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Panormos tetradrachms

1-10 (Plate 7)

This first group has already been discussed by Kraay in *Schweizer Münzblätter* 51/54, 1964, 61 ff.¹⁵, and to his material there are two significant additions to make. First, no. 3, where the standing river-god of Selinuntine type is accompanied by a ram instead of a bull; the precise interpretation of this must remain speculative though it inevitably recalls the Zeus Ammon with ram on the gold coins of Cyrene¹⁶. A ram alone occurs on later bronzes of Panormos¹⁷. The female head of no. 4 is copied from Syracuse, apparently from the type of Boehringer Reihe XVIII; while that of a newly-discovered specimen no. 4 A (p. 44, fig.) is clearly modelled the Syracusan type with the sakkos Boehringer Reihe XX. Next come nos. 5-6 with an Apollo head of the Leontinoi-Katana type; and finally nos. 7-10 are copied from Syracusan coins by Eumenes, complete with the Syracusan legend and even the signature of the engraver. The addition of the Punic legend $\varsigma\varsigma$ to obverse die 2 (no. 10) forms a further element in the evidence for this legend; the obverse die in question is also used with reverses inscribed *Panormitikon* (Plate 7, 5-6). So far as this goes, it tends to reinforce our previous discussion (p. 29-31 above).

Kraay places no. 10 at 410 B.C.; it may have to be a little later in view of the dating necessary for the following group (see below) which seems to continue closely from the Eumenes style of the present group.

11-21 (Plate 8)

In this group there are two obverse dies O 3 and O 4 linked by R 13. The «Eumenes» style and the arrangement of dolphins as seen in R 10 (no. 11) forms a natural continuation to the reverse dies of the previous group. Important for the chronology are two reverses copied from Syracusan coins of the period after 412 B.C.: R 13 is based on a head by Eukleidas, Tudeer reverse 35 with sphendone and fivefold earring, and R 14 is clearly derived from Tudeer reverse 38 with the topknot. The last-mentioned Syracusan coin must be of c. 410-405, so that as the Punic imitation cannot be earlier it seems most feasible to start the present group at c. 405 at earliest; this may indicate that the previous group (nos. 1-10) should finish a little later than 410, where Kraay placed no. 10 with the first Punic legend. The remaining

¹⁵ Kraay, nos. 1-2 = my nos. 1-2; Kraay, nos. 3-9 = my nos. 4-10.

¹⁶ L. Naville, *Monnaies d'or de la Cyrénaïque*, nos. 69-76. — The resemblance may perhaps go further, if it is conceivable that the new Panormos coin (no. 3) might be intended to represent Baal Hammon, who may, in turn, have been to some extent assimilated with Ammon (on which cf. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, IV, pp. 281 f.).

¹⁷ Gabrici, *Monetazione del bronzo*, tav. VIII, 13 (II-Ic B.C.?).

reverses seem to show a further adaptation of the «Eumenes» style but without close Syracusan parallels. The direction of the sequence is indicated by the absence of the shell in the exergue of O 4 (no. 16) though it is present on O 4 (nos. 17–21). It is noteworthy that the dolphin above the head is replaced by a fish on R 17 and R 19 (nos. 19 and 21 respectively).

22–24 (Plate 9)

This short group contains only one obverse die O 5 which is I think basically the same at no. 22 and at nos. 23–24; though if so there are numerous alterations, the most important of which is the addition of the column suggested by the Catana die Rizzo xiv 6. The single surviving specimen of no. 22 does not permit any certainty as to whether the crayfish was already present in the exergue. The reverse of no. 22 links by its style to the reverses of the previous group. R 21 however (no. 23) is an original head not closely copied from any obvious Greek prototype, though the hair flowing out behind recalls the head by IM at Syracuse (Tudeer, rev. 45). The epigraphic form of the legend, nowhere completely preserved, is interesting and unusual. Most original is the way in which the dolphin looking out below the neck is for some reason transformed into a corn grain at no. 24; the addition of corn grains can be seen again at nos. 43 and 51, and often at the Ršmlqrt mint. A newly-discovered specimen. no. 24 A (p. 44, fig.) combining obverse O 5 with reverse R 22 (of no. 25) creates a direct link with the following group and satisfactorily confirms the sequence already adopted.

