The lives of both Pyrrhos of Epiros and his granddaughter Nereis touched Sicily. Pyrrhos married Lanassa, the daughter of Agathokles, and led the Sicilian Greeks against the Carthaginians from 278 to 276 B.C. (1). Nereis became the wife of Gelon II of Syracuse in the late 230's (2). For this reason the coinage of Syracuse in the third century B.C. has a place in the first volume of P. R. Franke's *Die antiken Münzen von Epirus* (3). In a pre-

(*) Thanks are due to Prof. E. Sjöqvist and Prof. R. Stillwell, codirectors of the Princeton University Excavations at Morgantina, for permission to cite unpublished material from the excavations, to Dr. Tony Hackens, who kindly read the article in manuscript, and to the following directors of numismatic collections: Prof. Dr. A. Suhle, Berlin, and his assistant Dr. E. Erxleben, Prof. A. Stazio, Naples, and his assistant Dr. E. Pozzi, Dr. M. T. Curò, Syracuse, and Dr. A. Tusa-Cutroni, Palermo. The photographs are due to the courtesy of the Museo Nazionale, Syracuse and the Museo Nazionale, Naples.


(2) Polybios, 7:4:5; Livy, 24:9:8; cf. Lévêque, *op. cit.*, p. 680-681. The date of the marriage is indicated by the age of their son Hieronymos, who was fifteen years old when he became king in 215 B.C., Polybios, 7:3; Livy, 24:4:1. For the date of Hieronymos' accession cf. A. Schenk von Stauffenberg, *König Hieron der Zweite von Syrakus*, Stuttgart, 1933, p. 90.

(3) Wiesbaden, 1961, hereafter *Epirus I*. The following abbreviations to standard works will also be used:


IG: *Inscriptiones Graecae*. 

EAGLE AND FULMAN ON

THE COINS OF SYRACUSE (*)

(PLANCHE I)
vious article Franke treated the mint of Hieron II of Syracuse in some detail (4), and the Sicilian chapters he now adds to his impressive study of the Epirote coinage interpret two Syracusan issues in relation to Pyrrhos and Nereis. Unfortunately, new archaeological evidence, some of it published almost simultaneously with Franke's book, requires a review of his suggestions regarding the Syracusan coinage. The following paragraphs, however, must not be taken as a criticism of the thorough numismatic scholarship embodied in this first volume of a corpus of Epirote coins.

THE ZEUS HELLANIOS COINAGE

The device of a standing eagle perched on a thunderbolt as a Syracusan coin type is the object of Franke's analysis. The type first appears at Syracuse in the following bronze series, which is the point of departure for his argument (5).

obv.: ΔΙΟΣ ΕΛΛΑΝΙΩY: young male head r. or l., wearing laurel crown.
rev.: ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ: eagle standing l., clutching thunderbolt (6).

AE, 19-21 mm. Head, p. 54, B, pl. 10, 7 and 8; Gabrici, p. 180-181, no 316-346.

In Franke's opinion this coinage belongs to the two years of Pyrrhos' control of Syracuse during the campaigns of 278-276 B.C. (7). In making this attribution he consciously set aside the evidence of a hoard discovered at Gela in 1888, which consisted of a quantity of gold jewelry and the following coins (8):

SNG: Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum.
(5) ... Der Kult des Zeus Hellanios in Syrakus... , Epirus I, p. 265-275.
(6) A rare variation of the type is represented by a specimen in Oxford (Balliol College Collection) which has the ethnic on the obv. and no legend on the rev., Num. Chron., 1920, p. 121, fig. 6.
(7) The same attribution was made by W. Giesecke, p. 111, but solely on the similarity in weight between this series and the bronze of Pyrrhos.
(8) Noe, no. 1094. The discrepancy in the total number of coins reported
Carthage (fourth century):
obv.: Head of Tanit r.
rev.: Horse standing r.

Gela (?) (Period of Timoleon, 346 B.C. and ff.):
obv.: Warrior r., sacrificing ram.
rev.: Horse galloping r.

Gela (Period of Timoleon):
obv.: Head of Heracles r.
rev.: ΕΛΩΙΩΝ, head of Zeus r.
AE *Gabrieli*, p. 133, no 23-25 (*).

Syracuse (Dionysios II, 367-345 B.C.) (*):
obv.: Head of Apollo r.
rev.: ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ, tripod.
EL *Head*, p. 28, pl. 6, 2 and 3.

Syracuse (ca. 330-317 B.C.)
obv.: ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ, head of Apollo r.
rev.: Pegasus r.
AE *Gabrieli*, p. 174, no 121-137.

Syracuse (Agathokles, 317-289 B.C.)
1. obv.: ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ, head of Athene r.
   rev.: Horsemann r. (*1).
   AE *Gabrieli*, p. 178, no 231-232.

2. obv.: ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ, head of Persephone r.
   rev.: Bull butting 1. (*2).
   AE *Gabrieli*, p. 174-177, no 143-221.

3. obv.: ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ, head of Artemis l. or r.
   rev.: ΑΓΑΘΟΧΛΕΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ above and below a thunderbolt (*3).
   AE *Gabrieli*, p. 178, no 233-257.

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(11) The date is uncertain; the coin may belong to the 320's.
(12) The subdivision of the Persephone head/Bull series to which these coins belong was not specified.
Post-Agathokles:
1. obv.: \( \Sigma \Pi \Pi A K O \Sigma I \Omega \), head of Persephone l. or r.
   rev.: Biga r.
   AE GABRICI, p. 179-180, no 288-315. 5
2. obv.: \( \Delta I O \Sigma \ E \Lambda \Lambda \Lambda I O Y \), young male head l.,
   wearing laurel crown.
   rev.: \( \Sigma \Pi \Pi A K O \Sigma I \Omega \), eagle standing l., clutching
   thunderbolt.
   AE GABRICI, p. 180-181, no 316-339. 2
   Illegible 5

The circumstances of the discovery, as described to Orsi by
the finder, are important.


