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A HOARD OF ALEXANDER COINS FROM TEL TSIPPOR

L. Y. Rahmani

In 1960 deep ploughing on the antiquities site of Tel Tsippor (M.R. 1249. 1180, N.W. of the modern city of Kiryat Gat)¹ uncovered some ancient pottery vessels which were brought to the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums. One

¹ The present paper is a modified translation from the author's Hebrew version, which appeared in the L. A. Mayer Memorial Volume of Eretz – Israel, vol. 7, Jerusalem 1966, 33–38, pl. 5–8. It is published here with the kind permission of Dr. A. Biran, Director of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums. Thanks are due to Prof. W. Schwabacher of Vällingby, Sweden and to Advocate A. Spaer of Jerusalem for their valuable suggestions, from which this version benefited.



Fig. 1



Fig 2

juglet of yellowish-green clay, was found to contain a hoard of 59 tetradrachms and 4 drachms, which had been deposited in it through a hole in its side (fig. 1–2) ².

The majority of the tetradrachms are of mints under the Alexander rule, coming from all parts of his Empire. The earliest are from the years 336–320 B. C. and the latest are of Philip III (320–319 B. C.), Antigonus (315–312 B. C.) and Seleucus I (311–303 B. C.). Out of the 59 tetradrachms found, 17 belong to the years 336–321 approx.; 41 to the years 320–311 approx.; 36 of the latter part (that is almost $\frac{2}{3}$ of the lot) to the years 317–312 approx.; only one coin belongs to the years 311–303.

The majority of the coins published here could be identified on the basis of well-known parallels. Nos. 45–56 have been included tentatively in Series D of the Babylonian Mint because of certain similarities of their symbols to those on well-known Babylonian coins, and similarity of style in general.

The Graffiti

The main interest of the hoard rests with the graffiti on some of the tetradrachms. Such graffiti have been recorded elsewhere ³, once on Alexander coins from the

² For its form cf. a juglet from Lachish, though of different texture; see: O. Tufnell, *Lachish*, vol. 3, London 1953, 293, pl. 87, 255. At Megiddo similar juglets have been dated 600 to 350 B. C.; see: R. S. Lamon and G. M. Shipton, *Megiddo*, vol. 1, Chicago 1939, 167, § 45; pl. 1, 6. At no place, however have they been given as late a date as 311 B. C., which is the plausible approximate date for burial of this hoard. Excavation undertaken in 1963–1965 at Tel Tsippor by Dr. A. Biran and Dr. O. Negbi proved that the site was occupied in Hellenistic times, even though the layers of that period were mostly destroyed by modern ploughing.

³ See F. v. Schrötter, *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde*, 1930, s. v. «Einritzungen».

Demanhûr hoard ⁴. In the latter case, some single characters were identified, including an Aramaic *mem*, and some monograms. The names read were Egyptian: *hpy* (Apis) and Hebrew: for instance *hwyqym* which was however read not as a name, but as *hu yaqim* – an exclamation, meaning «He will establish» ⁵. Another graffito which was read «*ywn*» (i. e. Greece ⁶) may now possibly be emended to *yhd* (i. e. Jehud = «Judah»).

𐤎𐤏

Like the Demanhûr graffiti, those appearing on some coins of this hoard may be classified into single characters, monograms and names ⁷.

A. *Single characters*: 1 *het*, 2 *zadeh*.

B. *Monograms*: 3 and 4. No satisfying reading can be suggested.

C. *Names*: 5 *šwdrw*. A similar Nabatean name was discovered at Hegra: '*ylw br šwdrwm*', *slm* ⁸. However, the penultimate character can perhaps be read as a *daleth*, and the name would thus read *šwddw*.

