

**Zeitschrift:** Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau = Revue suisse de numismatique = Rivista svizzera di numismatica  
**Herausgeber:** Schweizerische Numismatische Gesellschaft  
**Band:** 50 (1971)

**Artikel:** Coins of Punic Sicily. Part I  
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**Kapitel:** 3: Ršmlqrt - R'šmslqrt  
**DOI:** <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-174005>

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## Ršmlqrt – R'šmlqrt

The entire coinage of this mint seems to belong to the second half of the fourth century. This is indicated by the occurrence of early specimens (no. 18) in the Nisoria and Gibil Gabib hoards (see below, p. 56–57) and by the numerous specimens of the later groups buried in hoards during the time of Agathokles (below, p. 59); it seems unlikely that the coinage continued later than c. 305–300 however, as virtually all the coins are accounted for by the date of the Pachino hoard (cf. p. 59).

The question of where this mint was situated is a very difficult and indeed for the present insoluble problem. The main difficulty to be faced is, that the series consists of nothing but tetradrachms, and there are no smaller coins or bronze coins which might, from the evidence of local finds, help to locate the mint. The coins occur in a number of hoards from almost every part of Sicily though few are from the western part of the island; in any case there are no indications to be obtained from any local predominance in one area rather than another. The meaning of the name Ršmlqrt = Cape of Melqart is not decisive as there are many possible capes, and different places associated with Melqart-Herakles; and little reason to prefer one to another. The favourite proposals have usually been either Kephaloïdion (Cefalú) or Herakleia Minoa, but neither of these is convincing.

Cefalú has the merit of an excellent cape or headland, one of the most impressive and well known in Sicily. But it was a Sikel town and not Punic, though friendly with Carthage, and in 396 made a treaty with Himilco; after this it was captured by Dionysios and there is no evidence that it ever returned to the Carthaginian side. The fact that it was captured by Agathokles in 307 proves almost nothing about the situation there in the intervening period. It must be emphasised at once, that the presence of specimens in the Cefalú hoard published by Lloyd in NC 1925 is merely typical of the distribution in several other hoards of this period, and proves nothing about the location of the mint, as Lloyd thought; the coins are in fact equally represented in the 1957 hoard from Pachino.

The earlier phase of Cefalú is illustrated by the coins inscribed «Herakleiotan ek Kephaloïdiou», which have been discussed by Consolo Langher in *Kokalos* 7–8, 1961–1962, 166 ff. That these coins are undoubtedly coins of Cefalú, and not, as has been supposed by others, of refugees from Cefalú settled at Herakleia Minoa, is I think amply demonstrated by Mrs. Langher. Her conclusion is further reinforced by the existence of an unpublished coin in the Pennisi collection<sup>23</sup>, inscribed «Kephaloïditan» (Plate 21 C). However the Pennisi coin seems to be appreciably later in style than the «Herakleiotan» coins, and I would think it likely that the «Kepha-

<sup>23</sup> After a photo which the late Barone Agostino Pennisi gave me some years ago. Unfortunately I do not have any note of the weight. As reproduced here the photo is about twice natural size.

loiditan» coin should be of the second half of the fourth century, without attempting to suggest too precise a date. If this is correct, it would certainly diminish the possibility of Cefalú being under Punic control at the period when the Ršmlqrt tetradrachms were being minted.

The other current favourite for Ršmlqrt, Herakleia Minoa, is likewise not without difficulties. The earlier settlement seems to have been destroyed in 409 B.C. but was restored by Timoleon in 345. At this period it seems to have flourished, as is attested by the recent excavations and discoveries on the site – from all of which one would not get the impression that Herakleia – with its notable Greek theatre – was anything but a Greek city at the time. However as has been remarked above, the coins inscribed «Herakleiotan ek Kephaloïdiou» must no longer be reckoned as part of the evidence. In other respects, however, it seems to me perfectly reasonable to follow the opinion of De Miro in *Kokalos* 4, 69–81, that Herakleia was in fact in the Greek zone, since it lies on the east side of the river Halykos which formed the boundary between Greek and Punic Sicily. The coins found at Herakleia are admittedly mostly Punic<sup>24</sup>, but this, it seems to me, is readily explained by the proximity of the city to the Punic zone, and such coins do form quite an element in the finds even from Greek sites much further east, such as Gela.

Of other possible sites for Ršmlqrt, we must, I think rule out cities which, though within the Punic zone and having associations with Herakles, have other coinages already assigned to them – Solus, Thermai; Eryx too has some Punic coins of the period with the legen 'rk (e.g. Plate 24, 23–24). As for Trapani (Drepana), the harbour of Eryx, there seems little if any reason for thinking of an important mint there in the fourth century. But another place which was securely in the Punic zone, and also has the association with Herakles, is Selinus<sup>25</sup>; the Greek city was destroyed in 409 B.C., but in the reconstruction which took place in the fourth century Punic elements seem to have assumed great importance<sup>26</sup>. In this connexion it may be worth making the bare suggestion that Selinus could be considered as a possible site for the Ršmlqrt mint. It must be admitted that there is nothing in the copious finds of coins (mainly Punic) from the site<sup>27</sup> which could directly support this hypothesis (a single tetradrachm was included in a hoard from Selinunte in 1877, cf. *Kokalos* 7, tav. XX, 2), though this, for reasons already outlined above, namely the non-existence of bronze coins of the mint, will be a difficulty whatever site we choose. In the meantime, and merely by a process of elimination, Selinus seems to me to have a certain attraction and although the Akropolis of Selinunte may seem an insignificant feature of the landscape when compared with the mighty rock of Cefalú, it does nevertheless form a small promontory which could conceivably have attracted the name of Ršmlqrt.

<sup>24</sup> *NSc* 1958 and *Annali* 5/6, pp. 296 ff.

<sup>25</sup> On Herakles at Selinus, cf. L. Lacroix, *Monnaies et colonisation*, pp. 34 ff.

<sup>26</sup> A. di Vita, *Archaeologia Classica* V, pp. 39–47.

<sup>27</sup> *Annali* 5/6, pp. 306 ff.