This description of the circumstances under which the find was made gains its significance from the postwar excavation of Gela. Under the directorship of Prof. D. Adamestianu and Prof. P. Orlandini of the Italian Antiquities Service, every section of the ancient city has come under investigation and has contributed to the construction of a complete archaeological record of its history. The multiple evidence thus assembled by the excavators shows that ancient urban life at Gela ended in 282 B.C., when Phintias, tyrant of Akragas, sacked the city and deported the population. Naturally, stray surface finds of the period

(14) For the most recent bibliography of these excavations cf. Notizie Scavi, 1960, p. 68-69.
(15) Phintias died before Pyrrhos reached Sicily. In Diodorus 22:7:1-2 his death is linked with that of Hiketas and in 22:10:1 Akragas has passed into other hands before Pyrrhos' arrival. The abandonment of Gela, to which incursions of the Mamertines may have contributed, Diodorus 23:1, must precede the removal of the population to the new city of Phintias which the tyrant named in his own honor, Diodorus 22:2:2. The date 282 is a modern approximation (due to J. Schubring, Rhein. Museum, 28, 1873, p. 70) but it must be very nearly right, and it has been preferred by the excavators. For
of Hieron II and of later date have been made, but such objects have never come to light in association with the final, archaeologically documented destruction of 282 B.C.

The coins in the hoard found in 1888 date its composition to after 289, the year of Agathokles' death, and because of its find spot «in the ruins of a small house in a wall angle under a stone» it is all but certain that this miscellaneous collection of coins and jewelry was gathered together and hidden by some Geloan during the siege of Phintias. Moreover, other evidence from the new Gela excavations also shows that the Zeus Hellanios bronzes were being struck before 282 B.C.

In their most recent excavation report, which appeared almost simultaneously with Franke's volume, Orlandini publishes three bronzes of the Zeus Hellanios type. The coins come from different structures. The first two were discovered during the excavation of a private house (16). The third was retrieved from a hypocaust of the fourth-century baths (17). Both buildings were destroyed in the sack of 282. The archaeological evidence, therefore, leaves no doubt that the Zeus Hellanios bronzes were being issued at Syracuse at least four years before the arrival of Pyrrhos in Sicily.

Although Franke's chronology for the Zeus Hellanios bronzes cannot be accepted, it is important not to neglect the grounds of his argument. The first, presented not as a proof but as circumstantial confirmation, is the cult of Zeus Hellanios, whom Franke sees as the ancestral god of the Molossian royal house (18). It is


The current archaeological exploration throws further doubt on circumstances surrounding the discovery of the gold stater of T. Quinctius Flamininus now in the Berlin Collection. The coin was said to have been part of a hoard found at Gela, which also contained a gold signet ring and gold staters of Philip II and Alexander III of Macedon, Notizie Scavi, 1960, p. 170, n° 8 and 9, fig. 8g; for the date cf. p. 171.

(16) Notizie Scavi, 1960, p. 170, n° 8 and 9, fig. 8g; for the date cf. p. 171.
(18) Epirus I, p. 269-270.
true that Aigina had a cult of Zeus Hellanios at an early date and that Pyrrhos traced his ancestry to Aiakos, the legendary king of Aigina. But Franke brings forward no evidence for the practice of the cult in Epiros and none to connect it with the Molossian dynasty except these Syracusan coins. Once the Zeus Hellanios coins are proved to be earlier than Pyrrhos' arrival in Sicily, the whole line of reasoning falls to the ground.

From Plutarch and Diodorus, moreover, we learn something of the political imagery employed by Pyrrhos in his Sicilian wars (19). The god he honored was Herakles, the mythical conqueror of the island. Pyrrhos' principal coinage struck in bronze at Syracuse placed a Herakles head on the obverse with the Macedonian Athene Alkidemos as the reverse type (20).

More noteworthy are Franke's observations on overstrikes. The Zeus Hellanios bronzes are overstruck on two groups of coins (21). The first are issues of the last period of Agathokles' coinage, 304 to 289 B.C. The second belongs to the following type:

- **Obv.**: ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ, head of Persephone l. or r.
- **Rev.**: Biga r.


Pl. 1, 2. (Naples, Museo Nazionale, n° 5494).

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(20) **Head**, p. 57, n° 3 and 4, pl. 10, 11; **Gabriici**, p. 182, n° 347-362, pl. 5, 15.

Gabriici does not attribute this type to Pyrrhos but to Hiketas. However, his conviction that the Herakles obv. in the pre-Mamertine bronze of Messana (ibid., p. 148, n° 20 and 21, pl. 5, 25) depended on the Syracusan type does not take account of the widespread Alexander coinage, which even penetrated central Sicily, cf. **Nœ**, n° 21, 227 and 779, and on which both series probably depend artistically. On Athene Alkidemos and Pyrrhos cf. A. B. Brett, *Athena Alkidemos of Pella*, in Am. Num. Soc. Museum Notes, 4, 1950, p. 55-72, especially p. 66-67. This and the other bronzes which Pyrrhos struck in his own name in Sicily (**Gabriici**, p. 182, n° 363-378, pl. 5, 16-19) represent a substantial coinage for the two years of his campaigns in the island.

(21) **Epirus I**, p. 267 and 268. Franke brings up to date the observations of A. Holm on overstrikes on bronze of the immediately post-Agathoklean period, *Geschichte Siciliens im Alterthum*, 3, Leipzig, 1898, p. 683-692. The overstrike of Zeus Hellanios obv. head r. over Zeus Hellanios obv. head r., **Epirus I**, p. 268 h) must be a kind of double striking like p. 267 g) and only shows that the two types were issued simultaneously.
This latter type is also overstruck on coins of Agathokles which date after 304 B.C. (22) and is closely related to the following series in gold and silver:

1. obv.: ΣΥΡΑ ΚΟΣΙΩΝ, head of Persephone l.
   rev.: In exergue, ΕΠΙ ΚΕΤΑ; biga r., driven by Nike.
   AV, ca. 16-18 mm. HEAD, p. 53, pl. 10, 1 and 2; SNG II (Lloyd), 1523.
   Pl. I, 3. (Syracuse, Museo Nazionale, n° 5757).
   A rare variant lacks the reverse inscription.
   (Cat. Hirsch n° 13, 1905, p. 29, n° 456).

2. obv.: ΣΥΡΑ ΚΟΣΙΩΝ; head of Persephone l.
   rev.: Quadriga l., driven by Nike.
   AR, ca. 24 mm., 15 litra. HEAD, p. 54, pl. 10, 3 and 4; SNG II (Lloyd), 1524.
   Pl. I, 4. (After HEAD, Pl. 10, 14).

