

**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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R✓sm̄lqrt – R✓sm̄lqrt

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 R✓sm̄lqrt = 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 Kephaloidion (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 Kephaloidiou», 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 «Kephaloiditan» (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 R̄sm̄lqr̄t tetradrachms were being minted.

The other current favourite for R̄sm̄lqr̄t, 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 Kephaloidiou» 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 R̄sm̄lqr̄t, 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 legend '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 R̄sm̄lqr̄t 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 R̄sm̄lqr̄t.

<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 R̄šmlqrt 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 qrthdšt 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 qrthdšt 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 qrthdšt 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 R̄šmlqrt there.

### R̄šmlqrt

#### 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.

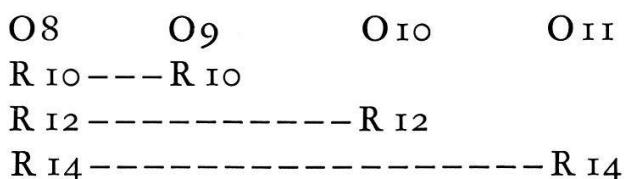
G. Cavallaro, *Panormos pre-romana* (Palermo 1950), p. 109 ff., however, equates qrthdšt with Panormos; if we accept the sys coin series for Panormos, as I do, then this must surely exclude the possibility suggested by Cavallaro.

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 knobbly 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 sys 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 2 697) 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 R̄šmlqrt 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 R̄šmlqrt 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 šyš 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 51 -- R 51			
							R 46 -- R 46	R 49 -- R 49	

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 R̄sm̄lq̄rt, 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 R̄sm̄lq̄rt 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 R̄sm̄lq̄rt 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 R̄sm̄lq̄rt mint seems to have depended largely – and to a greater extent than ḥyṣ 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  $\delta\gamma\delta$  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 $\ddot{\gamma}$ m $\lambda$ qr $\tau$  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 $\ddot{\gamma}$ m $\lambda$ qr $\tau$  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 Cefalù, Megara Hyblaea 1967, Selinunte 1877 and Cammarata. The Cefalù 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 $\ddot{\gamma}$ m $\lambda$ qr $\tau$  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 *sy* mint (cf. above, p. 44). It is noteworthy that the legend, here of course on the reverse R 54, takes the form *r'smlqrt*, 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 *smlqrt* 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: R̄sm̄lq̄rt Tetradrachms

1 (O 1)	ትኩቃኩሣኩ	31 ff. (O 13-15)	ትኩቃኩሣኩ
2 (O 2)	ትኩቃኩሣኩ	42 (O 16)	ትኩቃኩሣኩ
4 (O 3) incomplete	፩፩፩፩፩	48 (O 17)	ትኩቃኩሣኩ
5 (O 4)	ትኩቃኩሣኩ	49 (O 18) incomplete	፩፩፩፩
6 (O 5)	ትኩቃኩሣኩ	54 (O 19)	ትኩቃኩሣኩ
8 (O 6)	ትኩቃኩሣኩ	61 (O 20) incomplete	፩፩፩፩
11 (O 7) incomplete	፩፩፩፩	62 (O 21) incomplete	የኩቃኩሣኩ
12 (O 8)	ትኩቃኩሣኩ	65 (O 22)	ትኩቃኩሣኩ
18 (O 9)	ትኩቃኩሣኩ	68 (O 23)	ትኩቃኩሣኩ
21 (O 10) incomplete	፩፩፩፩	69 (O 24)	የኩቃኩሣኩ
23 (O 11) incomplete	፩፩፩፩	71 (R 54)	ትኩቃኩሣኩ
25 (O 11) incomplete	፩፩፩፩	73 (R 55)	ለ
26 (O 12)	ትኩቃኩሣኩ		

Plate 15

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

(5)	R 4	Female head r. with sphendone ampyx, triple earring; three dolphins 16.77 * Boston add. 24 = Hess- Leu 1959, 115 = Jameson 1903
6	O 5	Similar, but horses lower and charioteer more forward. Legend in ex.
	R 5	Similar to R 4, three dolphins 17.01 * ANS
7	O 5	
	R 6	Larger head r., with sphendone and ampyx, hair knobbly, triple earring; three dolphins 16.20 Paris Luynes 922 - Luneau 220 16.76 * London Lloyd 1598 = Nav. 6, 361
8	O 6	Similar, horses very large and charioteer very high. Legend in ex.

