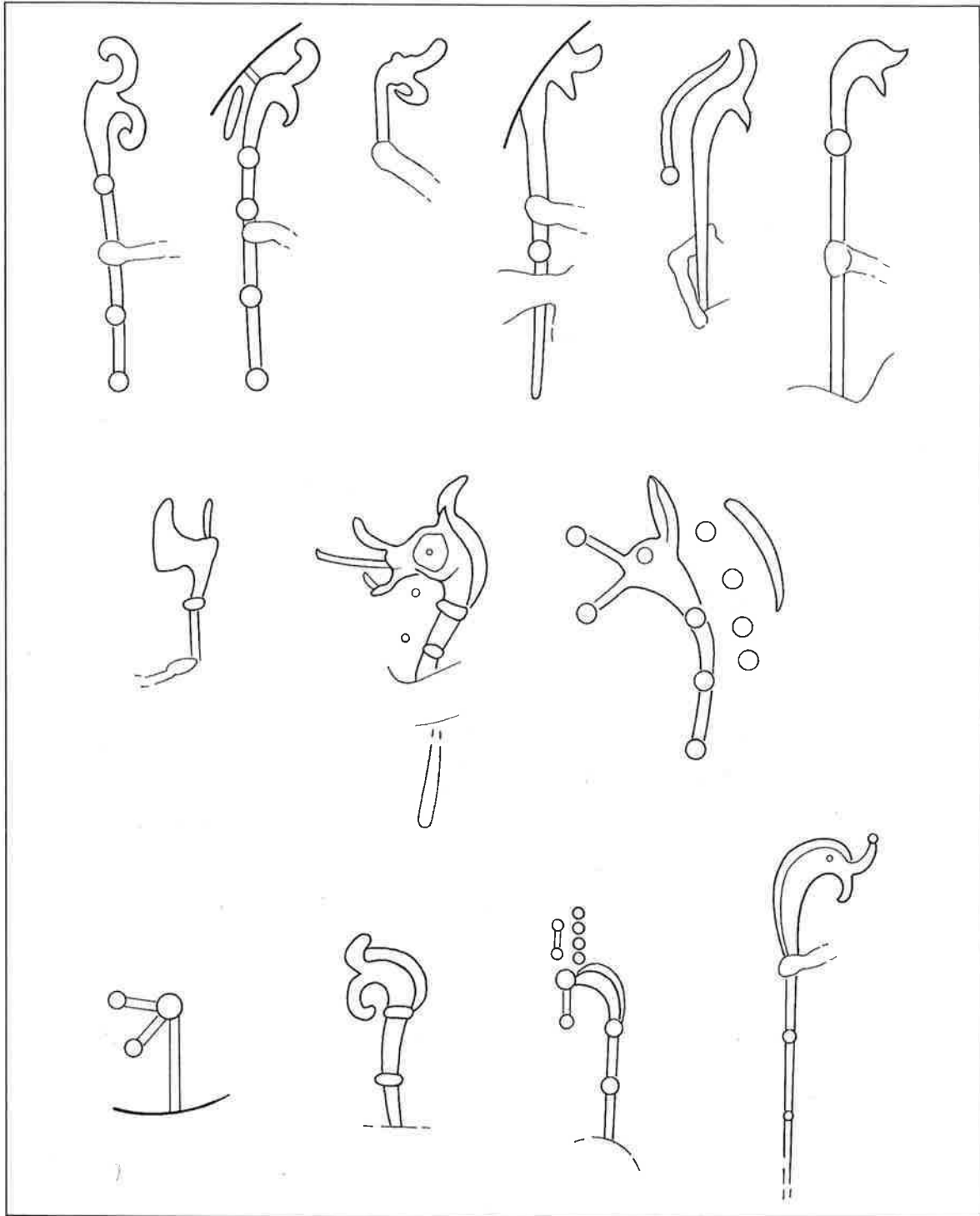


Figure 5: Carynxes on Celtic coins. Drawn by Marion O'Neil

5. Discussion

Having reviewed the evidence for carynces and other horns and trumpets, what can this tell us? The coins cast considerable light on the appearance of carynces, but also tell us how these particular societies in Britain and Gaul used them. The restricted distribution of carynx coins is noteworthy, given that other evidence indicates they were widely used across the continent;⁵³ yet none appear to be shown on the eastern Celtic series. It is dangerous to make too much of such arguments from silence, as completely contradictory hypotheses can easily be constructed: for instance, it could represent real differences in the importance of the carynx in different areas; or may arise from a taboo on depicting such powerful items in those areas where they were most valued. We can at the moment make little of such variable occurrence, but should not take it at face value. Yet even with the biases, there is valuable information to emerge.

