

Motya I and Panormos ; Motya II-III and Panormos

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Motya I and Panormos

(Plates 1–2)

The early series of both mints are here collected as fully as possible apart from the small coins (for which see plates 23–24). There are close connexions between the didrachm series of the two mints, both of which show considerable dependence on Segesta. When the corpus of Segesta coins in preparation becomes available, surer conclusions should be possible regarding the related Punic coinages.

Motya I begins² with didrachms whose obverse is copied from those of Himera (Rizzo xxi 9) while the reverse is very close to the Segesta type Rizzo lxii 8; this reverse at Motya and Segesta depends on the Syracusan type Boehringer Reihe XXII (c. 440 by his chronology, but more probably c. 430)³, and may fairly be considered to begin in western Sicily c. 425. From Motya no. 14 the Himerean obverse is replaced by a Segestan type, a dog with small female head above, such as occurs in a large group of Segestan coins (Rizzo lxi 17, SNG II 1178, Luynes 1116–7, etc.), cf. Plate 2 A, B here; this Segestan group clearly precedes a later group of which samples are here illustrated on Plate 4 (A–F).

With the obverse of Segestan style (Motya no. 14 ff.) were used some reverses (rev. 6, 7, 8) which had already appeared in the series of Motya, and also two other dies Raa and Rbb which have the inscription $\varsigma\upsilon\varsigma$. Raa and Rbb have heads of more or less current Segestan style, Raa being similar to Luynes 1116 (here Plate 2 B), while Rbb seems to be modelled on the style of Segesta Rizzo lxi 17. Apparently, Rbb was originally prepared for Segesta as traces of the Greek legend Segestazib remain alongside the Punic legend; I understand that this die has not, so far at least, been traced in its presumed original form. Rbb is further used (at Z₃) with a different obverse die (obv. 9) which in turn is coupled with a purely Segestan reverse (Plate 2, A).

Coins Z₁ and Z₃ of the above series were known to Imhoof-Blumer when in 1886⁴ he expressed his scepticism as to whether the $\varsigma\upsilon\varsigma$ legend really corresponded to the place name of Panormos. Imhoof drew the conclusion that Z₁, being die-linked to Motya, must be of that mint, whereas Z₃ must for similar reasons be of the Segesta mint. This conclusion formed his prime argument against the $\varsigma\upsilon\varsigma$ -Panormos equivalence. But it is clear that the question must now be viewed in another light,

² Unless some earlier coins of Segestan type, without legend, represent a previous Motyan coinage, as suggested by E. S. G. Robinson in *SNG II* 1131–2. The plant may perhaps be no more than a die-break?

³ On this adjustment of Syracusan chronology, cf. Jenkins, *Gela*, pp. 66 ff.

⁴ *Zur Münzkunde Großgriechenlands*, NZ 18, 1886, pp. 205–286.

since the discovery of Z₂ makes a direct link between Z₁ and Z₃ and thus forms an unbroken chain of die-linkages apparently beginning at Motya and ending at Segesta.

In order to explain even in principle how this can be so we are compelled to admit that somewhere along the line either one or more dies must have been transferred between the mints in question, or else that one mint was striking coins for the other. Both of these possibilities are well attested in the field of Greek coinage and some of the examples known were indeed mentioned by Imhoof himself in the article of 1886 – those of Hyria-Fensernia (Imhoof, taf. V, 7–8) and of the Campanians-Neapolis (ibid. taf. V, 16–17). We may cite also Rhegion-Messana (Robinson, JHS 1948, p. 20, no. 6 Rhegion and no. 32 Messana), Syracuse-Leontinoi (Boehrer Syrakus, taf. 30, A 3), Corinth-Ambracia (Ravel NNM 37, no. 8 and p. 83 ff.), Eleutherna-Hierapytna (Seltman, Greek Coins, pl. xxxvii, 9, 10; also mentioned by Imhoof, p. 283), Priansos-Phaistos (Milne, TRINC 1936, p. 90, no. 2). Other cases, from the Hellenistic period and later: Alexander, die-link between Sidon and Ake (Newell, Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake, p. 53); the Seleucids, die-transfers between Abydus, Lampsacus, Ilium and Alexandria Troas (Newell WSM, p. 327 ff., esp. nos. 1548–9, 1555, 1557, 1560, 1563–4); a shared obverse between IIIc Alexanders of Priene and Miletus (Seyrig RN 1963, p. 37–38); Achaean league, die-link between Elis and Patrae (Thompson NNM 159, p. 101); and innumerable dies shared between coins of different cities in Roman Asia minor, attesting centralised mintages, the subject of an important forthcoming work by the late K. Kraft.

