

جمعية الآثار بالإسكندرية
SOCIÉTÉ ARCHÉOLOGIQUE D'ALEXANDRIE

BULLETIN

N° 48



LE CAIRE

IMPRIMERIE DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE

2009

BULLETIN

N° 48

A Ptolemaic bronze hoard from Tell Sakha (anc. Xoïs)

Hans-Christoph Noeske

The subject of this article is a Ptolemaic bronze hoard which was found by chance in 1995 on Tell Sakha, governorate Kafr al-Sheikh, anc. Xoïs*.

The site of ancient Xoïs, the capital of the 6th **Nome** of Lower Egypt, in the centre of the Delta of the Nile is a prolific source for coin finds¹. Several hoards are reported to originate from Tell Sakha, attesting to the importance of the site from the Archaic period until the Later Roman Empire, while regrettably, single finds whether from **archaeological** excavations or found just by chance, obviously did not until now find the attention of the Antiquities Service or the archaeologists concerned with the site².

Thus the coin hoard which is presented here is not the first which has been found on Tell Sakha. There are five more hoards which were found earlier.

- 1) In 1897 a hoard of more than 72 Greek silver coins from the beginning of the 5th century B.C. was discovered there³. Together with the coins several fragments of silver bars and lead pieces,

* I wish to express my gratitude to the late F. Mekkawi, **Tanta University**, who provided me with detailed informations, and photos of each coin of the hoard. His sudden death sadly prevented him from working with me on this paper.

- (1) W. Helck. 1967. Xoïs, *RE* IX A, 2 2152-2155; W. Helck. 1974. *Die altägyptischen Gaue*. Beiheft TAVO B 5 164-165; P. Vernus. 1986. Xoïs, *LÄ* VI 1302-1305; S. Timm. 1991. s.v. Saha. *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*. Teil 5 (Q-S). Beiheft TAVO B 41/5 2231-2237.
- (2) There have been only few excavations on the site of ancient Xoïs: Abd el-Mohsen el-Khachab. 1978. Ta sarapeia à Sakha et au Fayoum. *CASAE* 25, 55; idem. 1964. Some recent acquisitions in the Cairo Museum 3. A terracotta medallion. *JEA* 50, 145 and pl. XIV, 1.
- (3) IGCH 1639 = Noe 888; contents: Acanthus (1), Lete (4), Neapolis Maced. (1), Thraco-Maced. (8), Abdera (3), Dicaea Thrac. (1), Thasos (1), Eretria (1), Athens (2), Aegina (3), Corinth (8), Naxos (2), Paros (2), Cyclades unc. (2), Ionia unc. (1), Clazomenae (1), Colophon (1), Chios (6), Samos (1), Idyma (1), Camirus (1), Ialysus (1), Lycia (1), Lydia (Croesus) (1), Sidon (3), Unc. (5), fragments of silver bars and of coins, also 40 lead pieces.

some of them stamped, had been buried. The hoard was soon dispersed by coin dealers and only 40 coins went to public collections in Berlin and London. Fortunately the notices of Weber (1899)⁴, Dutilh (1899)⁵, and Dressel (1900)⁶, compiled shortly after the discovery of the hoard, present reliable information on its original content and composition.

- 2) In 1923 E.T. Newell bought a hoard in Cairo which had been found by fellahin on Tell Sakha a short time before⁷. It consisted of 299 silver coins, many of them fused together by corrosion. The composition of the hoard was rather unusual. 32 autonomous Greek silver coins from as early as the 4th century B.C. had been buried together with 262 Roman imperial denarii from the reign of Nero up to the death of Traianus A.D. 117, and several provincial silver coins of Traianus from Caesarea in Cappadocia. This hoard is now kept by the American Numismatic Society in New York.
- 3) In 1924 a mixed hoard of 755 Alexandrian silver and bronze coins is reported to have been found by chance on Tell Sakha⁸. The coins remained undescribed and their disposition is unknown. Obviously the hoard was dispersed by coin dealers.
- 4) In 1930 a very large hoard consisting of thousands of Roman imperial gold coins was discovered in ancient Xoïs⁹. Beginning

(4) H. Weber. 1899. On Finds of Archaic Greek Coins in Lower Egypt. *NC*, 269-283.