6 *tlmw* or '*lmw*', both readings being equally likely. *tlmw* is similar to the Thamudic *tlm* ⁹ or Safaitic ¹⁰ *tlm*, parallel to the name *Telem*, one of the porters in the days of Ezra ¹¹, mentioned as a place-name in southern Judah ¹². The reading '*lmw*' has also satisfactory parallels: '*lmw br 'nmw br rglw*' in Nabatean ¹³; and similarly in Hebrew the place-name '*Almon*, a Levitic city in Benjamin ¹⁴ or '*Alemeth*, a personal name in Benjamin ¹⁵; and again in '*Almon-diblathaim* the place-name of a station on the way from Dibon to the Mount of Nebo in Moab ¹⁶. Names with the ending -u are in fact common in Nabatean, as well as in earlier Arabic personal names, as for instance in the names of the kings of Dedan, from Gashmu I (5th c. B. C.) to Mas 'ûdu of Lihyan ¹⁷.

7 *qny's*. The *shin* seems to have been incised before the rest of the characters, and the remaining word may tentatively be read as the personal name *qny'*, *qnyh* or *qwnyh* (Qanya or Qonyah) as it appears in the Elephantine Papyri ¹⁸. The *shin*

⁴ Ch. C. Torrey, *Aramaic Graffiti on Coins of Demanhur*, NNM 77, 1937. Similar graffiti on Alexander coins have lately been reported by local collectors. One feels confident that further graffiti will come to light through re-examination of similar coins in various collections.

⁵ Torrey, l. c., 13. This reading was already corrected by F. Rosenthal, *Die aramäische Forschung*, Leiden 1939, 237, n. 1.

⁶ Torrey, l. c. 9, pl. 1, 4.

⁷ Thanks are due to Professors N. Avigad, Y. Kutscher and Y. Yadin and to Dr. A. Negev of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, and to my colleague Mr. J. Naveh for their valuable suggestions.

⁸ J. Cantineau, *Les Nabatéens*, vol. 2, Paris 1932, 149; CIS II, 320 D.

⁹ A. van den Branden, *Les Inscriptions Thamoudéennes*, Louvain 1950, 531.

¹⁰ F. V. Winnett, *Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan*, Toronto 1957, 110, No. 807.

¹¹ Ezek. 10:24.

¹² Josh. 15:24.

¹³ M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* 2, 1908, 254 E.

¹⁴ Josh. 21:18 etc.

¹⁵ I Chr. 8:36; 9:42.

¹⁶ Num. 36:46.

¹⁷ W. F. Albright, «Dedan», *Geschichte und Altes Testament*, Tübingen 1953, 6–7.

¹⁸ A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the 5th Century B. C.*, Oxford 1953, p. 167, No. 63, line 14; p. 1, No. 1, line 2; p. 10, No. 5, line 2.



