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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 Nissoria 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§mlqrt = 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 ²³, 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-

²³ 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 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 ²⁴, 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 R\smlqrt, 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 'r k (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 25; 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 26. 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 27 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.

²⁴ NSc 1958 and Annali 5/6, pp. 296 ff.

²⁵ On Herakles at Selinus, cf. L. Lacroix, Monnaies et colonisation, pp. 34 ff.

²⁶ A. di Vita, Archaeologia Classica V, pp. 39-47.

²⁷ Annali 5/6, pp. 306 ff.

It must be added that Lilybaion (Marsala) would have been a possible candidate for Rimlart 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 qrthdst 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 qrthdst 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 grthdst refers to a city of Cyprus, probably Kition 28. 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 R šmlqrt 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 I 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.

²⁸ 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 şyş coin series for Panormos, as I do, then this must surely exclude the possibility suggested by Cavallaro.

Three obverse dies O₄-6 occur in this group, and each has the regular Nike above. O₄ is not linked, but O₅ and O₆ are linked by R₆. The group has a certain homogeneity on account of the style of R₄, 5, 8 (nos. 5, 6, 10 respectively) which all follow an identical prototype with sphendone and stars. However the treatment of R₆ (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 R₆ and thus give a date in the third quarter of the century (see below 70) ²⁹, No.9 (R₇) has another hair rendering but the face is similar to that of R₆. 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).

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 \$y\$\$ 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

²⁹ 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. ³⁰; 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 § mlqrt 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§mlqrt no. 7–8 (R 6) with Thermai nos. 3–5, specimens of which were also contained in the Gibil Gabib hoard.

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 \$y\$ nos. 19–20 31. 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.

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:

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).

³⁰ ANS Centennial Publication, pp. 372-374.

³¹ 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 affinites 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 R\smlqrt 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 32. 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 sys Panormos – on prototypes from the «Carthage» mint, though at the same time adding its own characteristic touches.

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

69-70 (Plate 21)

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 \$y\$\$ 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 33 and clearly confirm that the bulk of the Ršmlqrt 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 334 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 Ršmlqrt 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 34 contained a single specimen, of no. 39. Finally the Cammarata hoard 35 appears to have included the same main elements, among them some specimens of the R 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).

³³ On hoards of the time of Agathokles, cf. Essays Robinson, p. 151.

³³a A. Di Vita, Annali 5/6, 1958/59, 125 ff.

³⁴ Noe 2 946, NSc 1877, also Kokalos VII, tav. 20, 2.

³⁵ Noe 2 193.

71-73 (Plate 21)

This is a strange group which stands quite apart from the main series of the mint and cannot be accomodated 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 ³⁶; the latter had also influenced the style of the latest groups of the sys 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 š m l q r t and «Carthage» cannot be looked on as significant either for dating or for place of mintage.

36 Cf. SNG II 1476-1480.

I	(O I)	7944449	31 f		ከ
2	(O 2)	T994449		O 13-15) (O 16)	198449
4	(O 3) incomplete	973449		(O 17)	/9947 mg
5	(O ₄)	4984449	49	(O 18) incomplete	9 9 4 44 9
6	(O ₅)	494449	54	(O 19)	to944449
8	(O 6)	7991 4 49		(O 20) incomplete	9 4 449
II	(O ₇) incomplete	4 4 49 9	62	(O 21) incomplete	P ~ #) P P †
12	(O8)	49849449		(O 22)	h98441419
18	(O 9)	ተባዔ「ሣሣ부ባ	68	(O 23)	T9\$ 449
21	(O 10) incomplete	984449	69	(O 24)	19969749
23	(O 11) incomplete	9754449	71	(R 54)	1984444 1
25	(O 11) incomplete	99/4449	73	(R 55)	1 0
26	(O 12)	497449			

I O I Fast quadriga l.; double ex. line, legend in ex. Above, caduceus (but no Nike)

R I Head of Melqart bearded, r. with wreath and earring.

16.32 * London 1874 (Castellani)

Enlarged x 2: plate 21

2 O 2 Similar, no Nike, nothing in field above; double ex. line and legend in ex.

R 2 Female head r., with single-drop earring; three (?) dolphins

16.31 * Lockett SNG III 740 =

Priv. coll. Y

- O 2
 R 2' Same die with addition of corn grain behind head
 16.77 * Leu 1965
 O 3 Similar to O 2
 R 3 Similar head, with ampyx, single-drop earring; at least four dolphins, possibly a fifth behind head
 - possibly a fifth behind head

 * Uncertain sale cat.