25–43 (Plates 9–10)

This group contains three obverses, of which O 6 is linked to O 7 by R 23, and O 7 to O 8 by R 27. O 6 has no legend, though this is supplied by the reverse, and instead of the normal exergual line there is a maeander pattern. R 22 (no. 25) is a clear copy from the late Eukleidas head with floating hair (Tudeer R 60, etc.), with the addition of a bunch of corn ears behind and the legend $\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma$ in front between the dolphins. The style of the next reverses, R 23–27, is interesting as apparently a free adaptation from the type of Kimon's decadrachms, with a triple-drop earring but without a hair net, and emphasising the characteristic curls on the top of the head. The result admittedly seems remote from Kimon, whereas the final reverses of this group, R 28–29 are in fact closely copied from the Kimonian types. On the obverses O 7 and O 8 the legend is accompanied by a hippocamp which does not come direct from any Greek prototype, though it could conceivably have been suggested by the ketos on the last Himera coin, Rizzo xxi 23, or by the earlier Syracuse ketos.

This group is well represented in the Contessa hoard, buried c. 390–380 B.C. and in the very similar Vito Superiore hoard of similar date¹⁸; this gives a satisfactory

¹⁸ Contessa hoard, *NSc*, 1888, pp. 302 ff. – Vito Superiore hoard, G. Procopio, *Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archaeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli* 27, 1953, 3 ff.

terminus for the series so far examined. The Ognina hoard, buried perhaps a little earlier, apparently contained a specimen of no. 21 from the previous group (by the reference given in *Atti e Mem.* 5, 1925, p. 18, «Hill Sicily x, 10») but this cannot be confirmed¹⁹.

35-41 (Plate 10)

Here there are three obverses, of which the first two O 9 and O 10 are linked by R 30. O 11, the only die of this group on which the legend $\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma$ occurs, is not die-linked with the rest of the group, but the close resemblance between R 33 (no. 39) and R 34 (no. 40) seems to me to establish a sufficiently reliable connexion. O 9 and O 10 have no legend but symbols, ketos and swan respectively. On account of the swan, Lederer (*ZfN* 1924, 284) wished to assign this group of coins to the mint of Camarina. But O 9 and O 10 must nevertheless belong to a Punic mint, as is evident from the addition of a Tanit symbol to O 10 (no. 39), and as has been said the connexion with the $\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma$ coin (no. 40) seems adequately indicated. The style of the reverses in this group is extremely «Greek»; but as so often it is difficult to point to any precise model, though R 33 (no. 39) seems to me to recall strongly the style of Phrygillos at Syracuse (Tudeer, obv. 16) but without the sphendone which is however present on R 35 (no. 41). There is no direct indication of the chronology of this group as none of the specimens have appeared in any hoard. However there may well have been a gap after the previous group, and a reasonable date might be c. 370-360.

42-51 (Plate 11)

Here there are only two obverse dies of which the first, O 12, is exceptional for depicting a standing or walking quadriga. It is linked to O 13 by means of R 37 and R 39; and in fact both these obverses may have been in use at once, as the sequence contains some contradictory indications (see catalogue at no. 49). The dolphin in the exergue of O 13 is picked up again by O 14 of the next group. R 36, to which a corn grain is added (no. 43), seems to be a distant derivative of the Kimon style, but perhaps we may also see some affinity to a style present in the Carthage series (e.g. McClean 3035) which should be of the mid-fourth century. R 37 may be regarded as a rather strange copy from the late Eukleidas style already used more recognisably at no. 25 above, and it undergoes some peculiar alterations (see catalogue nos. 45, 46). R 38, 39, 40 also seem to be remote descendants of the Kimonian style, also having some relation to a Carthage style (e.g. SNG II 1625) which may be rather after the mid-century. R 40 has a prominent corn grain.