The possibility of die-transference thus shows that, for the series of Motya – ṣyṣ – Segesta with which we are here concerned, it would be difficult to derive any decisive proof, from the evidence of the die-linkages alone, as to the place of mintage of the specimens Z₁, 2, 3. In fact the style, and the remains of the Segestan legend on R bb, are factors which would agree well enough with the hypothesis that these ṣyṣ dies were made by a Segestan engraver. But if so, it hardly seems plausible to think that the coins with the Punic legend ṣyṣ were made for use at Segesta, since it was not a Punic city. As for Motya, the other city involved in the series, we know that its Punic name m tv appeared shortly afterwards (in series II) so that it is most improbable that coins marked ṣyṣ should have been intended for Motya either. In brief, it seems to me that the die-links which we have between the coins of Motya and Segesta, with the ṣyṣ specimens Z₁, 2, 3, do not after all in any way preclude the possibility that the latter were minted at or for Panormos and that ṣyṣ can best be interpreted as the Punic name of that city.

The hypothesis that the word ṣyṣ is not a place-name is in any case quite gratuitous, especially as no other convincing explanation of it has been offered⁵. We are left with the only positive evidence for the meaning of ṣyṣ in the shape of the small bilingual litrai bearing this Punic legend on the obverse and the Greek ΠΑΝΟΡΜΟΣ

⁵ A. H. Lloyd, NC 1925, 129 ff.

on the reverse (Plate 2 Y). From these, it seems to me beyond reasonable doubt that the Punic legend must be the equivalent of the Greek, in precisely the same way that we have Punic and Greek legends combined on coins of Solus (Plate 23, 18). It is also important to note that these bilingual litrai are by their epigraphy intimately connected with the didrachms Z 1, 2, 3: the rendering of the letter forms is almost identical on the didrachms and on the litrai Plate 2 X, Y; and moreover it is a rendering of $\varsigma\upsilon\varsigma$ which does not otherwise occur. From the table of legends (p. 38) it will be seen that only here does the letter ς ade have this shape, whether written in the normal direction or, as on the didrachm Z 2, reversed. This epigraphic feature strongly reinforces not only the connexion between the didrachms and the litrai, which are thus presumably contemporary and quite probably by the same hand, but also strengthens the conclusion that both denominations must pertain to Panormos – irrespective of whether the didrachm dies were made by Segestan engravers as suggested above.

From the foregoing discussion of the die-linked series of the didrachms Z 1, 2, 3 and their connexions with the Motya I series and Segesta, and the perfectly feasible explanation that dies can have been transferred between mints, it will be seen that Imhoof-Blumer's main argument against the identification of $\varsigma\upsilon\varsigma$ as Panormos is invalidated. His other arguments are in any case less significant, being concerned with the possibility that certain other coins with the $\varsigma\upsilon\varsigma$ legend might belong to (a) Eryx and (b) to Solus or Thermai. For Eryx, it is merely a case of a stylistic similarity between some $\varsigma\upsilon\varsigma$ didrachms (our Panormos nos. 9–10) and didrachms of Eryx (of which Imhoof gives as example a specimen similar to SNG II 942, cf. Rizzo lxiv 8, 9)⁶: in view of the many such similarities between the different mints of western Sicily, of which others will be noted below, this argument cannot be given very much weight, and the same kind of argument from the similarity of the Eryx litra (Plate 24, 24) to that of the $\varsigma\upsilon\varsigma$ mint (Plate 24, 12) would be no more cogent.