(8)	R 6	17.05 * Sambon 19.12.1906, 494 - Syracuse, Mineo hoard 25284
9	O 6	
	R 7	Large head r., slightly untidy hair, triple earring; two dolphins 16.97 * Lockett SNG III 737 = Nav. 12, 708
		16.61 London 1939 = Ciani 1929, 50 - Pennisi
10	O 6	
	R 8	Head with sphendone and ampyx similar to R 4-5, triple earring; four dolphins 17.02 * Cambridge McC 2487 = Hirsch 21, 592 17.24 Hess-Leu 1960, 102 16.72 Priv. coll. X - Palermo

Plate 16

11	O 7	Quadriga l., horses in close formation; Nike above (?); double ex. line, legend in ex.
	R 9	Large head with waved hair, triple earring; two dolphins visible in front 16.82 * Hirsch 19, 161
12	O 8	Similar, horses more level; single ex. line. Legend in ex.
	R 10	Head with sphendone (decorated with stars) and ampyx, earring with five pendants; three dolphins 16.56 * London 1929 17.01 Nav. 5, 873 16.90 Rosenberg 72, 175
13	O 8	
	R 11	Similar to R 9; two dolphins visible in front 16.87 * London 1938 = Helbing 12.4.1927, 1658 16.75 Paris Luynes 924 - Berlin - Salton
14	O 8	
	R 11'	Same die, but worn and partly altered (nose, mouth and hair)

(14)		16.45 * AC 14, 90 = Helbing 1930, 108 = Cahn 75, 228 = Glendining 31.1.1951, 58
15	O 8	
	R 12	Large head with rolled hair, ampyx, single-drop earring; two dolphins 17.15 * Paris 946
16	O 8	
	R 13	Head similar to R 9, R 11, triple earring; three dolphins 16.65 Nav. 5, 871 16.40 Egger 41, 121 16.97 Hunter xvi, 5 16.52 MMAG 1951, 219 17.07 London BMC 19 - * Pennisi 16.65 Hague 17.00 Berlin - Salton
17	O 8	
	R 14	Similar to R 13, etc., but with ampyx, triple earring; two dolphins in front, corn grain behind 16.61 * London Lloyd 1597, Cefalú hoard

(17)	16.56	Egger 26. 11. 1909, 1951	(20)	16.41	Oxford 2148 = Hirsch 29, 83 = do. 19, 160 = Schulman 21. 10. 1912, 19 = do. 7. 6. 1937, 96
	16.90	Priv. coll. Y = Lockett SNG III 739		16.29	ANS = Münzh. Basel 4, 561 = Cahn 71, 205 = Cahn 80, 113
	17.00	Hirsch 30, 350 = Sambon 19. 12. 1907, 500		17.08 *	Priv. coll. Y = Lockett SNG III 738 = Nav. 4, 232
	17.32	Hess-Leu 1957 132		16.82	Hess-Leu 1958, 111
	16.94	Berlin			
18 O 9		Quadriga l., horses regular and low to groundline; double ex. line, legend r's m l q r t	21 O 10		Quadriga with horses very high similar to O 6
R 15		Head with sphendone (decorated with stars) and ampyx, earring with five pendants; three dolphins	R 12	16.75	Nav. 6, 367 = Schulman 16. 12. 1926, 111
	16.66	ANS = Nav. 5, 874 = Luneau 222		16.95	AC 16, 491
	16.47	Paris Luynes 927		16.68	Priv. coll. Y = Jameson 600 = Egger 10. 12. 1906, 87
	17.31	Nav. 4, 283		17.10 *	London BMC 20
	16.90	Hague			
	17.02 *	London BMC 2	22 O 10		
	-	Syracuse, Nissoria 54542	R 17		Similar to R 12; two dolphins
	17.00	Syracuse, Gibil Gabib 48296		17.13 *	Cambridge McC 3052 = Sambon 19. 12. 1907, 493
19 O 9				16.60	Cahn 66, 145 = MM AG 1951, 218
R 16		Head r., triple earring; no dolphins; in front, crescent?		17.17	Hess-Leu 1959, 114
	16.88 *	London Lloyd 1596		16.85	ANS
	-	Pennisi		17.05	Nav. 6, 366 = Platt 3. 4. 1933, 68 = Schulman 16. 12. 1926, 110
20 O 9					
R 10		Die more worn			
	16.81	Jameson 596			
	16.96	Cambridge McC 3053			
	16.32	AC 16, 486			