The resemblances to Carthage styles noted here should give us at least a rough indication for chronology, showing that this group belongs at about the middle or

¹⁹ Another hoard, from Termini Imerese (Noe 1092, *NSc* 1900, 205 f.) contained specimens which appear to have been of my group nos. 11-21 and nos. 27-34; but as the burial was much later, probably c. 320 B.C., it gives no useful indications.

even third quarter of the fourth century. This is to some extent confirmed by the presence of two specimens of this group (nos. 43, 50) in the Megara Hyblaea hoard of 1949, probably buried, as Vallet-Villard rightly suggest, «vers la fin du 3^e quart»²⁰. The hoard specimen of no. 43 is quite worn however, and the coins of this group need not be quite so late as the hoard limit suggests. Perhaps c. 360–340 might be a reasonable approximation, though probably too wide a bracket.

52–56 (Plate 12)

The two obverses O 14 and O 15 are not directly linked but the homogeneous style of all the reverses attests that the group must be placed together. The dolphin of O 14 seems to link back to the dolphin of O 13 in the previous group. Little can be said of the style of the reverses; it has no very obvious derivation, and a certain likeness to such a Carthage style as that of e.g. SNG II 1638 may well be misleading, as the latter can hardly be before the last quarter of the century. A style similar to our R 41–45 continues into the next group at nos. 57–58.

57–68 (Plates 12–13)

In this group there are three obverses O 16–18. O 16 has at first two dolphins alone (no. 57) and then at no. 58 two dolphins with the legend $\varsigma\varsigma$ added; it is linked to O 17 by R 49, in the latest of that die's transformations. Whether O 17 is directly linked to O 18 depends on whether R 53 and R 54 are basically the same die or not. In this group the style of Euainetos first makes its appearance, as it does in the Carthage series only during the third quarter of the century. It is interesting to observe that one of the first dies of this style, R 49, is remodelled once to make a more plausible imitation of Euainetos (no. 61) and then remodelled again (no. 62). No. 63 however gives a very authentic and Greek version of the Euainetos decadrachm style (based in this case on the issue with the dot as Gallatin J III, etc.), and no. 68 another version based on the issue with the shell, Gallatin E I, etc. but with the shell transferred from behind the head to below the chin. This latter occurs also in the Carthage series e.g. MMAG 43, 1970, 23 (with the horse rev.) and SNG III 1051 (with horse's head rev.) at a point which should be c. 325–320. Probably then the present group of $\varsigma\varsigma$ should be of comparable date, and we may suggest as the limits c. 340–320 B.C.²¹. The regular style of the obverses O 17 and O 18 is equally due to the influence of the Euainetos prototype and leads on to that of the next groups²².

²⁰ *Kokalos* 4, 1958, p. 105.

²¹ The only hoard specimens which I can trace are those from the Mineo hoard (Noe 697, *NSc* 1905, 438 f.); by the reference there given to Hill, Sicily pl. X, 11, the coins should be my no. 66 but the hoard is not indicative for the date as the burial must be of the early third century B.C.

²² Perhaps at about this same time should be placed the late Syracuse tetradrachm of the Euainetos style (Tudeer 106) together with the very similar coin of Morgantina (Rizzo 1x, 6); on the latter, the pellet is transferred to between the dolphins in the same way as on the $\varsigma\varsigma$ coins no. 63, 69.

69-74 (Plates 13-14)

This group comprises a single obverse die whose style is anticipated by that of the preceding dies. The star in the field above, which reappears on O 20, does not seem to be copied from any Greek prototype. Of the reverses, R 56 and 57 (nos. 69-70) are of the pure Euainetos style already found at nos. 63 and 68; R 56 with the pellet recalls R 50 (no. 63) and its Greek model, whereas R 57 has a swastika below the chin recalling earlier didrachms of Motya (no. 10) and Panormos (no. 8), as well as a $\varsigma\varsigma$ litra (Plate 24, 13). The relative condition of O 19 seems to show that after these coins of pure Greek style there comes a group of dies in a later and harder style, R 58-61 (nos. 71-74). This style has some affinity, though distant, with such dies in the Carthage series as SNG II 1635, 1632, which should be of the last quarter of the century. A related style is found in some of the $\varsigma\varsigma$ bronze as Plate 24, 19.

75-82 (Plate 14)

The two obverse dies of this group are not linked, but the reverses of the group are very homogeneous. O 20 has the same star above the quadriga as O 19 of the previous group; it also has the legend flanked by dolphins in the exergue, and this serves as a further connexion to O 21, which however lacks the star. The style of the reverses is clearly late as it recalls very intimately that of the quadriga with triskelis tetradrachms of Agathokles of Syracuse (e.g. Kraay-Hirmer 134). This comparison must serve as the only evidence for the date of this group, since none of the coins is represented in any hoard.