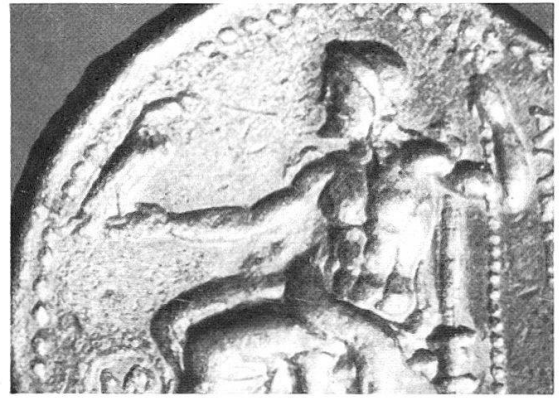
Graffito 1



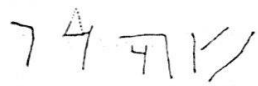
Graffito 2



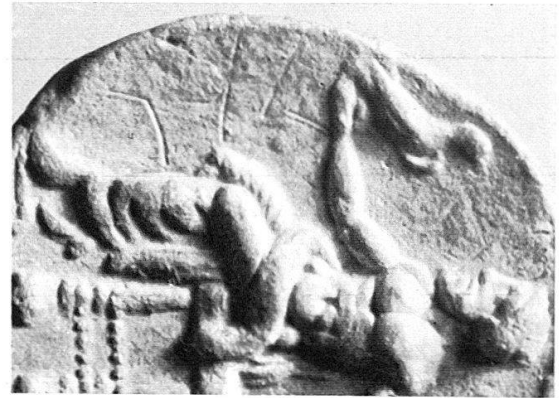
Graffito 3



Graffito 4



Graffito 5



Graffito 6



◀ Graffito 7

might well stand separately as a sign for Sheqel (i. e. Tetradrachm) similar to the custom at Elephantine¹⁹, and earlier in the Ophir ostrakon from Tell Qasile²⁰. The whole graffito may perhaps be read «*qanya sh(ekel)*», similar to *asmakhtha qanya* «take possession of the collateral» in the Babylonian Talmud²¹, i. e. an inscription affirming the equivalent of the Tetradrachm.

As to the general significance of such graffiti, certain authorities consider that they were made by the merchant, who paid with this coin and wished to vouch personally for its metal and weight²². The author, however, prefers an explanation suggested to him by Dr. Y. Aharoni of the Hebrew University who regarded these graffiti as ownership-signatures, possibly of members of a caravan, in which each member wished to assure his ownership of the coins in his purse.

There seems little doubt that the names *Talmu* (or 'Almu) and *Shudru* (or *Shudadu*) are Nabatean. This would fit well into the historical situation: in 312 B. C. the army of Antigonos was defeated by the Nabateans. After their victory, the Nabateans wrote a letter to Antigonos «in Syrian — i. e. in Aramaic — script» (Συρίοις γράμμασι)²³. The Nabatean names scratched in Aramaic characters on the coins published here are the first tangible evidence of the presence of the Nabateans in that period in this area. However, an additional significance attaches to this phenomenon: there seems little reasonable doubt that the Nabateans were forced to accept these coins from Macedonian soldiers, either of Antigonos' army or that of Ptolemy, as payment for supplies²⁴. It can be surmised that from the days of Alexander onwards, especially in Cisjordan²⁵, the Nabateans began to act as provisioners for the army and as purchasers of its loot.

The burial of this hoard cannot have taken place earlier than 311 B. C. After that date, however, we have only one coin and it is therefore unlikely that the hoard was buried much later. Such a date fits very well into the overall picture of a period between Ptolemy's retreat from Palestine, after having destroyed the strongholds of Acre, Jaffa, Samaria and Gaza, and the signing of the peace-treaty between Antigonos and his opponents.

The hoard is a small one, very much unlike the big hoards of Alexander tetradrachms known in the East, e. g.: 8,000 at Demanhur; two hoards of 3,600 each at Side; 3,000 at Aleppo; 2,500 at Abu-Humus etc. However, our hoard has analogies in the west, where hoards of 40–50 tetradrachms have been discovered²⁶, and even in this country, at Beth Yerah, where a hoard of 53 tetradrachms of Alexander

¹⁹ Cowley, l. c., p. 66 ff. etc.; see also index p. 311.

²⁰ B. Maisler (Mazar), The Excavations at Tell Qasile, Israel Exploration Journal 1, 1951, 209; 204, fig. 13 f.

²¹ Baba Mezi'a 66 b. See: M. Jastrow, Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli etc., vol. 2, London 1903, 1391.

²² Cf. J. G. Milne, Greek and Roman Coins and the Study of History, London 1939, 78.

²³ Diodorus, Bibliotheca, 2, 48; 19, 94–100; cf. F. M. Abel, L'expédition des Grecs à Petra en 312 avant J. C., Revue Biblique, 1937, 373–391; J. Starkey in Biblical Archaeologist, 18, 1955, 84–85; J. Cantineau, Les Nabatéens, vol. 1, Paris 1930, 11.