Plate 17

23 O 11		Quadriga l., horses low and regular, charioteer amidships, double ex. line, legend in ex. On l. caduceus	25 O 11		
R 14			R 19		Similar to R 18
	16.71	O'Hagan 124		17.25 *	Stiavelli 158 = Merzbacher 1910, 218 = Sotheby 21. 4. 1909, 85
	17.04 *	London BMC 21		17.14	ANS = Locker-Lampson 65 = Cahn 60, 188 = Nav. 12, 709
	16.90	Paris Luynes 923			
24 O 11			26 O 12		Quadriga l. with horses low regular and compact, charioteer in normal position and leaning forward. Double ex. line. Legend in ex.
R 18		Similar to R 14			
	16.99 *	AC 16, 492			
	16.65	SC 1927, 1148			

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

Plate 18

35	O 14	Similar to O 13, but horses lower and charioteer taller	37	O 14	
	R 26			R 28	Head similar, but hair more curly and wreath has extra leaves; three dolphins
		16.74 * Hague = Brandis, Canessa 1922, 389			16.77 * London 1939 = Nav. 4, 230 = Soth. 17. 7. 1939, 16 = Hirsch 32, 60 = Bourgey 5. 12. 1932, 70 Brussels
36	O 14				
	R 27				
		17.30 * Hirsch 33, 342			
		- Syracuse			

(37)	-	Feuardent 26. 5. 1914, 158	(39)	16.66	Cambridge SNG IV 972
	16.40	Hartwig 682 = Hamb. 98, 224		-	Ciani 7. 5. 1955, 190
	17.27	Hess-Leu 1968, 114		16.90	Hess 202, 2269
	17.00	Hirsch 32, 59		15.13	London 1928
	17.04	Jameson 597		16.72 *	London Lloyd 1605, Cefalù hoard
	17.08	Nav. 4, 229		17.19	Paris Luynes 921
	17.22	Nav. 6, 363		16.90	Paris 2389
	17.36	Paris Luynes 920		16.90	Leu Sicilia 142 = Priv. coll. Y
	-	Pennisi		17.23	M MAG 43, 1970, 58
	17.20	Sambon 19. 12. 1907, 490		-	Palermo, Selinunte hoard 1877
	17.18	Sartiges 453 = Sambon 19. 12. 1907, 489 = Hess 1954, 50			(Kokalos VII, tav. xx, 2)
38	O 14		40	O 14	
	R 29	Similar to R 28, but hair wavy instead of curled; three dolphins		R 31	Head r., similar to R 28, R 29; three dolphins
	17.58 *	ANS		16.97 *	Hirsch 14, 173
	17.17	ANS = Bourgey 23. 5. 1910, 30 = do. 7. 6. 1909, 133		-	ANS
	17.00	Cahn 65, 66 = Egger 28. 11. 1904, 221 = Hess 194, 132		-	Feuardent 26. 5. 1914, 156
	17.16	Nav. 6, 364 = Cahn 84, 184 = Schulman 16. 12. 1926, 107	41	O 15	Quadriga r., horses rearing up, charioteer leaning forward
	-	Baranowsky 1934, 4647		R 32	Head r., similar; four dolphins
	17.20	Helbing 12. 4. 1927, 1656		17.16	Brussels H 822
	17.30	Hirsch 33, 344		17.23	Cambridge SNG IV 970 = Montagu I 101
	17.10	Hirsch 33, 343		17.24 *	London BMC 7
	16.63	London 1918		16.76	Hess-Leu 1956, 87
	-	Paris 2388		-	Priv. coll. Y
	-	Paris Vogué 656		17.16	Priv. coll. X
	17.08	Lewis = Hess-Leu 1956, 88		17.10	Lewis
	17.04	Weber 1297 = Feuardent 16. 11. 1937, 48		17.17	Nav. 10, 195
	17.20	Rosenberg 64, 1391		17.03	Syracuse, Pachino 21
	-	Soth. 6. 7. 1921, 201	42	O 16	Similar, horses more compact, charioteer leaning forward
39	O 14			R 32	
	R 30	Head l., leaf wreath, triple earring; three dolphins		17.13 *	London BMC 6
	17.18	Boston 270		-	Paris A-V 274
	-	Berlin		17.20	Paris Luynes 917
	17.07	Benson 189	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