83 (Plate 14)

This single specimen is not easy to place accurately in the series, as some of the details are not clear. The style of the head resembles that of R 58 (no. 71), but the weight is low and it may be an irregular issue.



4 A



24 A



Catalogue: Panormos tetradrachms

10 (O 2")		52 (O 14)	
11 (O 3)		53 (O 15)	
15 (O 4)		57 (O 16)	
23 (R 21) incomplete		62 (O 17)	
25 (R 22)		67 (O 18)	
27 (O 7)		69 (O 19)	
32 (O 8)		75 (O 20)	
40 (O 11)		77 (O 21)	
42 (O 12)		83 (O 22) indistinct	
49 (O 13)			

Plate 7

1	O 1	Gallopig quadriga l., dolphin above; dog in ex.	5	O 2	Walking quadriga r., Nike above
	R 1	River-god sacrificing at altar, as on coins of Selinus; behind, bull and palm-tree. Legend ΠΑΝΟΡΜΟΣ 16.94 * Nav. 4, 285		R 5	Head of Apollo r., legend ΠΑΝΟΡΜΙΤ
2	O 1				17.14 * Paris Luynes 1074
	R 2	Similar 16.90 * Bordonaro = NC 1931 vi, 1 = Rizzo lxiv, 25	6	O 2	
				R 6	Same, but ΠΑΝΟΡΜΙΤΙΚΟΝ (retrograde)
3	O 1				17.18 * London BMC 1
	R 3	Similar, but instead of bull, ram standing in 3/4 facing position. 17.26 * Priv. coll. Y			17.10 Palermo = NC 1931 vi, 2
4	O 1				16.71 Priv. coll. Y
	R 4	Female head r. with hair in top-knot; four dolphins. ΠΑΝΟΡΜΙΤΟΝ 16.53 Hirsch 18, 2262 16.71 Palermo = Hirsch 19, 216 = NC 1931 vi, 3 16.10 * MMAG 43, 1970, 41	7	O 2	
				R 7	Female head with rolled hair; dolphins; ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΝ
					16.70 * Cambridge McC 2678
					16.14 Hamburger 98, 383
					16.72 Oxford 2136 = Hirsch 8, 984 = Hirsch 14, 202 = Jameson 787 = Hess-Leu 1957, 107; also = Tudeer 108a = Boehringer Syrakus, Taf. 29 B 13

- 8 O 2
R 8 Similar, but OΣIONM top l. and
EVMENOV below
16.97 Hirsch 19, 252 = Tudeer
107a
16.53 * Jameson 1913 = Hirsch
32, 298; also = Tudeer
107b = Boehringer Syra-
kus, Taf. 19 B, 12

- 9 O 2' Same die somewhat recut
R 9 Similar, ampyx; OΣION? above
17.18 * Nav. 4, 333
10 O 2'' Same die; grain added in ex., Punic
legend § y § added above
R 9
17.01 Cambridge McC 2481
17.21 * London Lloyd 1579
16.91 Paris Luynes 1086

Plate 8

- 11 O 3 Fast quadriga l., with Nike above;
in ex. Punic legend § y §
R 10 Head with ampyx, r., similar to
R 9; no legend
17.17 Egger 45, 322
17.20 Hague
16.66 * Nav. 4, 287 = do. 10,
241 = Priv. coll. Y
— Pennisi
16.40 Reggio, Vito Superiore
110
12 O 3
R 11
16.88 Egger 7. 1. 1908, 61 =
Glend. xii 1963, 136
17.15 Hess 18. 3. 1918, 186 =
Helbing 1928, 124
17.15 * Hess-Leu 1966, 174
17.21 Paris 947
13 O 3
R 12
16.50 Cambridge McC 2486
17.13 London BMC 7
16.83 * London Lloyd 1581 =
Nav. 6, 423
14 O 3
R 13 Female head with sphendone and
pendant earring; dolphins
16.90 Hague
— Berlin
17.20 * Priv. coll. Y = Hess-Leu
1960, 103
15 O 4 Fresh state of die, but exergue off
flan; therefore uncertain whether
shell (cf. 17 below) present or not
R 13 — * Pennisi