²⁴ See in this connection Kirkman's remarks in the matter of the appearance of coins from Macedonian mints at Lachish: J. S. Kirkman, in Lachish vol. 3, London 1953, 166. He affirms that in the Hellenistic world it was usual to accept foreign coins en masse, in order to use their metal as raw material; soldiers however, accepted such coins also as pay: they passed them on as legal tender, enforcing their acceptance.

²⁵ Dr. A. Negev of the Hebrew University, excavator of the Nabatean stronghold of 'Avdat, kindly informs me, that in his researches there he discovered evidence of a settlement at a date corresponding to our hoard, presumably by Nabateans.

²⁶ Rostovzeff, l. c. (above, n. 30), vol. 3, 1352, n. 38, and literature there cited.

and Philip and one Tyrian shekel was found, having been buried not long after 319 B. C. ²⁷.

In conclusion, we can sum up that our hoard was buried shortly after 311 B. C. Its main importance lies in the Nabatean names scratched on two of the coins; these are so far our earliest material evidence for the appearance of Nabateans on the western shores of the Jordan.

²⁷ Baramki, l. c. (above, n. 28: IX), 86 ff.

²⁸ Notes to the catalogue:

I = L. Müller, *Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand*, Copenhagen 1855.

II = E. T. Newell, Reattribution of Certain Tetradrachms of Alexander the Great, *American Journal of Numismatics* 45, 1911.

III = Newell, id., *American Journal of Numismatics* 46, 1912.

IV = E. T. Newell, *The Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake*, New Haven 1916.

V = E. T. Newell, *Tarsos under Alexander*, *American Journal of Numismatics*, 52, 1918.

VI = E. T. Newell, *Alexander Hoards – Andritsaena*, *NNM* 21, New York, 1923.

VII = E. T. Newell, *Alexander Hoards – Demanhur*, *NNM* 19, 1923.

VIII = E. T. Newell, *Alexander Hoards – Olympia*, *NNM* 39, 1929.

IX = J. Baramki, *A Hoard of Silver Coins of Sidon and Alexander from Khirbet el-Kerak*, *QDAP* 11, 1945.

²⁹ Newell attributes this symbol to Adramelek. The attribution to the mint of Byblos has lately been reconfirmed by A. Bellinger in *Berytus* 10, 1950, 41, where it is dated «319 or earlier».

³⁰ While Newell dates his coin to 317–316, M. Rostovtzeff (*The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, vol. 1, Oxford 1941, pl. 18, 6) attributes it to Antigonos, thus dating it a year or two later.

³¹ The M is doubtful. Should it be missing, then this coin might be attributed to the mint of Miletus, and to the years 330–320; see: VII-37, 1813.

³² The reading of this symbol is not certain.

³³ E. T. Newell, *Eastern Seleucid Mints*, New York 1938, 163, 434.

³⁴ The B is doubtful. Probably this is a coin of the Berytus mint; see: VII-53, 3653.

³⁵ Similar drachms have been found in a hoard, probably from Gezer, where they were found in company with Alexander coins – see: C. Lambert, *Egypto-Arabian, Phoenician and Other Coins of the 4th Century B. C. found in Palestine*, *QDAP* 2, 1932, pp. 1–10. It seems fairly likely that coins of this type were minted somewhere in the south of this country.

Résumé

On a découvert en 1960, à Tel Tsippor, dans une cruche d'argile jaune-verte, 59 tétradrachmes et 4 drachmes. La plupart des tétradrachmes émanent d'ateliers de l'époque d'Alexandre, les plus anciennes sont de 336–320 av. J.-C.; les plus récentes sont de Philippe (320–319), d'Antigone (315–312) et de Séleucus Ier (311–303).