It must be added that Lilybaion (Marsala) would have been a possible candidate for Ršmlqrt except that it is, in my opinion at least, needed as the most probable site for the main Sicilian «Carthage» series. The fact that the earlier coins of that series are inscribed qrt hdšt does not necessarily or even probably mean Carthage itself, or if so only by extension as implying the «Carthaginian state». In any case the «Carthage» series is of undoubted Sicilian mintage and as such seems to be most appropriate to the city which became, after the destruction of Motya, the chief Carthaginian base in the island. The legend qrt hdšt is accordingly susceptible of another shade of meaning, and «new city» may aptly be thought to refer to the new foundation at Lilybaion which replaced Motya. There is good analogy for such a usage, and from quite another context, that of Cyprus in the eighth to seventh century B.C., where in some inscriptions the expression qrt hdšt refers to a city of Cyprus, probably Kition<sup>28</sup>. Possibly the legend on the «Carthage» coins of Sicily may contain some degree of ambiguity and refer at once to the new city of Lilybaion as well as to the Carthaginian state. At all events, it seems to me that this was the likeliest mint for the «Carthage» series, thus ruling out any chance of putting Ršmlqrt there.

### Ršmlqrt

1-4 (Plate 15)

This rather heterogeneous group is placed at the beginning of the series largely because there is no other obvious place for it. Nike does not appear on the obverses as she does everywhere else in the series, and the first die O 1 has instead a caduceus above in the field. The caduceus symbol occurs again at no. 23, and also in the «Carthage» series (e.g. SNG II 1620, McClean 3045), as one of the symbols associated with Tanit, by analogy with its occurrence on many Punic stelai (for which see Anna Maria Bisi, *Le stele puniche*, Rome 1967).

The most interesting coin of this first group is undoubtedly no. 1, where instead of the expected female head on the reverse there is a bearded head of Melqart, wearing a wreath and an earring (cf. Plate 21). The earring is paralleled by a coin of Solus (Plate 23, 21) and by the Siculo-Punic bronzes, SNG Cop. 94, also at Motya (Plate 23, 13). So far as I can trace, this coin with the Melqart head is unpublished although it has been in the B. M. since 1874. The other two reverses of this group are the usual female head with dolphins, and on R 2 (no. 3) a corn grain is added to the die, as in the case of Panormos no. 24, 43.

<sup>28</sup> S. Moscati, *World of the Phoenicians* (London 1968), pp. 104-105 and references on pp. 259-260.

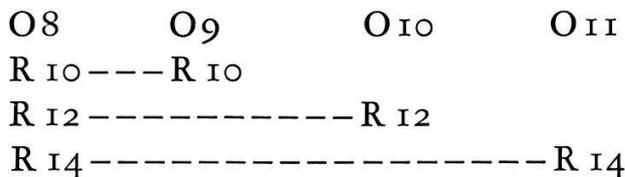
G. Cavallaro, *Panormos pre-romana* (Palermo 1950), p. 109 ff., however, equates qrt hdšt with Panormos; if we accept the šyš coin series for Panormos, as I do, then this must surely exclude the possibility suggested by Cavallaro.

5-10 (Plate 15)

Three obverse dies O 4-6 occur in this group, and each has the regular Nike above. O 4 is not linked, but O 5 and O 6 are linked by R 6. The group has a certain homogeneity on account of the style of R 4, 5, 8 (nos. 5, 6, 10 respectively) which all follow an identical prototype with sphendone and stars. However the treatment of R 6 (no. 7-8) is interesting, with the hair rendered in a knobby pattern, which has a considerable affinity to certain dies of Thermai (Plate 22, 4, 5, 6): these must be contemporary with R 6 and thus give a date in the third quarter of the century (see below 70)<sup>29</sup>, No. 9 (R 7) has another hair rendering but the face is similar to that of R 6. In the obverses of this group we see a style that is very typical for this mint, with its exaggerated upward surge of the horses, which is to be seen again at no. 21 (Plate 16) and no. 31 (Plate 17).

11-25 (Plates 16-17)

This group contains five obverses, four of which are linked in the manner indicated in the following diagram.



The obverses are of quite disparate character and only O 10 shows the really typical upward surge of the horses. On O 11 the caduceus symbol appears in front of the horses, as has been mentioned above (cf. O 1). The most typical style of reverse is that of R 9, 11, 13, a rather large and exuberant development of a basically Euainetan style, though without the wreath. There is no direct prototype or close parallel to be found in the «Carthage» series. The type of R 9 (no. 11) is adapted with a greater degree of stylisation when it comes to nos. 15-17, 21, 23-25. A corn grain appears on nos. 17, 23-25 replacing the dolphin behind the head. A quite different style is seen in R 10 (nos. 12, 20) and R 15 (no. 18), based on the model of Eukleidas' head with the five-fold earring (Tudeer rev. 35), a prototype which also seems to have pleased the engravers of the  $\varsigma\varsigma$  series (nos. 14-15, Plate 8) at a much earlier date.

This varied but closely-linked group is important for the chronology of the mint owing to the presence of specimens of no. 18 in two hoards, those of Nissoria and Gibil Gabib. The date of the Nissoria hoard has been set, on other grounds, at about

<sup>29</sup> A specimen of no. 8 comes from the Mineo hoard (Noe<sup>2</sup> 697) whose burial date however should be early in the third century B.C., so that this is not indicative for the early part of the series.

330 B.C.<sup>30</sup>; that of Gibil Gabib (in Syracuse museum) must be the same, as it has the same latest coins, the N-series of Corinth and the «Carthage» series as far as the type represented by Jenkins-Lewis, pl. 26, 4. Thus the two hoards agree in essentials and give a good indication for the chronology of the R š m l q r t mint, which can only have begun to operate in the second half of the fourth century; and this is further in agreement with the indirect indication already derived from our comparison of R š m l q r t no. 7–8 (R 6) with Thermai nos. 3–5, specimens of which were also contained in the Gibil Gabib hoard.