- 16 O 4 In ex. Punic legend § y §; no shell
R 14 Head with topknot; dolphins
16.00 * London Lloyd 1582
17 O 4' Die now completed by addition of
shell in ex.
R 15 Similar to R 10, etc.
— * Syracuse
18 O 4'
R 16
16.90 Egger 7. 1. 1908, 59
16.96 Lewis = Hess-Leu 1962,
126
16.90 Lewis
17.00 * Nav. 4, 286 = Hirsch 19,
217
17.23 MMAG 43, 1970, 44
19 O 4'
R 17 Fish above instead of dolphin
17.16 * Paris 948
16.95 * Nav. 10, 242
17.15 London Lloyd 1580 =
Egger 45, 321
16.78 Priv. coll. X
20 O 4'
R 18 Head of fifth dolphin appears
below neck
17.31 * New York Met., Ward
364
17.10 London 1949 = Egger
7. 1. 1908, 60
17.20 London 1938
17.03 Boston 323
17.71 Berlin
— Berlin
— Pennisi

- 21 O 4'
R 19 Fish above instead of dolphin
17.66 Cambridge SNG IV 1117
17.57 Hirsch 33, 405 = Ciani
1929, 57
17.45 Paris Luynes 1081
17.42 * London BMC 6 = Hill
Sicily x, 10

- (21) 17.28 Rosenberg 72, 176 =
Cahn 71, 206 = Cahn 80,
111
17.23 Lewis
— Ognina hoard, Atti e Mem.
V, p. 18 «as BMC 6»
— Leu 1965

Plate 9

- 22 O 5 Quadriga r.; in ex.: uncertain (off
flan), see 23
R 20 Similar to previous dies
17.54 * Hirsch 32, 96
23 O 5' Altered die, column on r., added.
Crayfish in ex.
R 21 Head with hair fluttering behind;
dolphins, one of which appears
below neck. Top r., Punic legend
ş y ş
16.90 * London BMC 5
17.20 Benson 249 = Sartiges
113 = MMAG 43, 1970,
46
17.10 Hague
16.84 Paris 2390
24 O 5'
R 21' Altered die; corn grain replaces
dolphin below
17.22 * Berlin
25 O 6 Quadriga l.; maeander below
R 22 Head l. with sphendone and flutter-
ing hair above, spiral earring. Three
dolphins in front, two corn ears
behind. Top l., Punic legend ş y ş
— * Palermo, Contessa 69,
pl. xviii, 33 = Rizzo lxxv,
14
17.24 * Egger 7. 1. 1908 = Sar-
tiges 92 = MMAG 43,
1970, 47
17.44 Jameson 1902 = Hess-
Leu 1957, 136
16.28 London Lloyd 1585 =
Hirsch 33, 475
26 O 6
R 23 Head l. with ampyx, triple-drop
earring; three dolphins
16.85 * Brussels

- 27 O 7 Quadriga r., in ex. hippocamp and
Punic legend ş y ş
R 23
16.98 * Paris 936
— Berlin
17.10 Jameson 689 = Egger
7. 1. 1908, 55
16.62 Cambridge SNG IV 1118
28 O 7
R 24
17.16 * London BMC 8
17.07 Lewis
17.52 Egger 7. 1. 1908, 56 =
AC 17, 181
17.73 Reggio, Vito Superiore
113
16.76 MMAG 43, 1970, 48
29 O 7
R 25
17.35 * Oxford 2137 = SNG III
845
16.84 ANS
17.53 New York Met., Ward
364a = Late collector 112
= Hamburger 1894, 157
17.44 Berlin
— Palermo Contessa 73,
pl. xviii, 37
17.56 * Hess-Leu 1964, 61 =
Hirsch 33, 406
17.68 Hirsch 33, 407
15.41 London 1939 = Nav. 4,
289 = Hess 15. 2. 1934,
163 = Ratto 24. 6. 29,
140 = SC 1927, 1142
16.17 Reggio, Vito Superiore
111