Le grand intérêt de ce trésor nous est donné par les graffiti que portent quelques pièces. Il en a déjà été trouvé ailleurs, l'auteur en discute l'interprétation. D'aucuns pensent qu'ils ont été apposés par des marchands, en guise de caution de leur valeur intrinsèque; l'auteur y voit des marques de propriété. En effet, les mots Talmu et Shudru sont des noms Nabatéens, or, l'armée d'Antigone a été défaite par eux en 312. Ces monnaies seraient le premier témoignage de leur présence en ces lieux et à cette époque. Ces pièces remises en paiement par les troupes d'Alexandre, feraient des Nabatéens des fournisseurs de son armée.

La date de l'enfouissement n'est pas postérieure à 311. Cette date se situe entre la retraite de Ptolémée après avoir détruit les places fortes de Palestine et le traité de paix signé par Antigone et ses adversaires.



Ce petit trésor est pour l'auteur le premier indice de la présence des Nabatéens, en 311 av. J.-C. sur la rive occidentale du Jourdain.

Colin Martin









Catalogue of the Hoard

A. *Tetradrachms*


Obverse: On all, the head of young Heracles r. covered in lion's skin, bearded border; No. 6 has a rectangular punchmark below the ear. No. 51 has a circle behind the mouth.

No. Date	Reverse	In Field	Symbol	Under Throne	Weight in g	Diameter	Axis	Graffito No.	Parallels ²⁸
<i>MINT: Amphipolis, Group E</i>									
1	328-327 app. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ Zeus seated to l. pearled border	Herm			16,80	26 mm	←	2	I-7, 366; II-198, 30; VI-6, 17; VII-29, 716
<i>MINT: Amphipolis, Group F</i>									
2	326 app. Similar	Pallas Promachos			15,94	25 mm	↑		I-10, 649; II-198, 38; VII-29, 967; IX-88, 67
<i>MINT: Amphipolis, Group H</i>									
3	324-323 app. Similar but inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	Phrygian cap			16,65	25 mm	/		I-12, 854; II-198, 43; VI-7, 21; VII-30, 1344; IX-88, 68-69
4	Same Similar	Tripod			16,25	25 mm	↘		I-4, 146; II-198, 45; VI-7, 23; VII-30, 1458
<i>MINT: Amphipolis, Group I</i>									
5	322-321 app. Similar				16,89	24 mm	/		I-13, 862; II-198, 46; VII-31, 1471
6	Same Similar				16,64	26 mm	/		I-13, 863; II-198, 47; VI-7, 25; VII-31, 1488; IX-88, 70
<i>MINT: Pella</i>									
7	336-320 or later	Similar to No. 1	⊖		16,60	27 mm	↖		III-22, 57; VI-8, 33; VII-32, 1597

No.	Date	Reverse	Symbol		Weight in g	Diameter	Axis	Graffito No.	Parallels ²⁸
			In Field	Under Throne					
<i>MINT: Tarsus, First Series «Officina B»</i>									
8	333-328	Similar		B	16,29	25 mm	↖		I-18, 1288; V-74, 4; VII-40, 2096
<i>MINT: Aradus</i>									
9	Before 319	Similar	ΣΩ	⚡	16,76	27 mm	↖		I-19, 1363; III-40, 139; VI-12, 67; VII-51, 3405
10	Same	Similar	Caduceus	Same	16,70	27 mm	↗		I-19, 1370; III-40, 140; VII-52, 3467; IX-89, 83
<i>MINT: Byblus, Series II, Later Style</i>									
11	315 (?)	Similar	Ɀ		16,52	28 mm	↗		I-19, 1375; III-40, 127; VI-13, 69; VII-52, 3624; VIII-9, 62 ²⁹
12	Same	Similar	Same		16,31	26 mm	↑		
13	Same	Similar	Same		16,64	26 mm	↑		
<i>MINT: Sidon, Series B</i>									
14	333-332 app.	Similar	Ɀ	⚡	16,62	24 mm	↖		III-40, 150; IV-9, 8
<i>MINT: Sidon, Series D</i>									
15	323-321 app.	Similar	M	ΣI	16,52	26 mm	↗		I-19, 1401; IV-15, 36; VII-54, 3755
16	Same	Similar	N	Same	16,02	29 mm	↗		IV-15, 38; VII-54, 3757; IX-89, 86
<i>MINT: Sidon, Series E</i>									
17	320-318	Similar but for inscription ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ	O	Same	16,68	26 mm	↑		IV-17, 45; VII-55, 3768