Stylistically, the longhaired Persephones of the obverses of the silver and bronze are similar (23). Although the reverses give less

(22) Arguing from Agathokles’ relations with Ptolemy I, HOLM, op. cit., p. 686, saw the eagle of the Zeus Hellanios bronzes as an imitation of the Ptolemaic reverse and attributed it to the period before Hiketas, i.e., to Agathokles’ late coinage, 304-289 B.C. Because of the overstrokes Holm was also obliged to give the Persephone head/Biga bronze to Agathokles. In the light of the following discussion, however, neither of these attributions can be accepted.

It may be noted here that the Syracusan bronze type Herakles head r./Lion r., above, club (HEAD, p. 49, n° 1; pl. 9, 3) must be later than the series Artemis head r./Fulmen, rev. legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ. Gabrieli was aware of this fact from an overstrike in Palermo, p. 178-179, n° 272, and his interpretation of this coin is supported by another example in Naples, Museo Nazionale, Raccolta Santangelo n° 8836, on which a fulmen and the letters ΛΕ (of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ) are clearly visible below the Herakles head/Lion overstriking. Other overstrikes summarized by FRANKE, loc. cit., note 21, show that the Herakles head/Lion coins are earlier than the Zeus Hellanios bronzes. Gabriiel, therefore, attributed them to the post-Agathoklean Democracy. It is equally possible, and in view of the present discussion more probable, that the Herakles head/Lion issues were made under Agathokles in the late 290’s B.C. If so, in the omission of the royal title from the Herakles head/Lion issues we may have evidence that Agathokles’ restitution of the Syracusan democracy, which according to Timaios was a death-bed decision (Diodorus 21:16:4), was actually the result of a matured and considered policy.

(23) Both are derived from the obv. of the silver issued during Agathokles’ African wars, cf. HEAD, p. 48, n° 1; pl. 9, 1 and SNG II (Lloyd) n° 1488-1500.
ground for comparison (24), the bigae of the gold and bronze are also comparable. Typologically as well, the three issues form a unit, and the reverse inscription of the gold seems to place them under Hiketas, who controlled Syracuse from 288 or 287 to 279 or 278 B.C. (25).

However, the excavations at Gela prove that the Zeus Hellanios bronzes were being struck before 282. Thus we find posed in a still clearer fashion the problem which Franke states as a fundamental objection to the attribution of both the Zeus Hellanios and the Persephone Head/Biga bronzes to Hiketas. Can Hiketas be credited with striking the Zeus Hellanios pieces over his own earlier Persephone Head/Biga bronzes? A review of the events immediately following Agathokles’ death may help to clarify this question.

Hiketas did not come to power as the immediate successor of Agathokles. His position was gained as general of the Syracusan democracy in the struggles which followed the king’s death: the war against Menon of Segesta and the subsequent civil war between the Syracusans and Agathokles’ Campanian mercenaries (26). One or two years elapsed before Hiketas’ tyranny replaced the democracy. Unlike Agathokles, Hiketas did not strike coins as a personal right. Rather, from the legend ΕΠΙ ΙΚΕΤΑ appearing on the gold, it would appear that the fiction of the democracy was never given up and that the new ruler exercised his power as a republican magistrate. The coinage of Hiketas, therefore, is best viewed as a second phase of the coinage of the post-Agathoklean democracy.

The first coins struck after Agathokles’ death consisted of a small issue in bronze which followed the types of the principal issue of the final period of Agathokles’ coinage (304-289 B.C.), obv.: ΣΩΤΕΙΠΑ, head of Artemis r.; rev.: ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΩΣ ΒΑ-

(24) For similar reverses of Agathokles and Hieron II cf. Head, pl. 8, 2 and 4; pl. 11, 1.
(25) Hiketas’ tyranny lasted 9 years, Diodorus 22:7:2. It was ended by the coup of Thoinon, which was the prelude to Pyrrhos’ intervention. The exact date is unknown, but it cannot be earlier than 279.
(26) Diodorus, 21:18. These Campanians were the Mamertines, who, after their expulsion from Syracuse, seized Messana and continued to pose a military threat to Syracuse until both cities became allies of Rome during the First Punic War.
EAGLE AND FULMEN ON THE COINS OF SYRACUSE

$\Sigma\Lambda\varepsilon\omega\Sigma$ above and below a thunderbolt (27), pl. I, 5. These first republican issues were the following:

1. obv.: $\Sigma\Omega\Theta\Pi\Lambda$, head of Artemis l.
   rev.: $\Delta\iota\sigma\sigma\varepsilon\varepsilon\rho\pi\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ above and below a thunderbolt.
   AE, 21-22 mm. HEAD, p. 52, n° 1; pl. 9, 14; GABRICI, p. 179, n° 275, pl. 5, 5.

2. obv.: $\Sigma\Omega\Theta\Pi\Lambda$, head of Artemis l. or r.
   rev.: $\Sigma\Upsilon\Pi\alpha\kappa\sigma\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$ above and below a thunderbolt (28).
   AE, 15-22 mm. HEAD, p. 49, n° 2 and 3, pl. 9, 4 and 5.
   Pl. I, 6. (Naples, Museo Nazionale, n° 5720).

The following pieces of the same series look back to the $\Delta\iota\sigma\sigma\varepsilon\varepsilon\rho\pi\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ issues of the Timoleontic democracy in the third quarter of the fourth century.

3. obv.: Head of Zeus l.
   rev.: $\Delta\iota\sigma\sigma\varepsilon\varepsilon\rho\pi\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ above and below a thunderbolt.
   AE, 21-22 mm. GABRICI, p. 179, n° 277, pl. 4, 22.

4. obv.: $\Delta\iota\sigma\sigma\varepsilon\varepsilon\rho\pi\omicron\upsilon\gamma$, head of Zeus l.
   rev.: $\Sigma\Upsilon\Pi\alpha\kappa\sigma\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$ above and below a thunderbolt.
   AE, 21-22 mm. HEAD, p. 52, n° 2; pl. 9,15; SNG (Copenhagen), 783.
   Pl. I, 7. (Syracuse, Museo Nazionale, n° 6588).

Coins of these four types are far from common. Within the last decade a new means of measuring their rarity has been made available by large-scale archaeological exploration in Sicily, particularly at Gela and at Morgantina (29). Numismatic evidence collected in a controlled excavation has a great advantage over

(27) HEAD, p. 51, n° 1, pl. 9, 13; GABRICI, p. 178, n° 233-257, pl. 5, 12. The example illustrated is in Syracuse, Museo Nazionale n° 5474.