- 30 O 7
R 26
16.89 * London Lloyd 1583 =
Egger 45, 319 = Nav. 6,
422

- (30) 17.24 * Naples 7761
16.17 Reggio, Vito Superiore
112

Plate 10

- 31 O 7
R 27
17.37 Hirsch 13, 356 = Colli-
gnon 149
17.25 Egger 45, 320
17.67 Hirsch 34, 173 = Nav. 4,
288
18.04 Egger 7. I. 1908, 57 =
Sartiges 114
17.49 * Brussels
17.82 Hess-Leu 1958, 112
- 32 O 8 Similar, but horses lower to ground
line, ex. smaller. §§
R 27
17.23 Hirsch 15, 1083 = Arch.
and Trav. 112
16.82 London BMC 9
17.22 Paris Luynes 1083
16.78 Cambridge McC 2488
16.96 * Brussels H 826
17.04 Bunbury 529
— Palermo, Contessa 72,
pl. xviii, 36 (5 specimens)
- 33 O 8
R 28 Head copied from Kimon first
decadrachm; four dolphins
17.67 Berlin
17.07 Brussels H 825
16.97 Hirsch 19, 219
16.89 Nav. 4, 290
16.60 * London Lloyd 1584 =
Nav. 6, 421 = Weber
1475
— Palermo, Contessa 70,
pl. xviii, 34 (2 specimens)
17.41 Paris Luynes 1084
— Paris 938
17.21 Hess-Leu 1966, 173 =
Ratto 4. 4. 1927, 385
— Silla, Alicante, Spain (A.
Garcia y Bellido, Hispania
Graeca, 1948, p. 226, 9)

- 34 O 8
R 29 Head copied from Kimon deca-
drachm, second type; three dolphins
17.14 * Jameson 690 = Egger
7. I. 1908, 54 = MMAG
43, 1970, 49, from Giarre
Riposto
— Palermo, Contessa 71,
pl. xviii, 35
- 35 O 9 Quadriga l.; in ex. ketos
R 30 Head r., triple pendant earring;
four dolphins
17.92 * Hague
16.50 AC 14, 103 = Nav. 12,
79
17.08 * AC 16, 595 = Nav. 5,
985 = SNG III 1031
16.92 Cambridge McC 2485 =
Benson 251
17.41 London BMC Syracuse
215
- 36 O 10 Similar; in ex. swan with flapping
wings
R 30
17.08 London BMC Syracuse
216
16.78 * Woodward 52 = AC 15,
274
- 37 O 10
R 31 Similar head, but l.; three dolphins
16.73 * London 1963, BMQ
1965, pl. xxii, 6
— Naples 5324 = Rizzo lxxv,
13
17.01 MMAG 43, 1970, 51
- 38 O 10
R 32
16.56 Jameson 731 = MMAG
43, 1970, 50
17.05 * Munich

- 39 O 10' Sign of Tanit added in front of
charioteer
R 33 Head with ampyx r., single-drop
earring
16.51 Jameson 730 = Hess-
Leu 1956, 135
16.91 Benson 250
16.95 * London = Weber 1476
— Palermo
16.70 Berlin
17.16 Paris 961
— Priv. coll. Y
— Llano de la Consolacion,
Spain (J. Sanchez Jimenez

- (39) in Cronica del IV Con-
greso arqueologico del
sudeste español, Elche
1948, p. 261 ff.)
40 O 11 Quadriga l., double ex. line; Punic
legend § y § in ex.
R 34 Similar to R 33
17.10 Berlin
17.23 * Copenhagen 499
41 O 11
R 35 Head r., with sphendone
16.60 * Egger 7. 1. 1908, 58

Plate 11

- 42 O 12 Walking quadriga l.; Nike crown-
ing horses. In ex. Punic legend
§ y §
R 36 Head l., four dolphins
— Berlin
— * Berlin
43 O 12
R 36' Corn grain added below
17.30 * Hague
16.10 Syracuse, Megara
Hyblaea hoard 1949,
55854
44 O 12
R 37 Head l. with ampyx, short flutter-
ing hair above; three
dolphins
17.23 Priv. coll. Y = Hess-Leu
1957, 137
17.04 * London = Weber 1478
45 O 12
R 37' Die worn and altered as regards
the hair, necklace and earring
16.46 * Paris Vogué 658
46 O 12
R 37'' Die now further altered, especially
as regards the hair and nose;
dolphins unchanged
16.66 * London 1938 = Nav. 5,
987