 (no. 111)
- 5 O 4 Quadriga r. with rearing horses, Nike above. Legend in ex.

(5) R₄ Female head r. with sphendone ampyx, triple earring; three dolphins 16.77 * Boston add. 24 = Hess-Leu 1959, 115 = Jameson 1903 6 05 Similar, but horses lower and charioteer more forward. Legend in ex. Similar to R 4, three dolphins R 5 17.01 * ANS 05 7 Larger head r., with sphendone and R 6 ampyx, hair knobbly, triple earring; three dolphins 16.20 Paris Luynes 922 Luneau 220 16.76 * London Lloyd 1598 = Nav. 6, 361 8 06 Similar, horses very large and charioteer very high. Legend in ex. O 7 Quadriga l., horses in close forma-ΙI tion; Nike above (?); double ex. line, legend in ex. R 9 Large head with waved hair, triple

17.05 * Sambon 19.12.1906,494 Syracuse, Mineo hoard 25284 06 9 **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 06 10 R 8 Head with sphendone and ampyx similar to R 4-5, triple earring; four dolphins 17.02 * Cambridge McC 2487 = Hirsch 21, 592 Hess-Leu 1960, 102 17.24 16.72 Priv. coll. X Palermo

16.45 * AC 14, 90 = Helbing

1930, 108 = Cahn 75,

228 = Glendining

31. 1. 1951, 58

Plate 16

(14)

(8) R6

earring; two dolphins visible in front 16.82 * Hirsch 19, 161 08 Similar, horses more level; single 12 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 08 13 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

0.8 15 R 12 Large head with rolled hair, ampyx, single-drop earring; two dolphins 17.15 * Paris 946 16 08 R 13 Head similar to R 9, R 11, triple earring; three dolphins Nav. 5, 871 16.65 16.40 Egger 41, 121 16.97 Hunter xvi, 5 MMAG 1951, 219 16.52 London BMC 19 17.07 * Pennisi 16.65 Hague 17.00 Berlin Salton 08 17 Similar to R 13, etc., but with

08 R 11' Same die, but worn and partly altered (nose, mouth and hair) 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)
		16.90	Priv. coll. $Y = Lockett$	
			SNG III 739	
		17.00	Hirsch 30, 350 = Sam-	
			bon 19. 12. 1907, 500	
		17.32	Hess-Leu 1957 132	
		16.94	Berlin	
18	09	Quadriga	al., horses regular and low	
		to groun	dline; double ex. line,	
		legend r	'smlqrt	
	R 15	Head wi	th sphendone (decorated	
		with star	s) and ampyx, earring with	
			dants; three dolphins	21
		16.66	ANS = Nav. 5, 874 =	
		Luneau		
		16.47	Paris Luynes 927	
			Nav. 4, 283	
		16.90	Hague	
		17.02 *	London BMC 2	
		_	Syracuse, Nissoria 54542	
		17.00	Syracuse, Gibil Gabib	
			48296	
19	09			22
	R 16	Head r.	, triple earring; no dol-	
			n front, crescent?	
			London Lloyd 1596	
		_	Pennisi	
		_	Baranowsky 1929, 1554a	
20	09		, -9-9, -954	
	R 10	Die mor	re worn	
			Jameson 596	
			Cambridge McC 3053	
			AC 16, 486	
		- 0. J.		

(20)		16.41	Oxford 2148 = Hirsch
		•	29, 83 = do. 19, 160 =
			Schulman 21. 10. 1912,
			19 = do. 7. 6. 1937, 96
		16.29	ANS = Münzh. Basel 4,
			561 = Cahn 71, 205 =
			Cahn 80, 113
		17.08 *	Priv. coll. Y = Lockett
			SNG III 738 = Nav. 4,
			232
		16.82	Hess-Leu 1958, 111
21	O 10		with horses very high
		similar t	o O 6
	R 12	-	And and
		16.75	, , ,
			16. 12. 1926, 111
		16.95	AC 16, 491
		16.68	Priv. coll. $Y = Jameson$
			600 = Egger 10. 12. 1906,
			87
		17.10 *	London BMC 20
22	010		
22	R 17	Similar t	o R 12; two dolphins
	K 1 /		Cambridge McC 3052 =
		1/.13	
		-((-	Sambon 19. 12. 1907, 493
		16.60	Cahn 66, $145 = MM$
			AG 1951, 218