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

Plate 19

47	O 16		48	O 17	Quadriga r., horses rearing up, charioteer high and leaning far forward
	R 36	Similar to R 35		R 37	Similar, larger head
	17.26	Cahn 66, 146		16.44	AC 16, 489
	17.23	Hess-Leu 1958, 89		17.01	Berlin
	- *	Glasgow, Coats 2892		16.95	Egger 46, 78 = Soth. 6. 7. 1921, 202
	-	ANS		17.50	Hess-Leu 1957, 131
	17.10	Hirsch 31, 158 = do. 15, 1008		16.36	London Lloyd 1599, Cefalú hoard
	17.12	Jameson 598		17.05	Münzh. Basel 10, 146
	17.07	Lewis		17.06 *	Nav. 5, 863 = Hess 207, 134 = Merzbacher 1910, 216 = Hess-Leu 1958, 110 = Egger 28. 11. 1904, 224
	17.15	London Lloyd 1600		17.04	O'Hagan 125 = Bourgey 29. 5. 1911, 40
	17.09	Münzh. Basel 8, 184		-	Priv. coll. Y
	16.64	Nav. 12, 705		-	Sartiges 97
	-	Glend. 1955 Laval, 227		17.14	Syracuse Pachino 20 (Annali 5-6, tav. viii, 1)
	17.25	Paris Luynes 919			
	17.10	Sandeman 29			
	17.07	Stockholm KMK = Nav. 10, 194			
	-	Ryan 1495			
	17.20	Sambon 19. 12. 1907, 491			
	-	Palermo hoard 1936			
	17.00	Syracuse, Pachino 19			
	-	Syracuse, Gagliardi 1003			

49	O 18	Quadriga r., horses very large and spread out, charioteer more upright	55	O 19	Head l., compact; wreath earring dolphins normal
	R 31			R 42	Head l., compact; wreath earring dolphins normal
	17.13	* London BMC 15	16.80	AC 16, 487	
	-	ANS	16.66	Hague	
	-	Berlin	12.17	Hague	
	-	Glend.-Seaby II 1929, 187	17.24	Hirsch 32, 58 = Hindamian 176	
50	O 18		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	
	R 38	Similar to R 31; dolphin behind head turns towards head	17.15	Lewis	
	16.82	* Hess-Leu 1962, 125	17.18	London BMC 16	
	17.23	Schulman 6. 6. 1930, 28	17.05	* Lockett SNG III 742	
	-	Naples Santangelo 7750	16.85	MMAG 43, 1970, 60	
51	O 18		17.04	Nav. 5, 870	
	R 39	Similar to R 31, earring more forward	17.16	Nav. 12, 706	
	16.90	London Lloyd 1603 (rev. tooled; earring removed)	17.00	Priv. coll. X	
	17.23	* Leu 1965	-	Polese, Canessa 719	
52	O 18		16.78	Schulman 31. 5. 1938, 75	
	R 40	Similar to R 39, slightly larger	-	Stiavelli 156	
	16.71	* Boston 269	-	Syracuse	
	17.35	* London 1918	56	O 19	
	16.96	Paris Delepierre	R 43	Similar to R 39, earring larger	
	-	Palermo	-	Berlin	
	17.17	Munich	16.32	* AC 16, 488 = Headlam 180 = Ciani 14. 6. 1934, 13	
	17.43	Münzh. Basel 4, 560	16.87	Hess 208, 105	
53	O 18		17.17	Merzbacher 2. 1. 1909, 2492 = Balmanno 42 == Soth. 6. 12. 1907, 30	
	R 41	Similar, more compact head	57	O 19	
	16.50	SC 1927, 1146	R 44	Similar to R 42; corn ear below	
	17.00	* London Lloyd 1601, Cefalú hoard	16.69	New York Met., Ward 359	
	16.82	Priv. coll. X	16.95	* London 1968	
	-	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			

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

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