(28) Head regarded this coin as the first stage of the Agathoklean Artemis head/Thunderbolt series. However, the same reverse type also occurs with a Zeus head obv. (n° 4 below). The Zeus head obv. then appears in combination with the rev. type $\Delta\iota\sigma\sigma\varepsilon\varepsilon\rho\pi\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ and thunderbolt (n° 3 below). Such close interconnection of legends suggests that Gabrici's attribution of the entire group to the post-Agathoklean democracy is correct, Monetazione del bronzo, p. 81-82; P. LEDERER, Numismatika, 4, 1938, p. 25-26.

calculations of rarity based on private or museum collections since it more closely approximates the statistician's "random sample". Only regional archaeological museums approach an excavation's unbiased collection of material. The normal museum or private coin cabinet is always biased in selecting coins. They wish to build complete series of issues, they choose for preservation, and they are often willing to disregard common varieties of which their holdings are already representative. The archaeological evidence, however, gives a better idea of the relative numbers of coins in circulation.

At Gela, which existed as a city until 282 B.C., no examples of these first four issues of the post-Agathoklean democracy have been reported (30). At Morgantina only eight coins of this group have been found compared with 70 bronzes of the last period of Agathokles' coinage (304-289 B.C.) (31). None of these coins formed part of a hoard so that we may exclude the danger of a preponderance of one type resulting from the discovery of a particular hoard or hoards.

Thus, in comparison with the coins struck in the fifteen years before it was issued, the ad hoc bronze of the democracy does not appear to have been a large coinage nor to have lasted any great period of time. A good parallel is at hand in the bronze coinage of Hieronymos of Syracuse, which was all issued in the thirteen months between his accession (early 215) and his assassination (early 214). Similarly, the duration of the first coinage of the post-Agathoklean democracy should be measured in months, if not in weeks. This is all the more true since the first silver and gold (with the ethnic and no mention of Hiketas) struck after Agathokles' death already show the new Persephone Head/Chariot types. The Persephone Head/Biga bronze goes with these issues in the precious metals.

Interesting light is again shed on the size of the Persephone Head/Biga bronze series by the Morgantina excavations. Only twelve pieces of this type have been found (32). On the other hand,

(32) I exclude 5 ancient imitations, GABRIL, p. 180, no 313-315. Again, no examples are published from Gela.
96 Zeus Hellanios bronzes have come to light \(^{(33)}\). It must be allowed that the number of Persephone Head/Biga coins was reduced by their use, together with Agathoklean bronzes, as flans for Zeus Hellanios pieces. The number of control marks appearing on the Persephone Head/Biga coins also marks them as no small issue \(^{(34)}\). However, the excavation data gives some measure of the relative size of the issues of Zeus Hellanios and Persephone Head/Biga coins. It would accord with a reconstruction of the minting sequence in which the Persephone Head/Biga bronzes were replaced rather soon after their introduction by the Zeus Hellanios type. We need not look far to explain the substitution. It lies in the beginning of the tyranny of Hiketas.

Like Agathokles before he assumed the title of king, the new tyrant’s penetration of the coinage was cautious \(^{(35)}\). The only visible sign of his position was the legend ΕΠΙ ΚΕΤΑ added to the gold. But Hiketas also had before his eyes the example of Agathokles’ use of the bronze coinage as a means of propaganda. After taking the title of king, Agathokles placed a thunderbolt surrounded by the legend ΑΓΑΘΟΣΚΑΛΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ on the reverse of his gold and bronze \(^{(36)}\). The title is not found on the silver, which kept the Corinthianizing types of an Athene head and Pegasos \(^{(37)}\). We may surmise that Hiketas acted in exactly the same way. His office was discreetly stated on the gold type of the democracy. The silver continued unchanged. The bronze, however, was another matter, and the propagandistic meaning of the Zeus Hellanios type will be clear if we remember the character of the opponents Syracuse faced after Agathokles’ death.

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\(^{(33)}\) I exclude 12 ancient imitations, GABRICH, p. 181, no 340-346. Once again, none of these coins are from a hoard.

\(^{(34)}\) A wide collection of control marks is given by GIESECKE, p. 160-171, and by HEAD, p. 54. I intend to treat the nature of these letters in a future study of the coinage of Hieronymus. For the present it suffices to state that I do not believe them to be magistrates’ marks or any form of temporal or sequential numbering.


\(^{(36)}\) For the gold cf. HEAD, p. 51, no 1 ; pl. 9, 10 ; SNG II (Lloyd), 1510 ; for the bronze, cf. pl. 1, 5.

\(^{(37)}\) Since there are no silver coins inscribed ΑΓΑΘΟΣΚΑΛΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ, the Pegasos, HEAD, p. 51, no 1 and 2, pl. 9, 10 and 12 ; SNG II (Lloyd), 1514-1517, are simply the best candidate to fill the gap.
The entry of the Carthaginians on the side of Menon of Segesta brought the war in the west to a halt on conditions unfavorable for Syracuse. There followed the civil conflict between the Syracusans and Agathokles' Campanian mercenaries (38). Of the two the civil war was certainly the more terrible and the more immediate. Such Italic mercenaries had been hired for Sicilian wars since the fifth century and had grown to constitute a cultural as well as a military threat to the Greek population of the island. Indeed, on the arrival of Timoleon in Sicily (346 B.C.) the Greek language was in danger of dying out under the pressure of the Italic intruders (39). The civil war was therefore a struggle to preserve the Hellenism of Syracuse. A truce was finally arranged under which the Mamertines left the city. Syracuse was thus saved from the barbarians within the walls, and the new tyrant was presented with the occasion for honoring Zeus Hellanios, who had been invoked since the Archaic Age as the defender against barbarian foes (40). The result was the substitution of the Zeus Hellanios bronze type for the Persephone Head/Biga series, and the latter now takes its place as the bronze of the post-Agathoklean democracy struck before the beginning of Hiketas' tyranny. We may summarize the issues of the years following the death of Agathokles as follows:

289 — few weeks or months

*ad hoc* bronze of the new democracy. Types: obv.: heads of Artemis and Bearded Zeus; rev.: thunderbolt. Legends: ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ, ΔΙΟΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΥ, ΣΥΡΑ ΚΟΣΙΩΝ.

Balance of 289 until beginning of Hiketas' tyranny in 288 or 287.

AV, AR, and AE issues of the democracy. Types: obv.: head of Persephone; rev.: quadriga or biga. Legend: ΣΥΡΑ ΚΟΣΙΩΝ.