O 11 Quadriga l., horses low and regu-23 lar, charioteer amidships, double ex. line, legend in ex. On l. caduceus R 14 16.71 O'Hagan 124 17.04 * London BMC 21 16.90 Paris Luynes 923 24 OII R 18 Similar to R 14 16.99 * AC 16, 492 16.65 SC 1927, 1148

7
25 O 11
R 19 Similar to R 18
17.25 * Stiavelli 158 = Merz-bacher 1910, 218 =
Sotheby 21. 4. 1909, 85
17.14 ANS = Locker-Lampson
65 = Cahn 60, 188 =
Nav. 12, 709
26 O 12 Quadriga l. with horses low regular and compact, charioteer in normal position and leaning forward. Double ex. line. Legend in

Hess-Leu 1959, 114

16. 12. 1926, 110

Nav. 6, 366 = Platt 3. 4. 1933, 68 = Schulman

ANS

17.17 16.85

17.05

ex.

10 10 10						
(26)	R 20	Head l., hair wavy and neatly	(31)		17.30	Glend. 3. 12. 1929, 704
		rolled, triple earring; three dol-				= Rosenberg 8. 2. 1924,
		phins				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 =
	R 21	Similar; three dolphins				Egger 28.11.1904, 197
		16.81 * London BMC 18				= Helbing 2. 3. 1928,
28	O 12					123 = Hirsch 20, 121
	R 21'	Same die, but dolphin behind head			_	Helbing 8. 11. 1928,
		changed into fish			0	3716
		16.55 Hirsch 34, 155 =			17.28	Oxford 2147 = Lockett
		Jameson 1895				SNG III $743 = \text{Nav. I}$,
		16.69 * London RPK			16.82	426
		17.09 Hess-Leu 1957 = Priv.			10.62	Hague
		coll. Y	32	O 13		
		Palermo		R 25	Head 1.	with leaf wreath, etc.;
20	O 12				two dolj	phins visible in front
29	R 22	Head l. with corn ear wreath, triple			16.98 *	London 1919 = Weber
	K 22	earring; three dolphins				1477
		16.52 * London BMC 5	2.2	O 13		
		- ANS	33	R 26	Similar	to P a t
		16.60 Paris Delepierre		R 20	17.00	Hirsch 14, 172
20	O 12	Tana Deseptence			18	Hirsch 16, 232
30		Head r. with corn ear wreath, triple			17.04	Oxford 2149
	R 23	earring; two dolphins			17.04	Oxioid 2149
		16.75 Priv. coll. X	34	O 13		
		16.91 Munich		R 27	Similar	to R 24 and R 26
		16.95 Berlin			16.96	Hirsch 19, 158
		17.23 * Nav. 6, 362			17.12 *	Nav. 10, $193 = \text{Nav. 4}$,
						231 = Merzbacher 2. 11.
31	O 13	Quadriga r., horses rearing up but	×			1909, 2490
		regular; single ex. line			16.72	Hirsch 34, 154
	R 24	Head r. with leaf wreath, triple	N.		17.22	Hague
		earring; three dolphins			H	Proschowsky 362
		16.88 Egger 41, 120 = Hess			17.00	Nav. 12, $703 = \text{Hess}$
		28. 4. 1938, 523				18. 3. 1918, 187 =
		17.30 * London Lloyd 1604				SC 1927, 1143
		Plat	<i>i</i> 18			
35	O 14	Similar to O 13, but horses lower	37	O 14		
5 5	(*)	and charioteer taller	5 6	0.98	Head si	milar, but hair more curly
	R 26					eath has extra leaves; three
		16.74 * Hague = Brandis,			dolphin	S
		Canessa 1922, 389				London 1939 = Nav. 4,
36	O 14				0.0	230 = Soth. 17. 7. 1939,
	D 07					16 - Wirsch 22 60 -