No. Date	Reverse	In Field	Symbol	Under Throne	Weight in g	Diameter	Axis	Graffito No.	Parallels ²⁸
18 317-316	Similar but for inscription ΑΛΓΕΑΝΔΡΟΥ	P		Same	16,85	25 mm	↑		IV-18, 48 ³⁰
<i>MINT: Ake</i>									
19 315-314 app.	Similar	II- [=] HO			16,36	27 mm	↙		IV-49, 35
20 314-313 app.	Similar	III- = HO			16,74	27 mm	↙		IV-49, 36
21 Same	Similar	Same			16,42	25 mm	↑		Same
22 Same?	Similar	J = HO			16,54	25 mm	↓		
23 Same?	Similar	J = HO			16,60	26 mm	↙		
24 Same?	Similar	J HO			16,39	28 mm	↑	7	
25 Same?	Similar	J HO			16,68	26 mm	↖	6	
26 Same?	Similar	... HO]			16,36	26 mm	↘		
<i>MINT: Babylon, Series A</i>									
27 331-329 app.	Similar	Φ		M	16,50	25 mm	↑	1	III-47, 184; VII-57, 3983
28 Same?	Similar	Φ(?)		M (?)	16,32	26 mm	↙	3	
<i>MINT: Babylon, Series B</i>									
29 329-326 app.	Similar	Bee			16,42	27 mm	→		I-9, 697; III-48, 197; VII-58, 4056
30 Same	Similar	Bird			16,62	26 mm	↙		III-48, 194; VII-58, 4105
31 Same	Similar				16,72	27 mm	↙		I-10, 670; VI-13, 74; VII-60, 4325
32 Same	Similar				16,52	24 mm	↙		

No. Date	Reverse	In Field	Symbol	Under Throne	Weight in g	Diameter	Axis	Graffito No.	Parallels ²⁸
<i>MINT: Babylon, Series D</i>									
33	317-312 app. Similar but for inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	MP in wreath	MI		16,64	29 mm	↖		I-11, 734; VI-15, 83
34	Same Similar	Same	Same	Same	16,57	29 mm	←		
35	Same Similar	Same	Same	Same	16,45	26 mm	←		
36	Same Similar	Same	Same	Same	16,34	27 mm	↗		
37	Same Similar	Same	Same	Same	16,33	27 mm	↗		
38	Same Similar	Same	Same	Same	16,78	29 mm	←		
39	Same Similar	Same	Same	Same	16,47	27 mm	↘		
40	Same Similar	Same	Same	Same	16,18	27 mm	↖		
41	Same Similar	Same	Same	Same	16,61	26 mm	↖		
42	Same Similar	Same	Same	Same	16,73	26 mm	→		
43	Same Similar	Same	Same	Same	16,78	29 mm	↘		
44	Same Similar	Same	Same	Same	16,22	27 mm	↘		
45	Same Similar	MI	MP in wreath	MP in wreath	16,14	26 mm	↘		I-11, 735
46	Same Similar	Same	Same	Same	16,80	25 mm	↑		
47	Same Similar	MP in wreath	A	A	16,72	26 mm	↑		I-11, 727
48	Same Similar	A	MP in wreath	MP in wreath	16,74	26 mm	↗		I-11, 728
49	Same Similar	MP in wreath	H	H	16,87	25 mm	↖		I-11, 713
50	Same Similar	Same	Same	Same	16,83	27 mm	←		
51	Same Similar	Same	Same	Same	16,33	27 mm	↖		
52	Same Similar	Same	Same	Same	16,60	27 mm	↓		
53	Same Similar	Same	Same	Same	16,60	26 mm	↘		
54	Same Similar	Same	Same	Same	16,51	27 mm	↗		