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(38) DIODORUS 21 :18.
(39) PLATO, *Ep.* 8, p. 353E.
(40) Cf. JESSEN, in PAULY-WISSOWA-KROLL, *Real-Encyclopädie* 8, 1, 1912, col. 176. FRANKE, *Epirus I*, p. 271, also attributes this symbolism to the coinage, though he thinks of it in relation to Pyrrhos' campaign against the Carthaginians. To forestall any objection to the theory we have presented regarding the significance of the Zeus Hellanios coinage based on the similar Mamertine issue, M. SÄRSTRÖM, *A Study in the Coinage of the Mamertines*, Lund, 1940, Series II, I, I would recall Säström's detailed stylistic comparison, p. 44-46, which shows that the Mamertine pieces do not copy the Syracusan Zeus Hellanios type.
288 or 287, beginning of Hiketas' tyranny which lasts until 279 or 278.

AV of the democracy kept with the addition of rev. legend ΕΠΙ ΙΚΕΤΑ.

AR of democracy continued.

AE: Zeus Hellanios type instituted with reference to the expulsion of the Mamertines from Syracuse.

Gelon II

Two silver issues were struck in the name of Hieron II's son Gelon, who exercised royal prerogatives but died just before his father in 216/215 B.C. (41). These coins may be described as follows:

1. obv.: Head of Gelon I.
   rev.: ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ; biga r., driven by Nike.
   AR ca. 20-23 mm. 8 litra. HEAD, p. 63, no 1; SNG (Lloyd), 1548.
   Pl. I, 8. (Syracuse, Museo Nazionale, no 5715).

2. obv.: Head of Gelon I.
   rev.: ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ; eagle standing r. clutching thunderbolt.
   AR ca. 15-16 mm. 4 litra. HEAD, p. 63, no 2; SNG II (Lloyd), 1549-1552.
   Pl. I, 9. (Syracuse, Museo Nazionale, no 5718).

The legends of these coins have been variously explained and different verbs suggested to give a meaning to the two nouns. Hill supplied ἀνέθηκαν and Giesecke ἐξομητα, with which, of course, we must also understand νομίζεται: thus, « The Syracusans dedicated (struck) the coins of Gelon » (42). Holm saw the coin legend in relation to a statue of the prince and supplied εἰκόνα ἀνέθηκαν: thus, « The Syracusans dedicated a statue of Gelon » (43).

While the intention of these restorations is basically correct, the meaning may be better understood with the help of the fol-

(41) Polybius, 7:8:9; Livy. 23:30:11.
(43) Holm, op. cit., note 21, p. 695 to no 477. While other cities occasionally wrote the ethnic in the nominative, cf. B. V. Head, Historia Numorum 2, Oxford, 1911, p. lxv, this double usage is, to my knowledge, unique.
lowing observations. Two kinds of control marks appear on these issues. First, there are the usual single or double letter control marks found on all series of the coinage of Hieron II and his family. On most but not all of the issues of Gelon there also occur the letters BA. This abbreviation, like the other control letters, was intended for the use of the fiscal officers in their auditing of the struck silver. It was a matter of indifference whether the public understood them or not. But I believe we can guess the significance easily enough if we read \( \text{βασιλικός ἀγεμόνιος} \): royal silver (44).

The royal treasury unobtrusively furnished the major part of the silver for the coinage, but some of it came from a different source, funds of the city of Syracuse. The coinage was civic, although depending on a royal subvention, and was struck with both the nominative ethnic and the name of Gelon. The difference of case is important. \( \Gammaέλωνος \) should be understood as belonging to a genitive absolute. We may compare the inscription \( \text{IG} 14, \text{n}^o \text{2} (\text{Syll.}^3, \text{n}^o \text{427}). \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{βασιλέως ἀγεμόνιος} & * \\
\text{Τέρωνος Τερσιλέως} & \\
\text{Συρακόσιοι θεοίς πάσι.} & *
\end{align*}
\]

* άγεμονεύου, Dittenberger

Under Hieron, son of Hierokles, King and Commander, the Syracusans (dedicated this) to all the gods.

We must insist on the importance of the nominative ethnic in the legend. The coinage bears Gelon's portrait on the obverse. Read alone, his name is the same possessive genitive found on any other royal Hellenistic coinage, including the issues of his father. Most of the silver was provided by the royal treasury. Nevertheless, the Syracusans had given some of the bullion, and the addition of their ethnic in the nominative as the subject of

(44) I agree with Franke, Probleme, p. 75, that we cannot read \( \text{Βασιλέως} \). If the design of the coinage had called for the royal title, it would have been written out in full. As a fiscal symbol, however, it served to keep the coin struck from royal bullion separate from that struck from the civic contribution. The check system is the same as that used at Athens in the New Style coinage to designate coins struck from silver produced by a given mine and at Corinth in the fourth century for a similar purpose. Cf. M. Thompson, Mines or Workshops, in Am. Num. Soc. Museum Notes, 5, 1952, p. 35-48; O. Ravel, Les Poulains de Corinthe, 2, London, 1948, p. 46-57.
whatever verb we wish to understand with it (ἐξοψαν, ἀνέθηκαν, ἔδοσαν) marks this coinage as struck under civic initiative and issued under civic authority. It is typical of the policy of Hieron II that the citizens should be accorded the courtesy of a civic coinage (45). The compliment is returned by the honor accorded to Gelon on these pieces of 4 and 8 litra struck with the aid of a royal donation.

The coins inscribed ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ are not the only civic issues of the reign of Hieron II. With them we must consider the following silver pieces.

1. obv.: Head of Apollo l.
   rev.: ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ; wingless Nike advancing to front, in r. hand a half-unrolled scroll, in l. a palm branch (46).
   AR ca. 14-15 mm. 2 1/2 litra. HEAD, p. 72, no 8; SNG II (Lloyd), 1571.
   Pl. I, 10. (Syracuse, Museo Nazionale, no 27555).

2. obv.: Head of Artemis r.
   rev.: ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ; owl facing.
   AR ca. 11-12 mm. 1 1/4 litra. HEAD, p. 72, no 9; SNG II (Lloyd), 1572.
   Pl. I, 11. (Syracuse, Museo Nazionale, no 5663).