16 = Hirsch 32, 60 =

Bourgey 5. 12. 1932, 70

Brussels

17.16

R 27

17.30 * Hirsch 33, 342

Syracuse

(37))	_	Feuardent 26. 5. 1914,	(39))	16.66 Cambridge SNG IV 972
			158			- Ciani 7. 5. 1955, 190
		16.40	Hartwig 682 = Hamb.			16.90 Hess 202, 2269
			98, 224			15.13 London 1928
		17.27 17.00	Hess-Leu 1968, 114 Hirsch 32, 59			16.72 * London Lloyd 1605, Cefalú hoard
		17.04	Jameson 597			17.19 Paris Luynes 921
		17.08	Nav. 4, 229			16.90 Paris 2389
		17.22	Nav. 6, 363			16.90 Leu Sicilia 142 = Priv.
		17.36	Paris Luynes 920			coll. Y
		_	Pennisi			17.23 MMAG 43, 1970, 58
		17.20	Sambon 19. 12. 1907, 490			 Palermo, Selinunte hoard
		17.18	Sartiges 453 = Sambon			1877
			19. 12. 1907, $489 = \text{Hess}$			(Kokalos VII, tav. xx, 2)
			1954, 50	40	O 14	
		17.21	Schulman 7. 6. 1937, 97		R 31	Section of the sectio
		16.94	Syracuse, Pachino 22			three dolphins
	_	17.07	MMAG 43, 1970, 57			16.97 * Hirsch 14, 173 - ANS
38	O 14	C: 1				- Feuardent 26. 5. 1914,
	R 29		to R 28, but hair wavy in-			156
		17.58 *	curled; three dolphins	41	O 15	
		17.17	ANS = Bourgey 23.5.	41	01)	rioteer leaning forward
		-/•-/	1910, 30 = do. 7.6. 1909,		R 32	Head r., similar; four dolphins
			133		3	17.16 Brussels H 822
		17.00	Cahn 65, 66 = Egger			17.23 Cambridge SNG IV 970
			28. 11. 1904, 221 = Hess			= Montagu I 101
			194, 132			17.24 * London BMC 7
		17.16	Nav. 6, 364 = Cahn 84,			16.76 Hess-Leu 1956, 87
			184 = Schulman 16. 12.			- Priv. coll. Y
			1926, 107			17.16 Priv. coll. X
		_	Baranowsky 1934, 4647			17.10 Lewis
		17.20	Helbing 12.4.1927, 1656			17.17 Nav. 10, 195
		17.30	Hirsch 33, 344		0 (17.03 Syracuse, Pachino 21
		17.10	Hirsch 33, 343 London 1918	42	O 16	Similar, horses more compact, charioteer leaning forward
		_	Paris 2388		R 32	rioteer leaning forward
			Paris Vogué 656		IC 32	17.13 * London BMC 6
		17.08	Lewis = Hess-Leu 1956,			- Paris A-V 274
			88			17.20 Paris Luynes 917
		17.04	Weber 1297 = Feuardent	43	0 16	
			16. 11. 1937, 48		R 33	Similar; earring larger, dolphin
		17.20	Rosenberg 64, 1391			behind head turns inwards
		-	Soth. 6. 7. 1921, 201			16.75 Berlin
39	0 14					17.18 Boston = Warren 419
	R 30		leaf wreath, triple earring;			16.95 Cambridge McC 3051 =
		three do	70002			Carfrae 48
		17.18	Boston 270 Berlin			16.96 Cambridge SNG IV 969
		- 17.07	Benson 189			17.13 AC 17, 142 16.94 Hague
		-/.0/				10.74 11mgue

(43)16.75 Hirsch 20, 120 016 45 R 31 16.87 Hirsch 26,72 17.04 * Bompois, Holm Gesch. 17.08 Hess-Leu 1960, 101 Siz. III, viii, 9 16.75 * Lockett SNG III 744 17.03 Paris Luynes 916 016 Paris 376 46 Priv. coll. Y R 35 Closely similar to R 34, but earring 17.17 more vertical 16.91 Hunter Syracuse 56 016 44 17.05 * London BMC 12 R 34 Similar to R 33, but earring swings Berlin forward Glend. 13. 11. 1957, 29 ANS 17.34 16.68 Munich **ANS** 17.03 16.85 Nav. 5, 864 17.16 Cahn 68, 1153 = Schul-Nav. 5, 868 17.22 man 16. 12. 1926, 109 Nav. 5,865 = Glend.16.75 Glend.-Seaby II, 186 = 17.05 Seaby III, 1198 Münzh. Basel IV 562 Paris 375 17.10 * Paris Vogué Sambon 26. 4. 1925, 157 Pennisi = do. 19. 12. 1907, 492 17.20 Ratto 26. 4. 1909, 1175 Palermo Rosenberg 72, 174 17.35 Weber 1296 17.10 16.52 SC 1927, 1145 Syracuse, Gagliardi 1002