#### 26–30 (Plate 17)

In this short group a single obverse is coupled with four reverses. Of these, R 20–21 are of a rather hard and stylised aspect; noteworthy is the replacement in the die of the dolphin behind the head by a large fish, recalling another fish on  $\varsigma\varsigma$  nos. 19–20<sup>31</sup>. R 22–23 are quite different and more like the regular Greek-Carthage style; here for the only time in this series is there a wreath with corn ears, so characteristic of «Carthage» as e.g. SNG III 1048, Jenkins-Lewis, pl. 26, 2–6.

#### 31–68 (Plates 17–21)

This large group comprises almost all the rest of this mint's output, with no less than eleven obverse dies; of these, only one, O 17 (no. 48), has so far not appeared in a definite linkage of dies, but there is no doubt that it too is embedded in this group by the style of its reverse, and it is therefore provisionally placed next to no. 47 whose reverse is closely similar (Plate 19). The scheme of the linkages is as follows:

O 13	O 14	O 15	O 16	O 18	O 19	O 20	O 21	O 22	O 23
R 26--R 26	R 32--R 32	R 39--R 39							
R 27--R 27					R 45-----R 45		R 49--R 49	R 51--R 51	
	R 31-----R 31	R 31--R 31			R 46--R 46				

On the whole the obverse dies display the rather wildly upward-rearing horses so typical for this mint, though the style is far from even as between O 13, 15, 17, 18, 22, 23 (nos. 31, 41, 48, 49, 65, 68). As against these, O 14, 16 (nos. 35, 42) are more restrained and placid, as is O 20 (no. 61). O 19 (no. 54) is another variant, harking back to the early style of Eumenes at Syracuse; while O 21 (no. 62), with its sagging horses, is also remarkable for having the legend reversed (viz. reading from left to right).

<sup>30</sup> ANS *Centennial Publication*, pp. 372–374.

<sup>31</sup> The same or similar fish on the coins of Akragas (Rizzo i, 16) has been discussed by the late Prof. F. E. Zeuner in *Numismatic Circular* 1963, pp. 142–143, concluding that it is probably a species of the giant sea-perch known as the mero.

The reverses likewise offer a great variety of style and treatment. The predominant style of head, equipped with a wreath but without corn ears, derives ultimately from the Euainetos model, but only at some removes; in fact, the pure Euainetos style, which appears sometimes at Panormos (e.g. Plate 13, 69) and also at the «Carthage» mint, is never found at Ršmlqrt, for whose typical styles much closer parallels can be seen in some of the characteristically Punic styles of the «Carthage» mint.

Of the various stylistic groups represented here, we may first distinguish R 24, 26, 27 (nos. 31, 33, 34), slightly astringent and stylised, with which may be compared «Carthage» dies such as Jenkins-Lewis, plate 26, 5; reverses 28, 29 (nos. 37–38) have a somewhat gentler aspect, leading into R 31 (nos. 40, 45, 49); the latter in turn has further affinities with R 38, 39, 40, 43 (nos. 50, 51, 52, 56). Here there is a likeness to «Carthage» Jenkins-Lewis, plate 26, 7. Another grouping consists of R 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37 (nos. 41, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48) all of which have in one way or another much in common with «Carthage» dies exemplified by Jenkins-Lewis, plate 26, 7 and here Plate 21 B, both representing a rather bold and important development of the Euainetos type; the corkscrew curls on Jenkins-Lewis, plate 26, 7 are also an important element on Ršmlqrt R 36, 37 (nos. 47, 48) and even R 51 (no. 67), and the rather stylised sweep of the back hair on R 33, 35 (nos. 43, 46) is close to that of «Carthage» Plate 21 B. A more compact style is shown at R 41, 42, 44, 46 (nos. 53, 55, 57, 59) for which it is difficult to cite any precise parallels; the presence of a corn ear on R 44 (no. 57) is to be remarked. Several other styles are represented, of which R 45, 48 (nos. 58, 63) have become so far removed from any Greek or even Punic prototype as to have an almost Celtic aspect<sup>32</sup>. It is equally difficult to find any close analogy for R 47 (no. 60) or R 49 (no. 64). On the other hand R 50 (no. 66) goes back to a rare «Carthage» die here shown on Plate 21 A, which would be nearly contemporary with Jenkins-Lewis, plate 26, 5, 7, and these latter have already been mentioned as analogies for other dies of the Ršmlqrt group with which we are concerned.

Clearly, the discussion of the style of these coins cannot be taken any further for the moment and without having the complete series of «Carthage» coins for comparison; it is hoped to present the latter series in further articles. For the present it should be remarked only that the parallels from «Carthage» which have been cited here all come from the third and last quarters of the fourth century – that is, assuming that the group with Horse and palm (as e.g. Jenkins-Lewis, plate 26, 2–8) covers approximately 350–325 B.C. and the group with Horse's head (as Jenkins-Lewis, plate 26, 9) approximately 325–305. In any case it is clear that the Ršmlqrt mint seems to have depended largely – and to a greater extent than šyš Panormos – on prototypes from the «Carthage» mint, though at the same time adding its own characteristic touches.

<sup>32</sup> SNG II 1641 could perhaps be cited in this connexion, but it is not close.

This small group, consisting of only a single obverse die and two reverses, poses something of a problem, for its place in the series is far from clear. Obviously it must be put either before or after the large group nos. 31–68. The style of the heads R 52, 53 is at first sight much more Greek than most of those in the preceding series, though this fact gives little indication of the true position. The obverse has a quadriga which is not so typical for this mint, and the wide exergual line recalls some of the later  $\varsigma\upsilon\varsigma$  dies, e.g. O 18, 19 on Plate 13; for this reason, at least nos. 69–70 may plausibly be placed towards the end of the series. A rather fresh specimen in the Megara Hyblaia hoard 1967 might confirm this.

The occurrences of specimens of the last two groups (nos. 31–68, 69–70) in various hoards are reasonably frequent; the hoards in question are invariably from the period of Agathokles<sup>33</sup> and clearly confirm that the bulk of the R $\check{s}$ mlqrt coinage must belong to the last quarter of the fourth century. In fact the series seems to extend about as far as the «Carthage» Tanit/horse's head and the Agathokles quadriga types, both present in the Pachino hoard 1957. This hoard<sup>33a</sup> did not include the subsequent «Carthage» Melqart head/horse's head nor the Agathokles Nike with trophy types, and in fact seems to have buried about 305 B.C. It did contain specimens of the following numbers of the R $\check{s}$ mlqrt mint – 37, 41, 47, 48, 64. A similar but less well recorded hoard from Palermo 1936, of which some information is preserved in the B. M., likewise contained a specimen of no. 47.