Except for Giesecke, who placed them under Hieron II, numismatists have united in attributing these coins to the last Syracusan democracy (214-212 B.C.). Although in agreement with Giesecke as to their date, I do not follow his metrological arguments, which

(45) Cf. H. Berve, König Hieron II, in Abh. Ak. München, 47, 1959, p. 60-85. In a similar fashion, of a group of three portrait statues of Hieron at Olympia, two were set up by the Syracusans, while the tyrant’s sons dedicated the third, Pausanias 6:15:6.

(46) The figure is Nike, not Isis as E. S. G. Robinson, SNG II (Lloyd), 1571 and Franke, Probleme, p. 80. She lacks the proper costume, especially the Isis knot, and a sistrum is held from the bottom, not the top. Cf. Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités, 3, p. 577 ff., fig. 4095 ff. For the wingless Nike type cf. K. Regel, Terina (66. Berliner Winckelmannsfeste, 1906), no 1, pl. II, a, p. 66 ff. and the statuette in Leningrad, O. Waldhauer, Die Antiken Skulpturen der Ermitage, 3, Berlin, Leipzig, 1936, no 297, fig. 47 = Renach, Répertoire, 3, 1904, p. 117, no 9. Likewise, one class of copies of a fifth-century Victory, in which H. Schrader saw the Nike of the Phidian cult statue of Zeus at Olympia, was made without wings. Cf. Jahrb. d. Deutschen Arch. Inst., 56, 1941, especially p. 13-38.
have been discredited (47). My grounds are first, the control letters employed and, second, the legend.

The Apollo Head/Nike and Artemis Head/Owl coins, which in any case must go together, exhibit the following control marks (48):

Apollo Head/Nike: A, AΦ, E, Κ, Φ.
Artemis Head/Owl: A, E, Κ, ΜΙ, Φ.

Four out of five are identical.

In the ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΘΕΛΩΝ σειρία we find these control letters:

Portrait/Biga: A, AΦ, E, Κ, ΜΙ, Φ (and eight others on the rev.)
Portrait/Eagle: A, E, Κ, ΜΙ, Φ (and also Σ).

Every control mark found on the Apollo head/Nike or Artemis head/Owl series also occurs in the Gelon coinage. The Portrait/Eagle issue reproduces the control marks of the Artemis head/Owl coinage exactly. Additional letters and monograms appear on the Portrait/Biga pieces, but I would interpret these as reflecting a larger and longer issue. This observation is borne out by the table of relative rarities of the issues of Hieron II and his family which has been compiled by Franke (49). As noted above (p. 13-14) such a table as this based on general museum collections tends to disguise rather than intensify the relative difference in rarity of any two given series. Consequently, that the Portrait/Biga coins are twice as common as the Portrait/Eagle pieces, according to Franke’s tabulation, is the sign of a far greater disparity. The additional control marks of Portrait/Biga coins, therefore, should not be permitted to obscure the significance of the identity of the six control marks, A, AΦ, E, Κ, ΜΙ, Φ, common to the four series. They are a strong indication that all these coins belong together.

This conclusion finds support in the control mark series which we find under Hieronymos and of which part continues into the succeeding democracy (214-212 B.C.). These are the following:

(47) Probleme, p. 79-81. The odd denominations are not out of place in the Hieronic monetary system. The Philistis coinage was issued in 18, 16, and 5 litra pieces, Head, p. 65-66.

(48) Although not complete in all details, as shown by Franke, Probleme, passim, Giesecke’s collection of material remains the best, p. 122-123 and 134.

(49) Probleme, p. 70.
AV and AR ΑΦ, ΔΑ, ΖΑ, ΚΙ, ΜΙ, ΣΩ, ΦΙ.
ΑΕ ΑΠ, ΤΑ, ΦΘ (50).

There are no single letter control marks in the Hieronymos coinage, nor are there any in the issues of the succeeding democracy in bronze or in silver of 16, 12, 8, 6, and 4 litra, all of which have the genitive ethnic ΣΥΠΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ (21). In the face of these facts, it would be methodologically unsound to attribute coins bearing the ethnic ΣΥΠΑΚΟΣΙΩΙ and single letter control marks to the democracy of 214-212 B.C. The total evidence indicates that all coins bearing the nominative ethnic ΣΥΠΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ go together and that they were issued under civic authority during the reign of Hieron II. The absence of the mark BA on the silver of 2 1/2 and 1 1/4 litra would suggest that these coins were struck solely with civic funds and therefore the direct reference to the royal house given by the word ΓΕΛΩΝΙΣ is also omitted. However, these small silver pieces were designed with the ΣΥΠΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΓΕΛΩΝΙΣ series in mind, for, as we shall see below, their reverse types complete the symbolic program of the larger pieces.

From the above it necessarily follows that the further series of coins bearing the legend ΣΥΠΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ were struck under Hieron II by the civil authority of the city. The first type is as follows:

obv. : Head of Athene I.
rev. : ΣΥΠΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ or ΣΥΠΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ : ΧΙΙΙ.
Control letters, ΑΦ, ΕΛ, Κ, Ε.
AR, ca. 10-11 mm. 3 chalkoi. Hεαd, p. 72, no 10, pl. 13, 11; Giesekke, p. 123, no 11 and 11a, pl. 25, 3.
Pl. I, 12. (Syracuse, Museo Nazionale, no 5675).

The second is:

obv.: Head of Herakles I. or r.
rev.: ΣΥΠΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ or ΣΥΠΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ : ΧΙΙ.
Control letters, ΑΦ, Κ.

(50) Hεαd, p. 70. The series ΔΑ is rare. It occurs only in AR didrachms, and of these only two examples are known to me, one in New York, American Numismatic Society, the other in private hands. In Head's list of the bronze, ΦΘ should be corrected to ΦΘ. All single letter control marks reported for the Hieronymos coinage which I have been able to check are due to wear or misreading.

(51) Hεαd, p. 71-72, no 1-6.
AR, ca. 8-9 mm. 2 chalkoi. Head, p. 64, n° 3; Giesecke, p. 123, n° 12 and 12a, pl. 25, 4 and 5. Pl. I, 13. (Syracuse, Museo Nazionale, n° 5719).

Both types present considerable difficulties of interpretation. They are generally attributed to the last Syracusan democracy (214-212 B.C.) except by Giesecke, who gave them to Hieron II, and by Head, who saw the Herakles head obverse as a portrait of Gelon II and dated the coin accordingly. But with the exception of ΕΛ in the Athene head series, the control letters are those also found in the other ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ issues, and, as we have noted above, single letter control marks, here E and K, are characteristic of the reign of Hieron II rather than that of Hieronymos or the post-Hieronymos democracy.