Plate 19

016 O 17 Quadriga r., horses rearing up, cha-47 48 R 36 Similar to R 35 rioteer high and leaning far forward 17.26 Cahn 66, 146 Similar, larger head 17.23 Hess-Leu 1958, 89 R 37 * Glasgow, Coats 2892 16.44 AC 16, 489 ANS 17.01 Berlin Hirsch 31, 158 = do. 15,Egger 46, 78 = Soth. 17.10 16.95 1008 6. 7. 1921, 202 Jameson 598 Hess-Leu 1957, 131 17.12 17.50 Lewis 16.36 London Lloyd 1599, 17.07 London Lloyd 1600 Cefalú hoard 17.15 Münzh. Basel 8, 184 Münzh. Basel 10, 146 17.09 17.05 17.06 * Nav. 5, 863 = Hess 207, 16.64 Nav. 12, 705 134 = Merzbacher 1910, Glend. 1955 Laval, 227 Paris Luynes 919 216 = Hess-Leu 1958, 17.25 17.10 Sandeman 29 110 = Egger 28.11.Stockholm KMK = Nav.17.07 1904, 224 10, 194 O'Hagan 125 = Bourgey 17.04 Ryan 1495 29. 5. 1911, 40 Sambon 19. 12. 1907, 491 Priv. coll. Y 17.20 Palermo hoard 1936 Sartiges 97 Syracuse, Pachino 19 Syracuse Pachino 20 17.00 17.14 Syracuse, Gagliardi 1003 (Annali 5-6, tav. viii, 1)

49	O 18	Quadriga r., horses very large and	55	O 19	
		spread out, charioteer more up-		R 42	Head 1., compact; wreath earring
		right			dolphins normal
	R 31	ă ă			16.80 AC 16, 487
		17.13 * London BMC 15			16.66 Hague
		– ANS			12.17 Hague
		- Berlin			17.24 Hirsch 32, 58 = Hinda-
		 GlendSeaby II 1929, 			mian 176
		187			16.92 Hirsch 34, 152 = Bour-
50	O 18				gey 1913, 18 = Sambon
	R 38	Similar to R 31; dolphin behind			19. 12. 1907, $488 = \text{Hess}$
		head turns towards head			Vogel 1929, $131 = Hess$
		16.82 * Hess-Leu 1962, 125			202, 2268 = Hess 209,
		17.23 Schulman 6. 6. 1930, 28			15 = Hess 7.3.1935,
		 Naples Santangelo 7750 			251
51	O 18				17.15 Lewis
		Similar to R 31, earring more for-			17.18 London BMC 16
	,	ward			17.05 * Lockett SNG III 742
		16.90 London Lloyd 1603			16.85 MMAG 43, 1970, 60
		(rev. tooled; earring			17.04 Nav. 5, 870
		removed)			17.16 Nav. 12, 706
		17.23 * Leu 1965			17.00 Priv. coll. X
52	O 18				– Polese, Canessa 719
<i>)</i> –	R 40	Similar to R 39, slightly larger			16.78 Schulman 31. 5. 1938, 75
	1140	16.71 * Boston 269			– Stiavelli 156
		17.35 * London 1918			Syracuse
		16.96 Paris Delepierre	56	O 19	
		- Palermo		R 43	Similar to R 39, earring larger
		17.17 Munich			– Berlin
		17.43 Münzh. Basel 4, 560			16.32 * AC 16, 488 = Headlam
	O 18	4, 700			180 = Ciani 14. 6. 1934,
53	R 41	Similar, more compact head			13
	141	16.50 SC 1927, 1146			16.87 Hess 208, 105
		17.00 * London Lloyd 1601,			17.17 Merzbacher 2. 1. 1909,
		Cefalú hoard			2492 = Balmanno 42 ==
		16.82 Priv. coll. X			Soth. 6. 12. 1907, 30
		- Syracuse, Megara	57	O 19	
		Hyblaea 1967		R 44	Similar to R 42; corn ear below
	0				16.69 New York Met., Ward
54	019	Quadriga I., horses in fan-like for-			359
	D	mation; double ex. line	1		16.95 * London 1968
	R 39	16.77 * ANS = Merzbacher			
		5. M			
		2. II. I909, 2493	1		