The other hoards relevant for the mint represent a slightly later phase in the reign of Agathokles, containing both the Carthage Melqart head/horse's head type and also the Agathokles Nike with trophy type. The presence of these would indicate, I think, a date of burial early in the third century. The hoards in question are those of Cefalú, Megara Hyblaea 1967, Selinunte 1877 and Cammarata. The Cefalú hoard, published by Lloyd in *NC* 1925, included specimens of our nos. 17, 39, 48, 53, 64, 66. That of Megara Hyblaea 1967, not yet published but which I am grateful to the authorities of the Syracuse museum for allowing me to study, contained specimens of no. 53 and 69. The Selinunte 1877 hoard<sup>34</sup> contained a single specimen, of no. 39. Finally the Cammarata hoard<sup>35</sup> appears to have included the same main elements, among them some specimens of the R $\check{s}$ mlqrt mint, but we have no details.

Putting together the indications derived from the various hoards of the Agathoklean period for the lower end of the series and of the Nissoria and Gibil Gabib hoards for the earlier section, it seems justified to estimate the duration of the mint as covering roughly the second half of the fourth century (cf. above, p. 56–57).

<sup>33</sup> On hoards of the time of Agathokles, cf. *Essays Robinson*, p. 151.

<sup>33a</sup> A. Di Vita, *Annali* 5/6, 1958/59, 125 ff.

<sup>34</sup> Noe<sup>2</sup> 946, *NSc* 1877, also *Kokalos* VII, tav. 20, 2.

<sup>35</sup> Noe<sup>2</sup> 193.

This is a strange group which stands quite apart from the main series of the mint and cannot be accommodated within the regular sequence. It seems doubtful if it can be a regular issue of the mint, though it could be later than the regular series. Here, the head is transferred to the obverse and the quadriga placed on a deeply concave reverse. Both for this reason, and because of the style of the head O 25, we find a strong reminder of the Agathokles quadriga coins at Syracuse<sup>36</sup>; the latter had also influenced the style of the latest groups of the  $\varsigma\upsilon\varsigma$  mint (cf. above, p. 44). It is noteworthy that the legend, here of course on the reverse R 54, takes the form  $r'\check{s}mlqrt$ , and in this respect resembles that of O 8, 9, 11 and 24.

It is difficult to find any explanation for the linkage of the same quadriga R 54 with a quite different head O 26 (no. 72), a head which is further linked with a stepping horse and palm tree reverse (R 55) at no. 73. This unexpected linkage might at first sight be thought to afford some positive connexion with the «Carthage» series where the types of no. 73 occur, but in fact the head bears little resemblance to any of the other dies present in the regular «Carthage» series, and the same may be said of the reverse with its two Punic letters below the horse. Since no. 73 will not fit into the «Carthage» series, it seems inevitable to regard it as something quite irregular, and the apparent linkage between the types of  $R'\check{s}mlqrt$  and «Carthage» cannot be looked on as significant either for dating or for place of mintage.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *SNG II* 1476-1480.

Catalogue: Ršmlqrt Tetradrachms

1 (O 1)	ታጻፍኒህሠጻ	31 ff.	ታጻፍኒህሠጻ
2 (O 2)	ፐጻፍኒህሠጻ	(O 13-15)	ታጻፍኒህሠጻ
4 (O 3) incomplete	ጻፍኒህሠጻ	42 (O 16)	ታጻፍኒህሠጻ
5 (O 4)	ታጻፍኒህሠጻ	48 (O 17)	ታጻፍኒህሠጻ
6 (O 5)	ታጻፍኒህሠጻ	49 (O 18) incomplete	ጻፍኒህሠጻ
8 (O 6)	ታጻፍኒህሠጻ	54 (O 19)	ታጻፍኒህሠጻ
11 (O 7) incomplete	ኒህሠጻ	61 (O 20) incomplete	ፍኒህሠጻ
12 (O 8)	ታጻፍኒህሠጻ	62 (O 21) incomplete	ፆህሠጻ
18 (O 9)	ታጻፍኒህሠጻ	65 (O 22)	ታጻፍኒህሠጻ
21 (O 10) incomplete	ጻፍኒህሠጻ	68 (O 23)	ፐጻፍኒህሠጻ
23 (O 11) incomplete	ጻፍኒህሠጻ	69 (O 24)	ታጻፍኒህሠጻ
25 (O 11) incomplete	ጻፍኒህሠጻ	71 (R 54)	ታጻፍኒህሠጻ
26 (O 12)	ታጻፍኒህሠጻ	73 (R 55)	ላሀ

Plate 15

1	O 1	Fast quadriga 1.; double ex. line, legend in ex. Above, caduceus (but no Nike)	3	O 2	
	R 1	Head of Melqart bearded, r. with wreath and earring. 16.32 * London 1874 (Castellani) Enlarged x 2: plate 21		R 2'	Same die with addition of corn grain behind head 16.77 * Leu 1965
2	O 2	Similar, no Nike, nothing in field above; double ex. line and legend in ex.	4	O 3	Similar to O 2
	R 2	Female head r., with single-drop earring; three (?) dolphins 16.31 * Lockett SNG III 740 = Priv. coll. Y		R 3	Similar head, with ampyx, single-drop earring; at least four dolphins, possibly a fifth behind head - * Uncertain sale cat. (no. 111)
			5	O 4	Quadriga r. with rearing horses, Nike above. Legend in ex.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>(5) R 4 Female head r. with sphendone ampyx, triple earring; three dolphins<br/>16.77 * Boston add. 24 = Hess-Leu 1959, 115 = Jameson 1903</p> <p>6 O 5 Similar, but horses lower and charioteer more forward. Legend in ex.<br/>R 5 Similar to R 4, three dolphins<br/>17.01 * ANS</p> <p>7 O 5<br/>R 6 Larger head r., with sphendone and ampyx, hair knobbly, triple earring; three dolphins<br/>16.20 Paris Luynes 922<br/>- Luneau 220<br/>16.76 * London Lloyd 1598 = Nav. 6, 361</p> <p>8 O 6 Similar, horses very large and charioteer very high. Legend in ex.</p> | <p>(8) R 6<br/>17.05 * Sambon 19.12.1906, 494<br/>- Syracuse, Mineo hoard 25284</p> <p>9 O 6<br/>R 7 Large head r., slightly untidy hair, triple earring; two dolphins<br/>16.97 * Lockett SNG III 737 = Nav. 12, 708<br/>16.61 London 1939 = Ciani 1929, 50<br/>- Pennisi</p> <p>10 O 6<br/>R 8 Head with sphendone and ampyx similar to R 4-5, triple earring; four dolphins<br/>17.02 * Cambridge McC 2487 = Hirsch 21, 592<br/>17.24 Hess-Leu 1960, 102<br/>16.72 Priv. coll. X<br/>- Palermo</p> |
|--|---|