The reverse types, :: X III and X II, are commonly interpreted as if composed of Roman numerals. Giesecke, however, has suggested that the X stands for χαλκούς and that in one case it is flanked on either side by the numeral three, :: and III, while in the other it is followed by the numeral two, II. The Athene head coin is thus a three-chalkous piece and the Herakles head coin is a two-chalkous piece. This interpretation has much to recommend it. It avoids postulating the use of Roman numerals in pre-Roman Syracuse, and it has the inestimable advantage of agreeing with the relative weights of the coins (ca. 0.5 gm. for the Herakles head pieces, ca. 0.75 gm. for the Athene head coins).

Although issued by the civic authority under Hieron II, the pedestrian nature of the reverse types and the lack of uniformity of the reverse legend, indiscriminately ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ or ΣΥΡΑ-ΚΟΣΙΩΝ, make it clear that these coins were not struck as part of the symbolic program in honor of Gelon II around which the other ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ issues were designed. It is to this symbolic program that we must now turn our attention.

(52) Giesecke, p. 123-128; Head, p. 64, n° 3; for other literature cf. Franke, Probleme, p. 80. The example in Aberdeen (Newham Davis Collection) with the reverse legend ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ X II is now considered a forgery.
(53) In general following Th. Mommsen, Geschichte des römischen Münzwesens, Berlin, 1860, p. 85.
(54) Giesecke, p. 126-127.
(55) Ibid., p. 123, n° 11-12a.
Franke has devoted the second Syracusan chapter included in *Die antiken Münzen von Epirus I* to the eagle reverse of the 4 litra 
ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΠΕΛΩΝΩΣ series (56). He argues that the eagle is the symbol of Zeus Hellanios, that the issue was first struck for the marriage of Gelon and Nereis, and that the symbolism refers to the dynastic ambitions of Hieron II and his son in Epiros. As shown above, the argument from the Zeus Hellanios bronzes of Syracuse to an Epirote cult of Zeus Hellanios is invalid. Unfortunately, this is the only support Franke brings forward for his theory that the eagle of the Gelon coinage refers to the Molossian royal house and to Epiros; no other evidence is offered for the practice of the cult among the Epirote royal family. It is true that Hieron II and his family honored the god (57), but like Hiketas, Hieron II came to power after a victory over the Mamertines (58). We have already seen Hiketas’ use of Zeus Hellanios with reference to the Mamertine defeat, and similar reasons no doubt governed Hieron’s dedication.

Thus we are left with the following facts. Gelon and Nereis were married in the late 230’s (59). Within a few years before or after this event Nereis’ family, the Molossian dynasty, which had governed through the Epirote League, lost control of the country and their rule was replaced by the Epirote *koinon*.

Historical scholarship has suggested various dates in the 230’s for the birth of the *koinon* (60), but Franke’s date for its beginning is necessarily before the marriage of Gelon and Nereis since he considers that the eagle of the Gelon 4 litra piece is a copy of the reverse of the silver of the Epirote *koinon*. Whether Hieron took an exiled princess for his son’s wife must remain a matter of conjecture. But it is highly dubious that any dynastic ambitions in Epiros were expressed by copying the coin type of the new *koinon* which had replaced the Molossian dynasty. To my mind this idea comes close to suggesting that the French exiles of 1789 could have exchanged the white and gold banner of the Bourbons for the *tricolore*.

(57) *Cf. BCH* 20 (1896) 400 = *Syll. 3*, no. 428.
(59) *Cf. above, note 2*.
(60) The literature is cited in *Epirus I*, p. 281.
The prototype of the Syracusan eagle reverse is not likely to have been the Epirote drachm. The execution of the majority of the koinon's dies is far inferior to the work of the Syracusan engravers. The noble eagles of Ptolemy II are far more likely as a source of inspiration. I find no difficulty in Franke's remark that the Ptolemaic eagle faces left while the Syracusan eagle faces right (61). Copying in intaglio produces a mirror image. But the question of prototype is an unimportant one. If we consider the full symbolic program to which the Gelon coinage belongs we shall find that it was Syracusan in origin and paid no compliments abroad.

The coins in question are the four series of the civic authority with representational reverse types:

obv.: Portrait of Gelon.

rev.: ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ; biga driven by Nike.

obv.: Portrait of Gelon.

rev.: ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ; eagle.

obv.: Head of Apollo.

rev.: ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ; Nike.

obv.: Head of Artemis.

rev.: ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ; owl.

The types of the Portrait/Biga coin belong to the standard issues made in the name of Hieron himself and of Queen Philistis, and served as the 8 litra piece in the Philistis series (62). They were struck in greater quantity than the other civic coins; the number of reverse control marks also suggests that their issue was continued over a longer time.

The reverse types of the other three series are unusual and noteworthy. The 2 ½ litra series with the Apollo head obverse presents on the reverse a Nike advancing with a scroll (63). In the diplomatically astute but unbellicose world of Hieron's Syracuse

(61) Epirus I, p. 279.

(62) HEAD, p. 65-66, no 1 and 2, pl. 10, 6-10; SNG II (Lloyd), 1542-47, 1553-54. For the circulation of the 8 litra Gelon pieces with coins of the Philistis series cf. the hoards from Syracuse, Nov, no 1029, and Notizie Scavi, 1951, p. 319-322.

(63) Apollo had figured earlier on the electrum and bronze coinage of the fourth century, HEAD, p. 28, pl. 6, 2 and 3; p. 31-32, no 15, pl. 7, 12; SNG II (Lloyd), 1434 and 1465-67. For the cult in general cf. B. Pace, Arte e Civiltà della Sicilia antica, 3, Città di Castello, 1945, p. 556-557.
Gelon had no opportunity for military triumphs. It is more natural to see in this Victory the goddess of auspicious beginnings rather than victorious culminations. We may recall that at the beginning of the Second Punic War Hieron II sent a statue of the same goddess to the Roman people as an omen of good luck. The words of his ambassadors are reported by Livy.

\[ \text{Iam omnium primum omnis causa Victoriam auream pondo ducentum ac viginti adferre sese (22: 37: 5).} \]

That first of all as an omen they were bringing a golden Victory of two hundred twenty pounds.