58	O 19	1		(64)		16.88	London 1938
	R 45		rather stylised; triple			17.20	Paris Luynes 926
		20-20-20	three dolphins Priv. coll. Y			16.62 16.78	Priv. coll. X Priv. coll. Y
		_	Pennisi			16.80	Vienna
		_	remisi			17.19	Syracuse, Pachino 23
59	O 19					1/.19	Palermo
	R 46		similar to R 42; four			_	Burel 106
		dolphins				_	Canessa-de Nicola 1950,
			London 1938				112
~		17.15	Cambridge SNG IV 973	65	O 22	Ouadriga	a r., rearing horses, cha-
60	O 19			ر	0		nigh and leaning forward;
	R 47		peculiar shape, wreath				r. line, legend normal
			ing normal; four dolphins		R 49		, , ,
		16.84 *	London BMC 14			16.79	Baranowsky 4, 319 =
		_	Berlin				Ratto 24. 6. 1929, 108
		-	Feuardent 26. 5. 1914,			- *	Leu 1965
		17.05	157 Nav. 5, 869	66	O 22		
61	0.00		5.0		R 50	Large he	ad r.; four dolphins
01	O 20	ex. line	r., very compact; double			17.27 *	Boston add. 23 = Hess-
	R 46	ex. IIIIe					Leu 1959, 113
	10 40	1650 *	Lockett SNG III 741 =			16.27	London Lloyd 1602,
		10.59	Priv. coll. Y				Cefalú hoard
<i>(</i> -	0	0 1:	CALL CALLANDER CONDUCTION CONTROL			17.33	London BMC 10
62	U 2 I		a r., long sagging horses;			17.06	Nav. 5, 866
	R 45	double e.	x. line; legend reversed			17.10	AC 15, 284 = Ratto
	IC 45	17 22 *	Helbing 19. 11. 1912, 155				26. 4. 1909, 1176 =
63	O 21	17.25	19. 11. 1912, 133				Cahn 60, 189 = Hirsch
03	R 48	Head #	very stylised; three dol-			_	34, 153 Paris 377
	K 40	phins	very stylised, tiffee doi-			17.35	Walcher Molthein 420 =
		_	London BMC 13			-1.55	Hirsch 29, 82 = MMAG
		15.10	Allotte de la Fuye 1925,				43, 1970, 59
		-)	124	67	O 22		
		17.24	Nav. 6, 365 = Feuardent	07	R 51	Head r	similar to R 32; four
			9. 5. 1910, ₂₄₅ = Schul-			dolphins	
			man 21. 10. 1912, 18			16.65	London 1969
		_	Paris 2387			17.12 *	Nav. 10, 192 = Nav. 1,
64	O 21						425 = Egger 10; 12.
~-	R 49	Head I	wreath, triple earring;				1906,86
	12	four dol				-	Platt 3. 4. 1933, 67
		16.87	Hamb. 98, 225 = SC	68	O 23	Similar	to O 22, but horses lower
			1927 1147 = Polese,			and char	rioteer leans further for-
			Canessa 1928, 720			ward	
			720		R 51		
		16.88	Hess-Leu 1966, 171			17.20 *	
		16.85 *	London Lloyd 1606,			17.16	Nav. 5, 867
			Cefalú hoard			17.50	Paris Luynes 918

69	O 24	Quadriga	l., horses low on ground,	(70)		16.50 16.76	Hague Hirsch 32, 62 = Hinda-
	R 52	Head r.,			10.70	mian 178	
	10,2				16.61	Jameson 599	
		15.60	rring; three dolphins Brussels H 821			16.77	Lewis
		Control of the contro	London 1938 (BMQ			S 14 5	London BMC 3
		-1.5-	1938, xlix, 2)				Lockett SNG III 745
		17.28	London BMC 4				(rev. extensive break
		17.00	Nav. 12, 707				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
		16.76	Stockholm KMK = Nav.		-	dolphins	ACCIONATION DE SERVICIO DE SER
			10, 196 = Hirsch 21, 590		R 54	Quadrig	a r., double ex. line;
			= Luneau 221			legend r	
		-	Martinetti Nervegna 793			15.55	Berlin
		16.85	Egger 26.11.1909, 149			=	Berlin
		16.91	Lewis = Glend. Hall			16.58 *	ANS = White King 55
			1950, 61				= Bourgey 29. 5. 1911,
		-	Palermo				39
		-	Priv. coll. Y	72	O 26	Head 1.;	two dolphins visible in
		-	Sambon-Canessa 22. 6.	•		front	
			1906, 175		R 54		
		_	Syracuse, Megara			16.37 *	London BMC 17
			Hyblaea 1967	73	O 26		
70	O 24				R 55	Walking	g horse r., palmtree behind;
	R 53	Similar t			below le	etters 'ayin and gimel	
		17.04	AC 16, 490			16.50 *	Copenhagen,
		16.95	Cambridge SNG IV 971				Thorwaldsen
			= Bunbury 527			-	Priv. coll. Y