In the case of Solus or Thermai, to which Imhoof (p. 266 ff. and p. 246 respectively) suggests the attribution of the «cock» coins with $\varsigma\upsilon\varsigma$ (drachm, here Plate 6 A, bronze Plate 24, 18), I have tried to discuss the question elsewhere⁷ in connexion with the coinage of Himera. It turns on whether a specimen of the «cock» bronze could, as Imhoof suggested, be read *k f r a* instead of $\varsigma\upsilon\varsigma$; the evidence cited by Imhoof (p. 248) from Landolina is not satisfactory, and so far as I know nothing has turned up to confirm it. Neither here nor in the case of Eryx can I see that there are any arguments which can stand up against the clear $\varsigma\upsilon\varsigma$ = Panormos equivalence already mentioned.

At this point it may be worth looking briefly at one other line of argument which has been adduced in the attempt to explain away $\varsigma\upsilon\varsigma$ = Panormos. This was the argument of Lloyd in NC 1925, 129 ff., based on the diversity of types, original to a

⁶ Cf. also SNG II 1183 – «perhaps Eryx or Motya» –; this should be Eryx, as the obv. die seems to be basically that of Rizzo lxiv 9 with some alterations especially of the corn ears.

⁷ La monetazione arcaica di Himera, *Annali*, 16–17 suppl. (Rome 1971), pp. 34 ff.

number of different Greek mints, which in fact occur in association with the $\varsigma\varsigma$ legend. It is obvious that the $\varsigma\varsigma$ tetradrachms (here Plates 7–14) comprise many types of Syracuse, although no one would try to assign them to that mint. Among the other $\varsigma\varsigma$ coins we have recollections of Gela (the man-faced bull, Plate 24, 2, 8, 11–16), of Syracuse (female heads, Plate 24, 3, 4), of Messana and Akragas respectively (dolphin/eagle, Plate 24, 9), of Kamarina (Athena/swan, Plate 24, 10), possibly of Thermai (Hera/manfaced bull, Plate 24, 20, cf. Plate 22 A), and of Himera («cock» Plate 6 A and Plate 24, 17; goat-rider, Plate 24, 5, 6 = Plate 2 X, Y)⁸. To believe, as Lloyd apparently did, that these $\varsigma\varsigma$ coins were really minted at all the various cities in question, under Punic domination, would really be very difficult indeed – especially when we already know from sure examples that the explanation is very simple, that the Punic mints were very prone to imitate the types of the Greek mints, and indeed did so for most of their coins. Thus we have Greek-inscribed tetradrachms and didrachms of Panormos with types of Syracuse, Katana/Leontinoi, Segesta and Selinus (Plates 6–7); coins of Eryx using the types of Segesta, Selinus, Akragas and Himera⁹; and coins of Motya using the types of Himera and Segesta (here Plates 1–4), Akragas and Syracuse (Plate 5), a small coin, similar to the $\varsigma\varsigma$ Plate 24, 9, suggesting Messana and Akragas (here Plate 23, 1), while the Gorgon of Plate 23, 4, 5 8 may or may not owe something to the bronze coinage of Kamarina.

At least it is clear that in numerous cases whose mints are determined there is a large repertoire of types culled from various Greek mints. Against this background it can hardly be argued that the diversity of types used with the $\varsigma\varsigma$ legend can show anything, except that the $\varsigma\varsigma$ mint too was very fond of such imitations. It certainly does not prove what Lloyd thought it did.