*Plate 16*

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| <p>11 O 7 Quadriga l., horses in close formation; Nike above (?); double ex. line, legend in ex.<br/>R 9 Large head with waved hair, triple earring; two dolphins visible in front<br/>16.82 * Hirsch 19, 161</p> <p>12 O 8 Similar, horses more level; single ex. line. Legend in ex.<br/>R 10 Head with sphendone (decorated with stars) and ampyx, earring with five pendants; three dolphins<br/>16.56 * London 1929<br/>17.01 Nav. 5, 873<br/>16.90 Rosenberg 72, 175</p> <p>13 O 8<br/>R 11 Similar to R 9; two dolphins visible in front<br/>16.87 * London 1938 = Helbing 12.4.1927, 1658<br/>16.75 Paris Luynes 924<br/>- Berlin<br/>- Salton</p> <p>14 O 8<br/>R 11' Same die, but worn and partly altered (nose, mouth and hair)</p> | <p>(14) 16.45 * AC 14, 90 = Helbing 1930, 108 = Cahn 75, 228 = Glendining 31.1.1951, 58</p> <p>15 O 8<br/>R 12 Large head with rolled hair, ampyx, single-drop earring; two dolphins<br/>17.15 * Paris 946</p> <p>16 O 8<br/>R 13 Head similar to R 9, R 11, triple earring; three dolphins<br/>16.65 Nav. 5, 871<br/>16.40 Egger 41, 121<br/>16.97 Hunter xvi, 5<br/>16.52 MMAG 1951, 219<br/>17.07 London BMC 19<br/>- * Pennisi<br/>16.65 Hague<br/>17.00 Berlin<br/>- Salton</p> <p>17 O 8<br/>R 14 Similar to R 13, etc., but with ampyx, triple earring; two dolphins in front, corn grain behind<br/>16.61 * London Lloyd 1597, Cefalú hoard</p> |
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| <p>(17) 16.56 Egger 26. 11. 1909, 1951<br/>16.90 Priv. coll. Y = Lockett<br/>SNG III 739<br/>17.00 Hirsch 30, 350 = Sambon 19. 12. 1907, 500<br/>17.32 Hess-Leu 1957 132<br/>16.94 Berlin</p> <p>18 O 9 Quadrigal., horses regular and low to groundline; double ex. line, legend r's m l q r t<br/>R 15 Head with sphendone (decorated with stars) and ampyx, earring with five pendants; three dolphins<br/>16.66 ANS = Nav. 5, 874 = Luneau 222<br/>16.47 Paris Luynes 927<br/>17.31 Nav. 4, 283<br/>16.90 Hague<br/>17.02 * London BMC 2<br/>- Syracuse, Nissoria 54542<br/>17.00 Syracuse, Gibil Gabib 48296</p> <p>19 O 9<br/>R 16 Head r., triple earring; no dolphins; in front, crescent?<br/>16.88 * London Lloyd 1596<br/>- Pennisi<br/>- Baranowsky 1929, 1554a</p> <p>20 O 9<br/>R 10 Die more worn<br/>16.81 Jameson 596<br/>16.96 Cambridge McC 3053<br/>16.32 AC 16, 486</p> | <p>(20) 16.41 Oxford 2148 = Hirsch 29, 83 = do. 19, 160 = Schulman 21. 10. 1912, 19 = do. 7. 6. 1937, 96<br/>16.29 ANS = Münzh. Basel 4, 561 = Cahn 71, 205 = Cahn 80, 113<br/>17.08 * Priv. coll. Y = Lockett SNG III 738 = Nav. 4, 232<br/>16.82 Hess-Leu 1958, 111</p> <p>21 O 10 Quadriga with horses very high similar to O 6<br/>R 12<br/>16.75 Nav. 6, 367 = Schulman 16. 12. 1926, 111<br/>16.95 AC 16, 491<br/>16.68 Priv. coll. Y = Jameson 600 = Egger 10. 12. 1906, 87<br/>17.10 * London BMC 20</p> <p>22 O 10<br/>R 17 Similar to R 12; two dolphins<br/>17.13 * Cambridge McC 3052 = Sambon 19. 12. 1907, 493<br/>16.60 Cahn 66, 145 = MM AG 1951, 218<br/>17.17 Hess-Leu 1959, 114<br/>16.85 ANS<br/>17.05 Nav. 6, 366 = Platt 3. 4. 1933, 68 = Schulman 16. 12. 1926, 110</p> |
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*Plate 17*