- 47 O 12 Die flaw below Nike
R 38 Head r., triple earring, four
dolphins
16.54 * Cambridge McC 3054
48 O 12 Die flaw larger
R 39 Similar head r., triple earring, five
dolphins
— ANS
17.15 Ratto 24. 6. 1929, 141 =
Baranowsky IV, 343
17.28 * London 1908 = Sambon
19. 12. 1907, 495
17.04 Hess-Leu 1956, 136
— Pennisi
49 O 13 Fast quadriga l., double ex. line;
in ex., dolphin and Punic legend
§ y §
R 37 Original state of this die (n. b. the
relative states of this die would
indicate that O 13 precedes O 12;
but the contrary indication is given
by the relative states of R 39, with
which O 13 is used later than O 12)
16.97 * London 1938 = Helbing
1927, 1657
— Paris 945
50 O 13
R 39 Small alterations in the hair; viz.
later state of die than with O 12
(48 above)
— Berlin
17.11 Boston add. 29

- (50) 17.20 Vienna
 16.83 * London 1936 (found at Sandbanks, Poole harbour, 1922)
 16.15 Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea hoard 1949, 55855
 16.91 * Leu 1965

- 51 O 13
 R 40 Similar head r., uncertain number of dolphins; corn grain below
 — * Salton

Plate 12

- 52 O 14 Quadriga l., double ex. line; in ex. dolphin and $\varsigma\varsigma$
 R 41 Head l., ampyx, triple earring; three (?) dolphins
 17.31 * AC 16, 593 = Cahn 84, 183
 17.11 * London 1938
 — Priv. coll. Y
 — Syracuse
- 53 O 15 Similar, but ex. line more widely spaced, and in ex. only legend $\varsigma\varsigma$
 R 42 Similar, no ampyx; four dolphins
 16.78 * ANS = Schulman 26. 1. 1913, 2002
 16.10 Hague
 — Luneau 224
 17.43 London BMC 10
- 54 O 15
 R 43 Similar to R 42, four dolphins (but not below neck)
 15.65 * London 1938 = Nav. 5, 872 = Glend. 28. 6. 1938, 192 (obv. tooled)
- 55 O 15
 R 44 Head l., generally similar, with ampyx; three dolphins visible
 17.07 * Priv. coll. Y = Hess-Leu 1957, 135
- 56 O 15
 R 45 Similar; two dolphins visible in front, probably another behind
 — * Syracuse

- 57 O 16 Quadriga r., double ex. line; in ex. two dolphins (but no legend)
 R 46 Similar head l., but no dolphins
 17.00 * SC 1927, 1144
- 58 O 16' Die completed by addition of legend $\varsigma\varsigma$ in ex. between dolphins
 R 47 Similar head l., three dolphins visible (one of which below neck)
 17.01 * London 1926
- 59 O 16'
 R 48 Head l. with wreath and triple earring; behind, star and uncertain mark; two dolphins visible in front
 17.00 * Berlin
- 60 O 16'
 R 49 Similar head l.; six dolphins
 17.04 ANS = Walcher Molt-
 hein 426 = Hess 27. 10. 1902, 559
 17.16 Berlin
 17.39 * London Lloyd 1588 =
 Nav. 6, 425
 — Pennisi
- 61 O 16'
 R 49' Same die with head much altered and enlarged throughout; dolphins unchanged!
 17.33 * Boston 327