Finally, the etymology of the word $\varsigma\varsigma$ in itself could hardly help to determine whether it is or is not a place name; it is generally admitted that the root of the word means «shining», but it seems – at least to a non-semitologist like myself – very far fetched indeed to extend the meaning to «shining metal» and so to «metal plate» and «mint». This last is exemplified by the explanation given by Honeyman¹⁰ of the legend $\text{šb}^{\prime}1 \varsigma\varsigma$, which occurs on some small coins (here Plate 24, 13), and which he translates «masters of the mint». It seems clear that this legend must be analogous to those of similar form which are found at Tarsus ($\text{b}^{\prime}1 \text{trz}$), Gaziura ($\text{b}^{\prime}1 \text{gzwr}$),

⁸ Cf. Holm, *Geschichte Siziliens* III, Beschreibung der Tafeln, p. 18 ff.

⁹ Cf. e.g. SNG II 934, 935, 941: and an Eryx litra (in BM) with the types of Selinus, SNG II 1218.

¹⁰ A. M. Honeyman, *AJPhil* 1947, p. 81 ff.; approved by Sola Solè, *Sefarad* 1967, p. 27; but cf. also H. D. McEwen, *NC* 1925, pp. 393–4.

– The equation between $\varsigma\varsigma$ and the -zib termination of some Segestan legends, which has sometimes been suggested, was accepted by R. Arena in *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* xliv, 1959, 17 ff., esp. 25 ff., but firmly rejected by U. Schmoll, *Kokalos* 7, 1961, 71 ff. and X. Durante, *do.* 86 ff.

– It hardly needs to be added that in accepting $\varsigma\varsigma$ as the ancient name of Palermo one is under no compulsion whatever to see any connexion with the medieval palace of La Ziza in that city.

Gades (mb'l 'gdr), Sexsi (mb'l sks), Lix (mb'l lkš), and Tingis (mb'l tyng')¹¹. In all of these we have the place-name, and thus also in the legend šb 'l šyš the element šyš must designate the name of the city.

Summarising this discussion, I would say that it seems to me that an entirely unnecessary amount of mystery has been allowed to surround the whole question of the šyš legend. The only clear evidence we have equates it with Panormos, and I think that neither arguments derived from the die-linkages, nor from the types, nor from the etymology, are in the least convincing as indications to the contrary. It seems to me that the interpretation of šyš as the Punic name of Panormos is eminently recommendable and should be accepted.

Motya II-III and Panormos

(Plates 3-6)

The period covered by this section is probably 415/410-397 B.C. the latter terminus being provided by the destruction of Motya by Dionysios. The general influence of Segesta is still paramount for the didrachm coinage as both Segesta itself and the other mints move on to a new style. At Segesta there are the new types of the dog with stag's head (Plate 4 C, F), imitated at Motya, and the dog with corn ears (Plate 4 A, B, D, E) which however was not imitated at the Punic mints but only at Eryx.

The didrachms of Motya II go through two phases, a Greek issue (nos. 18-25) followed by a Punic issue (nos. 26-36). After these comes Motya III (Plate 5) consisting of Akragantine type tetradrachms, followed by a second series of tetradrachms and didrachms with Syracusan heads copied from Kimon's decadrachms and facing Arethusa; clearly this group must finish by 397 B.C. Working back from this it seems likely that Motya II should come before 405 and may thus be dated c. 415/410-405, leaving 405-397 for Motya III.

Motya didrachms of the Greek phase (nos. 18-25) show some close analogies with Segesta, e.g. no. 20 with the litra Plate 4 F and no. 22 with Plate 4 A. Then in the Punic phases at Motya we see the influence of the new Segestan prototype Plate 4 C, D, which with its very characteristic tall head, either with or without an ivy leaf in the field, remains dominant in Motya nos. 26-36.

¹¹ E.g. Tarsus, BMC Lycaonia, etc., p. 167, no. 32; Gaziura, BMC Galatia, etc., p. 29, no. 1; Gades, Vives La Moneda Hispanica, pl. IX, 13; Sexsi, *ibid.* pl. LXXXIII, 2 ff.; Lix, SNG (Copenhagen), part 42, no. 692; Tingis, *ibid.*, no. 720.