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| <p>23 O 11 Quadriga l., horses low and regular, charioteer amidships, double ex. line, legend in ex. On l. caduceus<br/>R 14<br/>16.71 O'Hagan 124<br/>17.04 * London BMC 21<br/>16.90 Paris Luynes 923</p> <p>24 O 11<br/>R 18 Similar to R 14<br/>16.99 * AC 16, 492<br/>16.65 SC 1927, 1148</p> | <p>25 O 11<br/>R 19 Similar to R 18<br/>17.25 * Stiavelli 158 = Merzbacher 1910, 218 = Sotheby 21. 4. 1909, 85<br/>17.14 ANS = Locker-Lampson 65 = Cahn 60, 188 = Nav. 12, 709</p> <p>26 O 12 Quadriga l. with horses low regular and compact, charioteer in normal position and leaning forward. Double ex. line. Legend in ex.</p> |
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| <p>(26) R 20 Head l., hair wavy and neatly rolled, triple earring; three dolphins<br/>16.70 Hamb. 98, 226<br/>- * ANS</p> <p>27 O 12<br/>R 21 Similar; three dolphins<br/>16.81 * London BMC 18</p> <p>28 O 12<br/>R 21' Same die, but dolphin behind head changed into fish<br/>16.55 Hirsch 34, 155 = Jameson 1895<br/>16.69 * London RPK<br/>17.09 Hess-Leu 1957 = Priv. coll. Y<br/>- Palermo</p> <p>29 O 12<br/>R 22 Head l. with corn ear wreath, triple earring; three dolphins<br/>16.52 * London BMC 5<br/>- ANS<br/>16.60 Paris Delepierre</p> <p>30 O 12<br/>R 23 Head r. with corn ear wreath, triple earring; two dolphins<br/>16.75 Priv. coll. X<br/>16.91 Munich<br/>16.95 Berlin<br/>17.23 * Nav. 6, 362</p> <p>31 O 13 Quadriga r., horses rearing up but regular; single ex. line<br/>R 24 Head r. with leaf wreath, triple earring; three dolphins<br/>16.88 Egger 41, 120 = Hess 28. 4. 1938, 523<br/>17.30 * London Lloyd 1604</p> | <p>(31) 17.30 Glend. 3. 12. 1929, 704 = Rosenberg 8. 2. 1924, 84<br/>- Paris A-V 273<br/>16.53 Hirsch 21, 589<br/>17.15 Hess 18. 3. 1918, 188 = Egger 28. 11. 1904, 197 = Helbing 2. 3. 1928, 123 = Hirsch 20, 121<br/>- Helbing 8. 11. 1928, 3716<br/>17.28 Oxford 2147 = Lockett SNG III 743 = Nav. 1, 426<br/>16.82 Hague</p> <p>32 O 13<br/>R 25 Head l. with leaf wreath, etc.; two dolphins visible in front<br/>16.98 * London 1919 = Weber 1477</p> <p>33 O 13<br/>R 26 Similar to R 24<br/>17.00 Hirsch 14, 172<br/>17.06 * Hirsch 16, 232<br/>17.04 Oxford 2149</p> <p>34 O 13<br/>R 27 Similar to R 24 and R 26<br/>16.96 Hirsch 19, 158<br/>17.12 * Nav. 10, 193 = Nav. 4, 231 = Merzbacher 2. 11. 1909, 2490<br/>16.72 Hirsch 34, 154<br/>17.22 Hague<br/>- Proschowsky 362<br/>17.00 Nav. 12, 703 = Hess 18. 3. 1918, 187 = SC 1927, 1143</p> |
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*Plate 18*

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| <p>35 O 14 Similar to O 13, but horses lower and charioteer taller<br/>R 26<br/>16.74 * Hague = Brandis, Canessa 1922, 389</p> <p>36 O 14<br/>R 27<br/>17.30 * Hirsch 33, 342<br/>- Syracuse</p> | <p>37 O 14<br/>R 28 Head similar, but hair more curly and wreath has extra leaves; three dolphins<br/>16.77 * London 1939 = Nav. 4, 230 = Soth. 17. 7. 1939, 16 = Hirsch 32, 60 = Bourgey 5. 12. 1932, 70<br/>17.16 Brussels</p> |
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- (37) — Feuardent 26. 5. 1914, 158  
 16.40 Hartwig 682 = Hamb. 98, 224  
 17.27 Hess-Leu 1968, 114  
 17.00 Hirsch 32, 59  
 17.04 Jameson 597  
 17.08 Nav. 4, 229  
 17.22 Nav. 6, 363  
 17.36 Paris Luynes 920  
 — Pennisi  
 17.20 Sambon 19. 12. 1907, 490  
 17.18 Sartiges 453 = Sambon 19. 12. 1907, 489 = Hess 1954, 50  
 17.21 Schulman 7. 6. 1937, 97  
 16.94 Syracuse, Pachino 22  
 17.07 MMAG 43, 1970, 57
- 38 O 14  
 R 29 Similar to R 28, but hair wavy instead of curled; three dolphins  
 17.58 \* ANS  
 17.17 ANS = Bourgey 23. 5. 1910, 30 = do. 7. 6. 1909, 133  
 17.00 Cahn 65, 66 = Egger 28. 11. 1904, 221 = Hess 194, 132  
 17.16 Nav. 6, 364 = Cahn 84, 184 = Schulman 16. 12. 1926, 107  
 — Baranowsky 1934, 4647  
 17.20 Helbing 12. 4. 1927, 1656  
 17.30 Hirsch 33, 344  
 17.10 Hirsch 33, 343  
 16.63 London 1918  
 — Paris 2388  
 — Paris Vogué 656  
 17.08 Lewis = Hess-Leu 1956, 88  
 17.04 Weber 1297 = Feuardent 16. 11. 1937, 48  
 17.20 Rosenberg 64, 1391  
 — Soth. 6. 7. 1921, 201
- 39 O 14  
 R 30 Head l., leaf wreath, triple earring; three dolphins  
 17.18 Boston 270  
 — Berlin  
 17.07 Benson 189
- (39) 16.66 Cambridge SNG IV 972  
 — Ciani 7. 5. 1955, 190  
 16.90 Hess 202, 2269  
 15.13 London 1928  
 16.72 \* London Lloyd 1605, Cefalú hoard  
 17.19 Paris Luynes 921  
 16.90 Paris 2389  
 16.90 Leu Sicilia 142 = Priv. coll. Y  
 17.23 MMAG 43, 1970, 58  
 — Palermo, Selinunte hoard 1877 (Kokalos VII, tav. xx, 2)
- 40 O 14  
 R 31 Head r., similar to R 28, R 29; three dolphins  
 16.97 \* Hirsch 14, 173  
 — ANS  
 — Feuardent 26. 5. 1914, 156
- 41 O 15 Quadriga r., horses rearing up, charioteer leaning forward  
 R 32 Head r., similar; four dolphins  
 17.16 Brussels H 822  
 17.23 Cambridge SNG IV 970 = Montagu I 101  
 17.24 \* London BMC 7  
 16.76 Hess-Leu 1956, 87  
 — Priv. coll. Y  
 17.16 Priv. coll. X  
 17.10 Lewis  
 17.17 Nav. 10, 195  
 17.03 Syracuse, Pachino 21
- 42 O 16 Similar, horses more compact, charioteer leaning forward  
 R 32  
 17.13 \* London BMC 6  
 — Paris A-V 274  
 17.20 Paris Luynes 917
- 43 O 16  
 R 33 Similar; earring larger, dolphin behind head turns inwards  
 16.75 Berlin  
 17.18 Boston = Warren 419  
 16.95 Cambridge McC 3051 = Carfrae 48  
 16.96 Cambridge SNG IV 969  
 17.13 AC 17, 142  
 16.94 Hague