No	Eye	Ear	Mouth details	Crest	Tube sections	Tube	Mouthpiece
1	~	0	teeth (?) on l	n	3~	straight	knob
2	peak	1		y	3	straight	knob
3	y	0		n	?	straight	not visible
4	?	?		?	2?	straight	plain
5	n	0		y	1	straight	not visible
6	n~	0		n	1~	straight	knob
7	n	1		n	?	straight	not visible
8	y	1	teeth; tongue	y	3-4?	straight	slightly expanded
9	y	1-2		y	1-2	straight	knob
10	y	0		n	1	straight	not visible
11	n~	0		y~	2+	slightly sinuous	not visible
12	?	1		n~	2+	straight	not visible
13	~	0		y	3?	straight	lost

Table 2: Characteristics of carynces on Iron Age coins.

Coding system: ?= uncertain; ~ = variable occurrence (where there are multiple examples).

'Eye peak' implies an eyebrow peak is visible but no clear eye defined.

Tube sections: + implies this is a minimum number.

Fig. 5 illustrates the carynces in more detail, with table 2 summarising the technological information. These depictions are understandably rather stylised. Among British coins the trend is very much to a simplified, iconic carynx. While the key elements (straight tube and zoomorphic head with open mouth) are consistent, other features do not recur systematically. Even basic items like a segmented tube are not standard, and details such as eyes and crest are variable. The Gaulish depictions are a little more detailed than the British ones, and largely agree on the general structure of a carynx: a straight tube in two or three sections, a zoomorphic head with open mouth, and a crest. The most detailed one (no. 8) includes a decorated crest, teeth and tongue. While there must have been considerable variety in the forms of carynces over time and space, the variability seen on the coins stems more from constraints of space and style rather than informing us about original differences. One key point to emerge is that, contrary to most reconstructions (including one the author was involved in!), the carynx had a mouthpiece at the end of a straight tube, with no curve to make it easier for the player.

The coins also provide intriguing insights into how carynces were used. Many, but not all, are in martial scenes – but to contextualise this, we must consider the range of activities depicted on coinage. The picture from coins is a partial one,⁵⁴ and the choice of what to depict was largely political; coins

⁵³ Hunter, *op. cit.* (n. 1), fig. 9.

⁵⁴ Allen, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 63.

functioned as social tools and propaganda pieces in the Iron Age world. On British coins a restricted range of activities is depicted. Many are difficult or debatable to interpret, but the activities represented can be broadly classified as military (depictions of warriors), religious (depictions of deities, sacrifice scenes), and what may loosely be termed elite or specialised activities such as enthroned figures, hunting and metalworking scenes. It is seductively easy to over-interpret the symbolism of such opaque imagery, but in general the coin images can be classed as restricted activities: religious scenes or those involving only the upper end of society. They are in essence an elite self-image which those controlling the minting and issuing of the coins were happy with: whether the figures on the coins were human or divine, they carried out elite-style tasks.

For Gaulish coins, study of the sample illustrated by de la Tour produces broadly similar patterns.⁵⁵ The main figurative categories are warriors (especially cavalry, although less exclusively than in Britain), riders without obvious attributes and divinities performing various actions (e.g. winged figures on horses). This leaves a group of obscure significance, such as scenes of running or dancing figures.⁵⁶ There are no metalworking scenes, unlike the British series. Objects occur as subsidiary attributes in wider compositions: the main identifiable ones are typical elite items, most commonly lyres, torcs and swords, more rarely cauldrons and amphorae.

As noted, the bulk of carnyx depictions are martial in nature. The issue of warrior depictions has been discussed more fully elsewhere;⁵⁷ it provides a good case study of the selective nature of coin iconography. The British images of warriors are strongly biased to cavalry, Gaulish ones a little less so: footsoldiers, who presumably made up the bulk of any fighting force, are barely represented. Most of the figures are armoured, which is also at odds with our understanding of warbands at the time. The image created is that of the elite warriors. This implies that carnyx-players were part of the elite view of warfare, which is useful confirmation of what we would intuitively expect: while the Roman coins may simply have illustrated the carnyx because it was alien and unusual, its presence on the Celtic issues indicates it was indeed a powerful and important item. None of the carnyces are shown being played, but it was clearly appropriate for them to be carried (and presumably played) on horseback. Gaulish issues have the carnyx-bearers on foot; to this we may add Republican issues showing a carnyx being used from a chariot.⁵⁸

Thus far the picture confirms and fleshes out the image from Roman coins, which emphasise the carnyx as an instrument of war. However, the Dubnovellaunus bronze (no. 3) presents a different side to the story. This image is of a naked female holding a carnyx; her horse is not in rapid motion, as horses invariably are on British Iron Age coins, but stands with one foreleg raised high, a pose redolent of ceremony or parade.⁵⁹ We cannot know what scene is depicted here, but it is non-martial and appears to be ceremonial.