The date of the group of Segesta coins represented by Plate 4 A–F remains to be determined closely, but it is necessary for the moment to form at least some preliminary view. Much depends in any case on the date we assign to Plate 4 E, with the dog and corn-ears obverse and the reverse head in sphendone which is the same die used on a Segestan tetradrachm (Lederer 7). On Lederer's chronology this tetradrachm would be c. 416 B.C.; but by analogy with Syracusan styles the other tetradrachms linked with it (Lederer 5, 6) would be much more likely to be after 410 B.C. Also I can see no cogency in Lederer's argument that the Segesta mint must have closed in 409¹². It seems to me that these tetradrachms can well be placed in the final decade of the fifth century, so that the didrachm Plate 4 E should be of the same time, perhaps 405–400, a dating that is in any case necessary for this didrachm on account of the Pennisi specimen, itself overstruck on a didrachm of Camarina which is probably not long before 405¹³. Naturally it is possible to envisage that the Segestan group represented here by Plate 4 A–F may extend from e.g. 415–400 B.C., but for the present purpose it is neither possible nor necessary to try to be more precise. For the Motya II didrachms, Greek and Punic, nos. 18–36, we can well suppose 415/410–c. 405, still leaving room for the succeeding Motya III issues at c. 405 (nos. 37–44) and c. 400 (nos. 45–50) respectively.

There are three varieties of the Punic legend; 'm t v' (as no. 26), m t v' (as no. 33, etc.) and h m t v' (as no. 39). In the case of h m t v' at no. 39 the first letter is added in the die of no. 38 which has only m t v'. The variations are mentioned by Sola Sole in *Seferad* 27, 1967, pp. 19–20, note 25, and the parallel variations at Gades (h g d r / 'g d r) are noted by him. The form of the legend at no. 44 is rather uncertain, depending on a single specimen of which I have not seen the original.

The Panormos didrachms of the present period are fewer in number than those of Motya and almost all have the Greek legend; the only exceptions being nos. 9–10. No. 1 stands rather apart from the rest, and seems to correspond to the previous stylistic phase of Segesta as Plate 2 B, though whether no. 1 is really before or after the $\varsigma\upsilon\varsigma$ didrachms Z 1, 2, 3 which have been discussed above, is hard to determine. With no. 2 however we have a piece which is extremely close in style to Motya no. 20 and surely by the same hand – if indeed it is not really one and the same die with some small alterations, though it is impossible to be sure of this. In any case Panormos no. 2 and Motya no. 20 must fall in the same period which can be roughly defined as c. 415–410. The engraver of both is likely enough to have been a Segestan, and the author of the Segesta litra Plate 4 F. Panormos no. 5 seems a weak imitation of this type. With regard to the crayfish behind the head, it would be impracticable to

¹² Lederer, *Segesta*, pp. 14–15. Segesta was the ally of Carthage then and remained loyal to Carthage at the time of Dionysios' expeditions in 397–396 B.C. It seems merely an assumption that Segesta lost her autonomy in 409.

¹³ Rizzo, p. 287, fig. 90.

try to associate it with the similar symbol which appears below on tetradrachm no. 23 (Plate 9) which must be after 400 B.C.

Panormos no. 3 shows a head derived from the Segestan «tall head» (Plate 4 C–D), and no. 6 has the ivy leaf; but otherwise there is no great dependence on the new Segestan styles, and there is no copy here, as at Motya, of the dog with stag's head obverse type. Panormos no. 8 has on the obverse a shell above the dog which recurs on the Punic coin no. 9. No. 8 still has a Greek legend, but with it a swastika symbol which later is echoed on a tetradrachm, no. 70 (Plate 13) and a litra (Plate 24, 13).

It is difficult to be sure how precisely the Punic didrachms fit in with the tetradrachm series, but presumably nos. 9, 10, 11 belong roughly to the 410–390 phase. We cannot, however, easily suggest any firm date for didrachms nos. 12, 13; clearly they must find some place alongside the $\varsigma\varsigma$ tetradrachms series but neither the style nor the epigraphy (the precise letter forms are not clear enough to include in our drawings) give much help, and the free horse type has its analogy both in the «Carthage» series before c. 380 B.C. and in the bronze coins of Panormos in the late fourth century.