No. Date	Reverse	In Field	Symbol	Under Throne	Weight in g	Diameter Axis	Graffito No.	Parallels ²⁸
55 Same	Similar	Same	Same	Same	16,50	27 mm ↘		
56 Same	Similar	H ³²	⌘ in wreath		16,19	27 mm ↘		I-11, 714
<i>MINT: Ecbatana, Series A 2</i>								
57 311-303 app.	Similar but for inscription ΑΑΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	⊙	Forepart of grazing horse		16,53	25 mm ↓		33
<i>MINT: Uncertain</i>								
58 320	Similar	⊙		AI	16,57	27 mm ↑	5	34
59 Late	Similar	⊙		ΞR	16,05	25 mm ↘		I-20, 1466

B. Local Drachms of the Athenian Type³⁵

Obverse: on all, helmeted head of Athena r.

No. Date	Reverse	Diameter in mm	Weight in g	Axis
60 Late 4th c.	AΘE, owl r. olive spray behind crescent	18	4,02	↖
61 Same	Similar, but inscription AΘ E	16	4,15	↖
62 Same	Similar, but inscription off flan	14	3,98	↙
63 Same	Similar, but inscription AΘ; owl partly off flan	13	3,88	↓



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ZWEI IRREGULÄRE DENARTYPEN
 DES P. SEPVLLIVS MACER MIT CAESAR DICTATOR PERPETVO
 Zur Auswertung der Münzquellen der Geschichte des Jahres 44 v. Chr.

Andreas Alföldi

10. und 11. Beitrag¹

Die Denartypen des Macer mit der Vs.-Legende CAESAR DICT. PERPETVO schreiben den Beinamen dieses Prägebeamten stets von links nach rechts, mit nach außen gekehrten Buchstaben, im Gegensinne des Uhrzeigers. Es gibt aber einen einzigen Rs.-Stempel der gleichen Periode, auf dem das Cognomen MACER nach innen gekehrt, von rechts nach links laufend geschrieben steht. Dieser Stempel mit seiner irregulären Beschriftung, die der Aufmerksamkeit des mit der Stempelkontrolle beauftragten Angestellten entgangen ist, weist so überraschend weitverzweigte Stempelverbindungen auf, daß er als Musterbeispiel für die Gleichzeitigkeit aller *dict. perpetuo*-Prägungen vor der Ermordung Caesars der Behandlung der Normaltypen vorangestellt werden kann. Mit diesem alleinstehenden Rs.-Stempel sind beide damals üblichen Kopfdarstellungen des Diktators verbunden worden, so daß folgende Varianten entstanden sind:

Typus X. Vs. CAESAR DICT. PERPETVO, sein bekränzter Kopf nach r.
 Rs. P. SEPVLLIVS MACER, mit «Macer» von r. nach l. geschrieben.

Venus mit der Victoriola auf der r. Hand nach l. stehend. Mit der Linken stützt sich die Göttin auf ihr langes Szepter, dessen unteres Ende durch einen ovalen Schild verdeckt ist.

Typus XI. Vs. wie bei X, aber der bekränzte Kopf ist auch durch die Opfertoga des *pontifex maximus* umhüllt.

Rs. wie bei X.

Wie bemerkt, ist mir nur ein einziger Rs.-Stempel für die beiden Typen bekannt.

¹ Die Beiträge 1. bis 5. sind erschienen im Jb. Bern. Hist. Mus. 41–42, 1961–1962 (1963) 275 ff. SM 13, 1963, 29 ff.; 14, 1964, 65 ff.; 15, 1965, 29 ff.; 16, 1966, 4 ff. Die Beiträge 6. bis 9. befinden sich in Vorbereitung für die SNR.