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| (43) | 16.75 Hirsch 20, 120<br>16.87 Hirsch 26,72<br>17.08 Hess-Leu 1960, 101<br>16.75 * Lockett SNG III 744<br>17.03 Paris Luynes 916<br>— Paris 376<br>17.17 Priv. coll. Y   | 45 | O 16<br>R 31<br>17.04 * Bompois, Holm Gesch. Siz. III, viii, 9   |
| 44   | O 16<br>R 34 Similar to R 33, but earring swings forward<br>17.34 ANS<br>17.03 ANS<br>17.16 Cahn 68, 1153 = Schulman 16. 12. 1926, 109<br>17.05 Glend.-Seaby II, 186 = Münzh. Basel IV 562<br>17.10 * Paris Vogué<br>— Pennisi<br>17.20 Ratto 26. 4. 1909, 1175<br>17.35 Rosenberg 72, 174<br>17.10 Weber 1296<br>16.52 SC 1927, 1145<br>— Syracuse, Gagliardi 1002 | 46 | O 16<br>R 35 Closely similar to R 34, but earring more vertical<br>16.91 Hunter Syracuse 56<br>17.05 * London BMC 12<br>— Berlin<br>— Glend. 13. 11. 1957, 29<br>16.68 Munich<br>16.85 Nav. 5, 864<br>17.22 Nav. 5, 868<br>16.75 Nav. 5, 865 = Glend.-Seaby III, 1198<br>— Paris 375<br>— Sambon 26. 4. 1925, 157 = do. 19. 12. 1907, 492<br>— Palermo |

*Plate 19*

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| 47 | O 16<br>R 36 Similar to R 35<br>17.26 Cahn 66, 146<br>17.23 Hess-Leu 1958, 89<br>— * Glasgow, Coats 2892<br>— ANS<br>17.10 Hirsch 31, 158 = do. 15, 1008<br>17.12 Jameson 598<br>17.07 Lewis<br>17.15 London Lloyd 1600<br>17.09 Münzh. Basel 8, 184<br>16.64 Nav. 12, 705<br>— Glend. 1955 Laval, 227<br>17.25 Paris Luynes 919<br>17.10 Sandeman 29<br>17.07 Stockholm KMK = Nav. 10, 194<br>— Ryan 1495<br>17.20 Sambon 19. 12. 1907, 491<br>— Palermo hoard 1936<br>17.00 Syracuse, Pachino 19<br>— Syracuse, Gagliardi 1003 | 48 | O 17 Quadriga r., horses rearing up, charioteer high and leaning far forward<br>R 37 Similar, larger head<br>16.44 AC 16, 489<br>17.01 Berlin<br>16.95 Egger 46, 78 = Soth. 6. 7. 1921, 202<br>17.50 Hess-Leu 1957, 131<br>16.36 London Lloyd 1599, Cefalú hoard<br>17.05 Münzh. Basel 10, 146<br>17.06 * Nav. 5, 863 = Hess 207, 134 = Merzbacher 1910, 216 = Hess-Leu 1958, 110 = Egger 28. 11. 1904, 224<br>17.04 O'Hagan 125 = Bourgey 29. 5. 1911, 40<br>— Priv. coll. Y<br>— Sartiges 97<br>17.14 Syracuse Pachino 20 (Annali 5-6, tav. viii, 1) |
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- 49 O 18 Quadriga r., horses very large and spread out, charioteer more upright  
R 31  
17.13 \* London BMC 15  
— ANS  
— Berlin  
— Glend.-Seaby II 1929, 187
- 50 O 18  
R 38 Similar to R 31; dolphin behind head turns towards head  
16.82 \* Hess-Leu 1962, 125  
17.23 Schulman 6. 6. 1930, 28  
— Naples Santangelo 7750
- 51 O 18  
R 39 Similar to R 31, earring more forward  
16.90 London Lloyd 1603  
(rev. tooled; earring removed)  
17.23 \* Leu 1965
- 52 O 18  
R 40 Similar to R 39, slightly larger  
16.71 \* Boston 269  
17.35 \* London 1918  
16.96 Paris Delepierre  
— Palermo  
17.17 Munich  
17.43 Münzh. Basel 4, 560
- 53 O 18  
R 41 Similar, more compact head  
16.50 SC 1927, 1146  
17.00 \* London Lloyd 1601, Cefalú hoard  
16.82 Priv. coll. X  
— Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea 1967
- 54 O 19 Quadriga l., horses in fan-like formation; double ex. line  
R 39  
16.77 \* ANS = Merzbacher 2. 11. 1909, 2493
- 55 O 19  
R 42 Head l., compact; wreath earring dolphins normal  
16.80 AC 16, 487  
16.66 Hague  
12.17 Hague  
17.24 Hirsch 32, 58 = Hindamian 176  
16.92 Hirsch 34, 152 = Bourgey 1913, 18 = Sambon 19. 12. 1907, 488 = Hess-Vogel 1929, 131 = Hess 202, 2268 = Hess 209, 15 = Hess 7. 3. 1935, 251  
17.15 Lewis  
17.18 London BMC 16  
17.05 \* Lockett SNG III 742  
16.85 MMAG 43, 1970, 60  
17.04 Nav. 5, 870  
17.16 Nav. 12, 706  
17.00 Priv. coll. X  
— Polese, Canessa 719  
16.78 Schulman 31. 5. 1938, 75  
— Stiavelli 156  
— Syracuse
- 56 O 19  
R 43 Similar to R 39, earring larger  
— Berlin  
16.32 \* AC 16, 488 = Headlam 180 = Ciani 14. 6. 1934, 13  
16.87 Hess 208, 105  
17.17 Merzbacher 2. 1. 1909, 2492 = Balmanno 42 = Soth. 6. 12. 1907, 30
- 57 O 19  
R 44 Similar to R 42; corn ear below  
16.69 New York Met., Ward 359  
16.95 \* London 1968