While all but one of the British carnyces are used in martial scenes, the Gaulish ones are more heterogeneous. Only two issues are clearly linked to warfare (nos. 11 and 13, the latter in the context of victory); in nos. 7-10 the nature of the scene is unclear, while no. 12 implies a religious use, as does the sanctuary context of no. 9. It is thus clear that the carnyx was not solely a war trumpet.

There were other instruments in the Iron Age orchestra, and the two coins from Belgic Gaul illustrate the main types: C-shaped horns, known best from the magnificent surviving Irish examples, and shorter straight horns with sharply curved ends. The unusual sinuous horn on the Celtiberian coin reminds us how limited our knowledge is. It is likely that these other instruments were once common, but carnyces dominate the iconography: they clearly caught the imagination, and as such were portrayed much more regularly than other, less visually impressive forms of instrument. This probably does represent a genuine difference in perception, with the striking zoomorphism of the carnyx giving it a power, significance and ritual importance lacking in other instruments.

⁵⁵ De la Tour, *op. cit.* (n. 18).

⁵⁶ e.g. LT XXIX 7258-7329; XXXVIII 9396.

⁵⁷ F. Hunter, 'The Image of the Warrior in the British Iron Age – Coin Iconography in Context', in C.C. Haselgrove and D. Wigg (eds.), *Ritual and Iron Age Coinage in North-West Europe* (Studien zu Fundmünzen der Antike 20; Mainz, 2005),

pp. 43-68.

⁵⁸ S. Piggott, 'Celtic Chariots on Roman Coins', *Antiquity* 26 (1952), pp. 87-8.

⁵⁹ Compare Epona's mount in some Roman iconography: e.g. E. Wilhelm, *Pierres sculptées et inscriptions de l'époque romaine* (Luxembourg, 1974), pp. 49, 112, no. 315.

In sum, the coins provide useful information on how carnyces looked, notably in confirming that the tubes were straight with no curve at the end. They also present the carnyx as a powerful icon in Iron Age societies. While it was clearly used in warfare and its associated displays, both on horseback and on foot, the coins show that it was not purely for battle – it also had ceremonial uses. This is a useful corrective to the picture from Roman sources, which are dominated by the carnyx as a piece of captured barbarian weaponry.⁶⁰ There were other Iron Age trumpets and horns, and coins provide valuable depictions of these, but the carnyx was by far the dominant one, with its eye-catching appearance. It already has a powerful presence in Celtic coinage. Given the continuing discovery of new types, we may hope for further carnyces lurking on coins as yet unknown ...

6. Appendix: items wrongly or uncertainly claimed as carnyces

1. uncertain

South-east English silver minim

VA 153; Mack 316e

This has been described as showing a warrior with spear or carnyx. Only one example is known, from Kent (CCI 61.0162). It depicts a rider carrying something in his right hand; the coin is very worn in its upper half and any attributes are not visible.⁶¹ Until clearer examples appear this cannot be included in the carnyx record, although it may well prove to be one.

2. *falsae* - British

Verica silver minim

VA 423 and 510-1; Bean VERC 2-8

Descriptions of this coin have been rather varied. While originally catalogued as two separate types, this was probably due to a flawed die.⁶² The obverse is inscribed VIRIC within a beaded border; of relevance here is the reverse of a boar with devices above and below. Van Arsdell read these as (?) vestigial EPP above / ring below (VA 423) and (?) C above / O below (VA 510-1). To Bean, however, it is ring below, carnyx above. Dr Philip de Jersey has kindly reviewed the available illustrations in the CCI and confirmed that most are clearly C above, O below; such a 'CO' inscription is found on other minims of Verica, a contraction of 'COMF' or 'COMMIF', 'son of Commius'.⁶³ A number of examples have a straight line joining the bottom of the C. Detailed examination suggests this is a die flaw which was later incorporated in the design, not an attempt to depict a carnyx.