To sum up the development of the Panormos mint so far: one would expect coins in Greek to come generally before those in Punic but this is not apparently the straightforward criterion after all. The first issue may be the «cock» type (Plate 6 A and Plate 24, 18) which as I have suggested elsewhere could be of c. 430 B.C.¹⁴. Then there are the didrachms Z 1, 2, 3 (Plate 1–2) which have been discussed above and which must be before 415 B.C. since they belong to that phase of Segestan style and are die-linked with Motya I, so that they must precede the Greek didrachms of Panormos (Plate 6, 1–8) which correspond to Motya II. No doubt the Greek didrachms of Panormos correspond also, to some extent, to the Greek phase of the Panormos tetradrachms (Plate 7, 1–9) and the final change to Punic legend was probably made, as suggested below for the tetradrachms, at about 405 B.C. (below, p. 40).

Note

In the catalogue sections, an asterisk * marks the specimen illustrated; where there is more than one, they appear on the plate in the same sequence as listed.

On the plates, the die-numbers are given, for simplicity, as plain numbers without the prefix O and R respectively.

¹⁴ La monetazione arcaica di Himera, *Annali*, 16–17 suppl. (Rome 1971) pp. 34 ff.

Catalogue: Motya I, II, III and Panormos didrachms

Motya - Legends

26		41	
31		43	
37		44	
38		45	
39		48	
		Plate 23, 4 b	

Plates 1-2

MOTYA I didrachms nos. 1-17 / PANORMOS Z 1, 2, 3

Obv. Horseman (apobates); legend MOTVAION	6 O 3 Fish in ex. R 4
Rev. Female head with dolphins.	8.57 * London (Bank) = Rizzo lxv. 7
1 O 1 R 1	8.55 Nav. 5, 976
8.59 * Berlin	8.48 AC 16, 581
8.19 Brussels H 502	
2 O 1' Leaf added in ex. R 2	7 O 4 R 5
- * Syracuse	8.23 * Hirsch 32,95 = Nav. 5,977
3 O 1'' added above ex. line R 2	8 O 4 R 6
8.43 * Berlin	8.10 Hamb. 98, 20
	8.03 Hess-Leu 1962, 75
	- * Priv. coll. Y
4 O 2 No legend R 3	9 O 5 R 6
8.65 * Paris Luynes 1041	8.24 * Woodward 72
	8.07 Hirsch 30, 378 = Bunbury 240
5 O 2 R 2	10 O 6 Pistrix in ex. R 7 Swastika in front of neck
8.47 Copenhagen 478 = Egger 46, 75	8.67 Hess-Leu 1956, 129
- * Paris 861	8.00 Berlin
	8.30 * Palermo, NC 1931 pl. vi. 8