The Victory represented on the coins is also a Victory omnis causa. We may suggest that an appropriate moment for Gelon's appearance on the Syracusan coinage and for such a symbol was his assumption of an active role in the royal government, which occurred about 240 B.C. (64). This interpretation is supported by the reverse types of the two remaining issues.

The Artemis of the Artemis head/Owl series complements the Apollo obverse of the coins we have just considered (65). The owl reverse, however, must be understood with the eagle reverse of the Portrait/Eagle pieces. Together these types recall the omen which signalled out Hieron as the future dynast of Syracuse and which is recorded in Pompeius-Trogus.

\[ \text{Adulescenti quoque prima bella ineunti aquila in clipeo, noctua in hasta consedit (23:4:10).} \]

When (Hieron) as a young man was going into his first campaign, an eagle perched on his shield, an owl on his spear.

Thus, the coinage issued on Gelon's assumption of royal dignity was designed around a program of omens. The Nike, who is the figure of divine and political order as well as of human success (66), stands for the future of the young king. And with her were recalled the omens which accompanied the foundation of the Hieronic dynasty.

(64) The date is an approximation, but must be nearly correct, cf. Berge, op. cit., note 45, p. 61-62.


Such a wealth of interrelated symbolism, which is more like the programs of late Roman republican moneyers than the work of a Hellenistic monarch, stands in sharp contrast to the other issues of Hieron II's reign. The tone he adopted in his coinage was conservative. Yet his purpose was clear: to keep the image of himself, his wife, and his son before the eyes of the Syracusans, and on the occasion of his son's entry into the government, this remarkable issue was struck. Issued by the civic authority, it was presented as a popular tribute of the Syracusans. Discreet in character, it lacked the medallike 32 litra piece in silver which Hieron had struck at the beginning of his reign or the 24 litra piece with which Hieronymos was to mark his coronation (67). But in the presentation of the omens of the royal house, which it brought to the attention of the people, it was a worthy successor to the propagandistic coinages of Timoleon, Agathokles, Hiketas, and Pyrrhos (68).

THE COINAGE OF SYRACUSE AND THE COINAGE OF EPIROS

The foregoing remarks carry a caveat for the use of Die antiken Münzen von Epirus I on the following points:
1) The Syracusan Zeus Hellanios bronzes do not belong to Pyrrhos. Franke's association of the cult with the Molossian royal house is brought into serious question.
2) The Portrait/Eagle coinage of Gelon II has no connection with his marriage to Nereis of Epiros about 234/233 B.C. The issue belongs ca. 240. The beginning of the Epirote koinon cannot be dated by the Syracusan coins.

The results of this analysis, however, are not completely negative. In addition to suggesting a new arrangement of some issues of Hieron II, the identification of the control marks which appear on the Syracusan coinage of ca. 240 will, I hope, serve as a beginning for future studies of Hieron's coinage as a whole. The complex of control marks in use at the end of his reign can be ascertained from the coinage of Hieronymos, which continued the system of his grandfather. The early coinage of Hieron has become clearer due

(67) HEAD, p. 62, B, pl. 11, 3; and p. 70, pl. 12, 10.
to the work of Franke, and further comparison between the control marks of these issues and those of Pyrrhos and Hiketas may establish their order with greater precision. Finally, the use of these three starting points together may allow us to reconstruct the minting sequence of the entire reign.

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RÉSUMÉ

Aigle et foudre sur les monnaies de Syracuse

Dans cet article, il est procédé à un nouvel examen des monnaies de Syracuse qui ont fait l'objet de discussions dans l'ouvrage de P. R. Franke, Die antiken Münzen von Epirus, I, Wiesbaden, 1961.

Les séries de bronze portant au droit ΔΙΟΣ ΕΛΛΑΝΙΟΥ, jeune tête masculine laurée à g., et, au revers, ΣΥΡΑ ΚΟΣΙΩΝ, aigle à g. tenant un foudre dans les serres, doivent appartenir à Hikétas plutôt que, selon Franke, à Pyrrhus pendant les deux années où ce dernier a exercé son contrôle sur Syracuse durant ses campagnes de 278-276. Cette nouvelle constatation découle de l'examen d'un trésor découvert à Géla en 1888 et constitué de 75 monnaies (dont 2 du type en question) et d'une grande quantité de pièces d'orfèvrerie. Toute la lumière a pu être jetée sur l'intérêt de cette découverte et sur celui du rapport succinct qui en avait été donné en son temps grâce aux résultats des fouilles récentes à Géla : celles-ci ont montré que la vie urbaine antique cesse à Géla à la suite du sac de la ville en 282 par Phintias et de la déportation de la population. D'autres exemplaires du type ont été découverts dans des maisons de Géla détruites au même moment. Une attention particulière est accordée, dans le cadre des émissions post-agathocléennes, aux surfrappes de ce type sur des monnaies d'Aga-thocle. Les monnaies portant le nom de Zeus Hellanios doivent être mises en rapport avec l'action prohellène et anti-italique qui a conduit à l'expulsion des Mamertins de Syracuse.

Le monnayage en argent de Gélon II avec au droit la tête de Gélon à gauche et, au revers, ΣΥΡΑ ΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ, aigle à droite tenant un foudre dans les serres, ne peut pas être associé
au mariage de Gélon avec la princesse molosse Néréis vers 234/3. La légende doit s’entendre comme l’expression d’un monnayage civique (d’où le nominatif de l’ethnique) « sous Gélon », dans le cadre d’un programme symbolique en l’honneur de Gélon vers le milieu du règne de Hiéron II, son père. Ce programme comporte en fait quatre dénominations. Les deux plus grandes portent la légende complète, tandis que les deux plus petites la montrent en abrégé ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ. Mais l’identité des marques de contrôle confirme l’unité de ces émissions ainsi que la contemporanéité approximative des autres émissions civiques à la légende ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ. Le moment le plus indiqué pour la conception et l’exécution de ce programme symbolique serait l’association de Gélon au gouvernement de son père Hiéron II vers 240, antérieurement à la constitution du koinon d’Épire dont les types ne peuvent donc nullement avoir influencé ceux de Gélon.

Enfin l’examen du système des marques de contrôle trouvées sur ces monnaies et qui se continuent, avec quelques autres, sur les monnaies de Jérôme et même de la démocratie (jusqu’en 212) donnerait des précisions au sujet de la chronologie de ces monnayages pendant le règne de Hiéron et, après lui, jusqu’en 212.
Eagle and Fulmen on the Coins of Syracuse