Whaddon Chase stater

BM 306-328; VA 1476-5

Van Arsdell has argued that one die variant of the Whaddon Chase stater includes a representation of a carnyx.⁶⁴ The motif on most coins of the series is a marginal border of pellets around the flan with an oval 'ring and pellet' design partly overlapping this. Van Arsdell argues that on one die this is modified into a 'tube' of a curving line of pellets with a 'head' represented by a complex ellipse at the end, in which he sees an eye, snout and mouth. This identification has been questioned, primarily because the motif has none of the characteristic features of a carnyx: the tube is curved, and the design of the 'head' does not show any clear crest, ear or gaping mouth.⁶⁵ Van Arsdell has rejected these arguments, repeating the claim for diagnostic features and a straight tube, but this fails to convince.⁶⁶ Andrew Fitzpatrick (pers. comm.) has suggested a much more plausible

⁶⁰ Hunter, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 90-4.

⁶¹ Philip de Jersey, pers. comm.

⁶² Van Arsdell, op. cit. (n. 5), nos. 423 and 510-1; Bean, op. cit. (n. 10), pp. 246, 251, VERC2-8

⁶³ e.g. Bean, op. cit. (n. 10), VERC2-5 to -8.

⁶⁴ R.D. Van Arsdell, 'Celtic Chicanery IV – The War Trumpet',

Spink Numismatic Circular (April 1994), p. 103.

⁶⁵ F. Hunter, 'Celtic Chicanery Questioned', *Spink Numismatic Circular* 102/6 (July 1994), p. 259.

⁶⁶ R.D. Van Arsdell, 'Some Recent Discoveries', *Spink Numismatic Circular* (Feb 1995), p. 3..

explanation for the motif. He notes the ellipse is likely to be simply two superimposed oval and pellet motifs, arising from the recutting of worn reverse dies. It is notable that other supposedly later coins such as VA 1493-1 again show the simple oval and pellet overlying the pellet-defined border. The motif is far better seen as such an accidental by-product of coin production than a unique and uncharacteristic carnyx depiction which requires tortuous logic and the bending of criteria to make it fit.

Tasciovanus bronze

BM 1724-7; VA 1750; Mack 171

A bronze coin of Tasciovanus features a cavalryman with an oval shield, raising what has been seen as a carnyx in his right arm.⁶⁷ The reverse design is closely similar to the Tasciovanus stater (no. 1, above), encouraging the identification as a carnyx. However, Allen noted that the head details are unclear and it could be a long spear, while Mack saw it as a sword.⁶⁸ Examination of well-preserved specimens makes it clear the warrior carries a spear, not a carnyx; the 'knobs' on some shafts are the start of spearheads rather than carnyx tube junctions.

Tasciovanus Ricon stater

BM 1629-37, 1647-9; VA 1780, 1786; Mack 184-5

On the obverse of certain staters and quarter staters of Tasciovanus, the inscription is framed by a box with devices behind it. Rudd has interpreted this as stylised trophy, with the curved 'hockey-stick' symbols in each quarter being carnyces.⁶⁹ The box could represent a hide-shaped shield with a spear behind it, but the other symbols do not fit this interpretation easily. The vertical bars are clearly not spears, as they end in pellet terminals, and alternate ones have pelleted shafts. The four curved items never have carnyx attributes, such as a mouth, nor any details such as a crest or segmented tube. The trophy identification cannot be sustained; it is simply a stylised wreath.

Tascio-Rues bronze

BM 1698-1701; VA 1892

The reverse of a bronze of Tasciovanus with the inscription RVII has been interpreted as a warrior with carnyx or spear/carnyx.⁷⁰ In contrast Allen saw it correctly as a warrior with short sword; Philip de Jersey confirms that none of the images in CCI include a carnyx.⁷¹

3. *falsae* - Gaulish

Armorican gold and silver coin

LT XIV 4581; BN 4581-4; DT II 2101

Among the extensive Armorican series are coins with a human-headed horse and a charioteer raising an S-shaped object to his mouth. It has a broad mouth with a raised ridge, and curls to terminate in a pellet. Various authors call it a carnyx,⁷² but it has none of the characteristic features: indeed, as depicted it could not function as a musical instrument, and is more likely to be a drinking horn.