- 21 O 11 Plant below
R 11
8.20 * London Lloyd 1133
7.93 Berlin
- 22 O 11
R 13 Legend MOTVAION
8.57 AC 16, 583
8.72 * London BMC 4
7.98 Palermo NC 1931 vi, 9
- 23 O 11
R 14 Cf. R 11, possibly recut from it.
Legend?
8.02 * Cambridge McC 2461 =
Egger 7. I. 1908, 70
8.04 Berlin
- 24 O 11
R 12
5.61 * Nav. 12, 787 (fourrée)
8.51 Berlin
8.26 London BMC 3
7.36 Nav. 1, 500
- 25 O 11
R 15 Crayfish, legend (retrograde)
MOTVAION
— * Pennisi
- 26 O 12 Dog standing, plant below
R 16 Ivy leaf, Punic legend m t v'
8.42 * London BMC 5
8.55 Paris Luynes 1046
8.60 Walcher Molthein 481
8.37 Jameson 666 = Hess-Leu
1956, 128
8.56 Berlin
- 27 O 13 Similar, but no plant
R 16
8.61 Oxford SNG 1858 =
SNG III 2503 = Nav. 5,
972 = AC 16, 576
8.72 London (flaw on neck)
8.07 Paris 865
8.57 Leu Sicilia 68
8.31 Berlin
8.75 * MMAG 43, 1970, 38
- 28 O 14 Dog with plant below
R 17 Ivy leaf, no legend
8.22 * Cambridge McC 2460
- 29 O 15 Similar, but no plant
R 18 No leaf or legend
8.26 London
8.58 Priv. coll. X
8.51 * ANS
- 30 O 15
R 19 Similar
8.13 * London BMC Segesta 40
8.41 New York Met., Ward 230
- 31 O 16 Dog with stag's head
R 20 Ivy leaf, Punic legend ' m t v'
8.26 * London BMC 3
8.57 Oxford 1859 = Egger, 46,
74
8.42 Priv. coll. X
8.31 Weber 1451
- 32 O 16
R 21 Similar to R 20
8.33 * Egger 7. I. 1908, 50
8.55 AC 16, 614
- 33 O 17 Similar to O 16
R 22 Ivy leaf, no legend
8.57 * Berlin
- 34 O 17
R 23 As R 22
7.85 * Hirsch 33, 401
- 35 O 18 As O 16-17
R 22
8.20 * SC 1907 Ciccio, 258
- 36 O 18
R 24 Similar
8.42 * Hamburger 98, 290

Plate 4 A-F, Segesta

- A London Lloyd 1184
B London BMC 37
C London BMC 41
D London BMC 39
E London BMC 38
F London Lloyd 1196

MOTYA III (nos. 37-50)

Tetradrachms: obv. eagle; rev. crab		46	O 6	Head l., three dolphins, no legend
37	O 1 Legend $m \tau v'$		R 8	
	R 1	16.38		London Lloyd 1138 = Nav. 6, 415 = SC 1907 Ciccio 236
	— * Palermo	15.57		Hunter xv, 5
38	O 2 Legend $m \tau v'$	16.74		Oxford 1861 = SNG III 836 = Nav. 4, 281
	R 2	17.00		Hess-Leu 1956 130
	17.11 * Paris	16.10		Hess-Leu 1964 57 = Weber 1452
	— Priv. coll. Y	16.57		AC 16, 577
39	O 2' Legend $h m \tau v'$ (h added in die)	16.62	*	AC 14, 99
	R 3	16.41		Copenhagen 481
	17.16 * London BMC 1	—		Palermo = Rizzo lxxv, 9
	— Munich	—		Munich
40	O 2'	17.52		MMAG 43, 1970, 40
	R 4	17.04	*	New York Met., Ward 356
	— Cefalú			
41	O 3	47	O 6	
	R 4		R 9	
	17.20 * London Lloyd 1137	16.32		Jameson 667
	— Palermo, Contessa xvii, 16	—		Egger 26. 11. 1909, 178
42	O 3	15.99		AC 17, 171
	R 5 Fish below	17.07	*	London Montagu
	16.95 * Berlin = Holm viii. 8	17.12		Paris 865
	— Palermo, Contessa xvii, 15 = Rizzo lxxv, 8	—		Palermo, Contessa xvii, 18
	17.16 Hirsch-Ciccio	17.13		Berlin Löbbecke
43	O 4 Legend $m \tau v'$	16.28		Berlin Imhoof-Blumer
	R 6 Fish below	Didrachms: obv. facing Arethusa head, six dol- phins; rev. crab, fish above, legend $m \tau v'$		
	17.18 * London BMC 2	48	O 1	
Didrachm: same types			R 1	
44	O 1	7.32	*	London Lloyd 1139 = Weber 1453
	R 1 Legend $m \tau v'$	8.30		Paris Luynes 1044
	7.55 * 1907 Ciccio, 231	7.90		Palermo NC 1931 vi, 7
		—		Palermo = Rizzo lxxv, 10
		7.83		Berlin
Tetradrachms: obv. Syracusan head; rev. crab		49	O 2	
45	O 5 Head r., copied from Kimon's decadrachms, no dolphins, legend $m \tau v'$		R 1	
	R 7	8.13		Paris Luynes 1045
	15.89 Paris Luynes 1043	8.46	*	London BMC 8
	— * Hirsch-Ciccio	50	O 3	
	17.16 Paris 863		R 1	
	— Palermo, Contessa xvii, 17	—		* Priv. coll. Y
		Motya, see also plate 23, 1-14		