- 58 O 19  
R 45 Head r., rather stylised; triple earring, three dolphins  
— \* Priv. coll. Y  
— Pennisi
- 59 O 19  
R 46 Head l., similar to R 42; four dolphins  
16.55 \* London 1938  
17.15 Cambridge SNG IV 973
- 60 O 19  
R 47 Head r., peculiar shape, wreath and earring normal; four dolphins  
16.84 \* London BMC 14  
— Berlin  
— Feuardent 26. 5. 1914, 157  
17.05 Nav. 5, 869
- 61 O 20 Quadriga r., very compact; double ex. line  
R 46  
16.59 \* Lockett SNG III 741 = Priv. coll. Y
- 62 O 21 Quadriga r., long sagging horses; double ex. line; legend reversed  
R 45  
17.23 \* Helbing 19. 11. 1912, 155
- 63 O 21  
R 48 Head r., very stylised; three dolphins  
17.04 \* London BMC 13  
15.10 Allotte de la Fuye 1925, 124  
17.24 Nav. 6, 365 = Feuardent 9. 5. 1910, 245 = Schulman 21. 10. 1912, 18  
— Paris 2387
- 64 O 21  
R 49 Head l., wreath, triple earring; four dolphins  
16.87 Hamb. 98, 225 = SC 1927 1147 = Polese, Canessa 1928, 720  
720  
16.88 Hess-Leu 1966, 171  
16.85 \* London Lloyd 1606, Cefalú hoard
- (64) 16.88 London 1938  
17.20 Paris Luynes 926  
16.62 Priv. coll. X  
16.78 Priv. coll. Y  
16.80 Vienna  
17.19 Syracuse, Pachino 23  
— Palermo  
— Burel 106  
— Canessa-de Nicola 1950, 112
- 65 O 22 Quadriga r., rearing horses, charioteer high and leaning forward; single ex. line, legend normal  
R 49  
16.79 Baranowsky 4, 319 = Ratto 24. 6. 1929, 108  
— \* Leu 1965
- 66 O 22  
R 50 Large head r.; four dolphins  
17.27 \* Boston add. 23 = Hess-Leu 1959, 113  
16.27 London Lloyd 1602, Cefalú hoard  
17.33 London BMC 10  
17.06 Nav. 5, 866  
17.10 AC 15, 284 = Ratto 26. 4. 1909, 1176 = Cahn 60, 189 = Hirsch 34, 153  
— Paris 377  
17.35 Walcher Molthein 420 = Hirsch 29, 82 = MMAG 43, 1970, 59
- 67 O 22  
R 51 Head r., similar to R 32; four dolphins  
16.65 London 1969  
17.12 \* Nav. 10, 192 = Nav. 1, 425 = Egger 10; 12. 1906, 86  
— Platt 3. 4. 1933, 67
- 68 O 23 Similar to O 22, but horses lower and charioteer leans further forward  
R 51  
17.20 \* London BMC 8  
17.16 Nav. 5, 867  
17.50 Paris Luynes 918

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| <p>69 O 24 Quadriga l., horses low on ground, thick ex. line</p> <p>R 52 Head r., compact style, wreath and triple earring; three dolphins</p> <p>15.60 Brussels H 821</p> <p>17.31 * London 1938 (BMQ 1938, xlix, 2)</p> <p>17.28 London BMC 4</p> <p>17.00 Nav. 12, 707</p> <p>16.82 Paris Luynes 925</p> <p>16.62 Priv. coll. X</p> <p>16.44 Ratto 24. 6. 1929, 107</p> <p>16.76 Stockholm KMK = Nav. 10, 196 = Hirsch 21, 590 = Luneau 221</p> <p>— Martinetti Nervegna 793</p> <p>16.85 Egger 26. 11. 1909, 149</p> <p>16.91 Lewis = Glend. Hall 1950, 61</p> <p>— Palermo</p> <p>— Priv. coll. Y</p> <p>— Sambon-Canessa 22. 6. 1906, 175</p> <p>— Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea 1967</p> | <p>(70)</p> <p>16.50 Hague</p> <p>16.76 Hirsch 32, 62 = Hindamian 178</p> <p>16.61 Jameson 599</p> <p>16.77 Lewis</p> <p>16.68 * London BMC 3</p> <p>15.56 * Lockett SNG III 745 (rev. extensive break below the ear)</p> <p>16.75 Priv. coll. X</p> <p>16.30 Priv. coll. Y</p> | <p>71 O 25 Head r., wreath and earring; three dolphins</p> <p>R 54 Quadriga r., double ex. line; legend r'šmlqrt</p> <p>15.55 Berlin</p> <p>— Berlin</p> <p>16.58 * ANS = White King 55 = Bourgey 29. 5. 1911, 39</p> |
| <p>70 O 24</p> <p>R 53 Similar to R 52, earring larger</p> <p>17.04 AC 16, 490</p> <p>16.95 Cambridge SNG IV 971 = Bunbury 527</p>   | <p>72 O 26 Head l.; two dolphins visible in front</p> <p>R 54</p> <p>16.37 * London BMC 17</p>  | <p>73 O 26</p> <p>R 55 Walking horse r., palmtree behind; below letters 'ayin and gimel</p> <p>16.50 * Copenhagen, Thorwaldsen</p> <p>— Priv. coll. Y</p>   |