Gold coin of the Parisii

LT XXXI 7777-82; DT I 83

Hucher illustrates a coin with the reverse showing a horse and a number of other devices: a net-like symbol above it, a snake-like line rising from its mouth, a rosette under and a curved item above its hind quarters.⁷³ He suggests this last item is a carnyx, but it has none of the characteristic features. It is too stylised for certain identification, but the motif is found on other coins and may represent a stylised charioteer.⁷⁴

⁶⁷ Hobbs, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 121; Van Arsdell, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 375.

⁶⁸ Allen, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 44, n. 3; R.P. Mack, *The Coinage of Ancient Britain* (London, 1975, third edition), p. 79.

⁶⁹ *Chris Rudd List* 84 (2005), no. 46; *ibid.*, 65 (2002), no. 99.

⁷⁰ Hobbs, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 120; Van Arsdell, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 392.

⁷¹ Allen, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 46-7; de Jersey, *pers. comm.*

⁷² Hucher, *op. cit.* (n. 2) (1868), p. 10, pl. 6, 2; Muret, *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. 103; Delestrée and Tache, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 54, no. 2101.

⁷³ Hucher, *op. cit.* (n. 2) (1868), p. 18, pl. 75, 1.

⁷⁴ e.g. Brenot and Scheers, *op. cit.* (n. 21), nos. 755-6.

Bronze coin, Belgic Gaul

LT XXXII 8054; BN 8054-80; DT I 595

The reverse of this coin shows a lion with a dolphin under. Allen described it as 'dolphin (or dolphin-headed carnyx)', but other authorities do not hesitate to call it a dolphin.⁷⁵ The sinuous body, forked tail and asymmetrical fins are inconsistent with a carnyx but quite consistent with a dolphin.⁷⁶

Gold coin, Belgic Gaul

Scheers 40

The reverse shows a warrior holding a round shield in his right arm and what Blanchet and Scheers describe as an upside-down carnyx in his left.⁷⁷ Although the drawing is rather stylised, it shows a curved object terminating in a rectangle with a saltire design. This geometric terminal argues strongly against the carnyx identification. A similar motif is found on other coins, where it shows no sign of being a carnyx. It is more likely to be a standard.⁷⁸

See also the other horns recorded on Celtic coins (above and Fig. 4), which have been claimed as carnyces⁷⁹.

7. Abbreviations

Bean	Bean, n. 10.	DT II	Delestrée and Tache, n. 14.
BM	British Museum catalogue (Hobbs, n. 7).	LT	de la Tour, n. 18.
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.	Mack	Mack, n. 68.
CCI	Celtic Coin Index, Oxford University.	Madrid	Pau Ripollès and Abascal, n. 52.
CNH	<i>Corpus Nummum Hispaniae</i> (Villaronga, n. 52).	Scheers	Scheers, n. 42.
DT I	Delestrée and Tache, n. 43.	VA	Van Arsdell, n. 5.

⁷⁵ D. Allen, *Catalogue of Celtic Coins in the British Museum with Supplementary Material from Other British Collections. Vol III. Bronze Coins of Gaul* (M. Mays (ed.); London, 1995), p. 66-7; cf. Muret, *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. 186; Scheers, *op. cit.* (n. 30), p. 146; Scheers, *op. cit.* (n. 42), p. 633.

⁷⁶ See especially Scheers, *op. cit.* (n. 30), pl. XXV, 695; Scheers, *op. cit.* (n. 42), pl. XIX, 523; Allen, *op. cit.* (n. 75), pl. II, 67.

⁷⁷ A. Blanchet, *Traité des Monnaies Gauloises* (Bologna, 1971, reprint of 1905 edition), pp. 396-7; Scheers, *op. cit.* (n. 42), pp. 467-8.

⁷⁸ e.g. Scheers, *op. cit.* (n. 42), pp. 443-4, pl. X, 257; Brenot and Scheers, *op. cit.* (n. 21), nos. 945 and G12.

⁷⁹ Acknowledgements: For access to coins in their care, I am grateful to Michel Dhénin and Dominique Hollard in the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; to Richard Abdy, Richard Hobbs and Jonathan Williams in the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum; to Johan van Heesch in the Penningkabinet, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België; and to Isabelle Bertrand at the Musées de Chauvigny. I thank Geoff Cottam, Andrew Fitzpatrick, Colin Haselgrove, David Holman, Philip de Jersey and Pere Pau Ripollès for information on various coins, and Colin Haselgrove for commenting on a draft of the text. Drawings are by Marion O'Neil, with photographic and graphical assistance by Duncan Anderson.