- 62 O 17 Quadriga l.; double ex. line, legend
 sy s in ex.
 R 49" Same die further altered; head un-
 changed but dolphins fattened
 16.51 * Oxford 2138 = Soth.
 9.3. 1936, 22
 — Berlin
 — Priv. coll. Y
- 63 O 17
 R 50 Larger head, of good style, with
 wreath and earring; three dolphins.
 Dot in front
 17.10 * Berlin
 16.87 Boston 325
 17.22 MMAG 43, 1970, 54
 16.23 * London Lloyd 1586 =
 Benson 54 253
- 64 O 17
 R 51 Head l., smaller and inferior style;
 wreath and earring; three dolphins
 visible
 17.22 * Berlin
- 65 O 17
 R 52 Similar head l., wreath with corn-
 ear; triple earring; behind, star
 and monogram (incomplete). Two
 dolphins visible
 17.22 AC 16, 594
 16.76 * London 1938 (BMQ
 1938, xlv, 1) = Nav. 6,
 424
 17.25 Hirsch 30, 380
 — Pennisi
- 66 O 17
 R 53 Head l., smaller with normal wreath
 and earring; three dolphins. Dot in
 front
 17.06 Cambridge McC 2484
 17.21 * London BMC 17 = Hill
 Sicily pl. x, 11
- 67 O 18 Similar, but thick ex. line, horses
 lower. In ex. legend sy s
 R 54 Closely similar to R 53 and per-
 haps altered from it; if so, altera-
 tions include dolphins in front
 17.26 * Leu Sicilia 143
- 68 O 18
 R 55 Head l., wreath and earring normal,
 (68) good style; four dolphins, shell
 below chin
 17.22 * Jameson 2421
- 69 O 19 Quadriga l., thick ex. line; star
 above horses; in ex., legend sy s
 R 56 Head l., similar to last, four dol-
 phins; in front, dot
 17.13 * Brussels
 — Berlin
 17.12 Hess-Leu 1966, 172
 17.11 Merzbacher 2. 11. 1909,
 2489 = White King 66
- 70 O 19
 R 57 Head l.; similar, four dolphins;
 below chin, swastika
 16.94 * Boston 324 = Warren
 425
 — Berlin
 16.07 London Lloyd 1587 =
 Hirsch 29, 101
 16.78 Jameson 691
 16.86 MMAG 32, 1966, 68
 — Paris 941
 17.21 MMAG 43, 1970, 53
- 71 O 19
 R 58 Head l. with wreath and earring,
 simpler style; four dolphins
 16.76 ANS = Schulman 8. 6.
 1931, 54 = Hamb. 96,
 44 = Schulman 7. 6.
 1937, 98
 16.75 Berlin
 17.00 Hirsch 19, 156
 15.90 Van Vleuten, Lempertz
 Köln 1926
 16.78 * London BMC 13
 16.84 New York Met., Ward
 365
 16.90 Paris Luynes 1085
 — Priv. coll. Y
 — Pennisi
- 72 O 19
 R 59 Similar head; four dolphins
 17.00 Hirsch 32, 61 =
 Hindamian 177
 — ANS
 16.53 Cambridge, SNG IV 1119
 16.62 do., 1120
 17.37 * London BMC 16

73	O 19		(78)	—	Martinetti-Nervegna
	R 60	Similar			1907, 794 = Engel-Gros
		16.52 * London BMC 14			21
74	O 19		79	O 21	
	R 61	Similar		R 66	Similar
		16.92 * London BMC 15			16.16 Hess-Leu 1968 115
		17.02 Naples 4384			16.50 * Paris Luynes 1082
75	O 20	Similar, but ex. line of two parallel lines; star above; in ex., dolphins flanking legend $\varsigma \gamma \varsigma$	80	O 21	
	R 62	Head l. with normal wreath and earring; smooth and elaborate style; four dolphins		R 67	Similar
		17.20 Berlin			16.17 AC 16, 952 = Wotoch
		16.72 * Paris A-V 272			238 = Stiavelli 179 =
		16.83 Nav. 1, 514			C. Clark 91
					16.52 Lockett SNG III 846 =
					Nav. 1, 513 = Hirsch 14,
					174 = Nav. 5, 986
					16.63 * London BMC 11
76	O 20		81	O 21	
	R 63	Similar		R 68	Similar
		16.44 * Cambridge McC 2483 =			16.75 * Cambridge McC 2482 =
		Hirsch 15, 1084			Benson 248
77	O 21	Similar to O 20, but no star above; dolphins and legend in ex.	82	O 21	
	R 64	Similar		R 69	Similar
		16.38 * London BMC 12			16.78 Hess-Leu 1956, 137
					16.39 * Berlin
					— Syracuse
78	O 21		83	O 22	Similar; possibly star above; legend only in ex.
	R 65	Similar		R 70	Similar to R 58-61
		16.94 * Boston 326			14.60 * Brussels
		16.91 Brussels H 824			
		16.99 Paris 944			