Drachm, Plate 6 A		Didrachm, 9	
Didrachm, Z 1		Didrachm, 10	
Didrachm, Z 2		Didrachm, 11-12	
Litra, Plate 2 X		Litra, Plate 24, 12	
Litra, Plate 2 Y			

Plate 6

Panormos didrachms

A	Drachm: cock $\xi \eta \xi$ / Crab and dolphin (3,91 g, Palermo = Imhoof-Blumer, taf. VII, 14)	4	O 3	
			R 4	Head r., no legend 8.40 * London BMC 4 – Pennisi
Z 2	Didrachm = Plate 2, Z 2	5	O 3	
			R 5	Head r., crayfish behind 8.30 * London Lloyd 1163 = SC 1907 Ciccio 249 – Pennisi = Rizzo lxiv, 22 8.32 London BMC 3 8.67 Paris Luynes 1075 7.29 Jameson 688 8.50 AC 17, 180 = Hess-Leu 1964 60 8.26 Palermo NC 1931 vi, 4 8.35 Strozzi 1350
Didrachms: obv. dog, rev. female head		6	O 3	
1	O 1 Dog snuffling, r.		R 6	Head r., ivy leaf in front 8.62 * Jameson 687 = MMAG 43, 1970, 43 8.24 Palermo NC 1931 vi, 6
	R 1 Head l., legend retrograde IIANOPMITIKON – Six cast 8.24 Priv. coll. X – * Priv. coll. Y – Pennisi = Rizzo lxiv, 23	7	O 4	Wheel above, legend IIANOPMO
2	O 2 Dog standing r., legend IIANOPMOΣ		R 4	8.36 * Palermo NC 1931 vi, 5
	R 2 Head with topknot, r.; crayfish behind, no legend Cf. Motya 20 (same die altered?) 7.90 Weber 1474 = Locker- Lampson 81 8.28 * MMAG 43, 1970, 42	8	O 5	Dog looks back, shell above
3	O 3 As O 2		R 7	Swastika behind, legend IIANOPMITIKON retrograde 8.52 London BMC 2 7.84 * Oxford 1872 a = Jameson 692
	R 3 Head l., no legend 8.51 Copenhagen 497 8.47 * London Lloyd 1162 7.96 Berlin = Hirmer 194 7.96 Oxford 1872 8.29 SC 1907 Ciccio 250			

9	O 6	As O 5, but Punic legend $\xi \eta \xi$	Obv. Horse prancing r.; above Punic legend $\xi \eta \xi$
	R 8		Rev. Male head r. with dolphins.
	8.00	* London BMC 18 = IB vi, 2 (Eryx)	12 O 1
	8.36	MMAG 43, 1970, 45	R 1
			8.32 Jameson 693
			7.65 Egger 45, 323
			8.61 London Lloyd 1589
			8.08 * London BMC 20
			8.35 Nav. 13, 241
			7.70 Nav. 13, 242 = Walcher
			Molthein 427
			8.37 Nav. 4, 291
10	O 7	Dog standing r., legend $\xi \eta \xi$ below	13 O 1
	R 9		R 2
	8.27	* London BMC 19 = IB vi, 3 (Eryx)	7.64 Cambridge McC 2489
			8.12 Hamb. 29. 5. 1929
			8.45 MMAG 43, 1970, 52
			8.77 * Vienna
11	O 7		
	R 10		
	7.80	* Hirsch 32, 97	