(5) E.D.J. Dutilh. 1899. Vestiges d'atelier monétaire. *JIAN*, 287.

(6) H. Dressel. 1900. Altgriechischer Münzfund aus Ägypten. *ZfN*, 231-253.

(7) Sh. H. Weber. 1932. An Egyptian hoard of the second century A.D. *ANSNM* 54. New York = CH VII (1985) A 35 = Noe 889; contents: autonomous Greek: Rhodes 166-43 B.C. (12), Argos 322-229 B.C. (2), Sicyon 250-146 B.C. (5), Achaean League after 280 B.C. (13); Roman imperial denarii: Nero (2), Galba (1), Otho (2), Vitellius (2), Vespasian(23), Titus (Vespasian) (1), Domitian (Vespasian) (5), Titus (7), Domitian (Titus) (1), Julia (Titus) (1), Domitian (59), Domitia (1), Nerva (24); Trajan (132), Matidia (1); Caesarea Capp.: Traian (5).

(8) CH VII (1985) A 9 = H. Abou-Seif. 1924. Report on the Inspectorate of Tanta from September 1923 to January 1925. *ASAE* 24, 149.

(9) CH VII (1985) A 68 = E. Breccia. 1932. *Musée gréco-romain 1925-1931*, 67f.; contents of the part in Alexandria: Roman imperial: Nero (3), Galba (1), Vespasian (5), Domitian (1), Nerva (3), Trajan (20?), Plotina and Matidia (1), Hadrian (20?), Antoninus Pius (a great number), Faustina (30), Marcus Aurelius (a great number), Lucius Verus (?), Commodus (?), Lucilla (8).

with pieces of Nero and closing with coins of Commodus and Lucilla about A.D. 180-192, most were aurei of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. Only 299 coins from the hoard which had been confiscated by the authorities went to the collections of the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, the remainder was dispersed.

- 5) Finally, during excavations of a big ceramic workshop on Tell Sakha in 1963 a considerable collection of bronzes datable to the reigns of Ptolemaios II and III (and IV) was found¹⁰. Without any doubt this parcel of early Ptolemaic coins was a hoard concealed "near the main funnel of a pottery kiln". The coins went to the Cairo Museum and received no further attention. Not even the number of the coins from the find is reported.

In contrast to most of the Ptolemaic hoards which originate from Egypt, the find circumstances of the bronze hoard of Tell Sakha, 1995 are very well known, although it was not discovered during archaeological excavations¹¹.

In the middle of August 1995 children found a block of metal when they were playing in front of their house. The block was buried in debris left after digging a new drain only 150 m distant from the site of ancient Xoïs. Because of sickness the mother of the children, Ibtisam Abdul-Azis al-Khouli, only brought the metal block one month later, on September 17th 1995, to the police office of Sakha. Hassan al-Ghannam, the police officer responsible immediately informed Mohammed Hamad, the inspector of antiquities, who identified the metal block as a coin hoard from the Graeco-Roman period, the coins being stuck together by corrosion. He passed the lump to Ahmad Radi, director of the restoration department of the Museum of Tanta. There, the block of metal was carefully taken apart and the coins cleaned from corrosion and dirt.

(10) Abd el-Mohsen el-Khachab. 1964. Some recent acquisitions of the Cairo Museum 3. A terracotta medallion. *JEA* 50, 145.

(11) The following details are taken from the police report.

The results of this treatment were 123 bronze coins, all from the Ptolemaic period.

Because when found all the coins were stuck together, it is certain that no pieces of the hoard are missing, and therefore this hoard must **be considered as** complete. Presumably originally the coins had been wrapped into a cloth before they had been buried by their owner. An additional storage vessel, e.g. a clay pot, although there are reasons to believe that it may have existed, was perhaps destroyed and not recognized during the digging of the drain by the workmen.

Today the coin hoard from Xoïs is registered and kept in the Museum of Tanta, Kafr el-Sheikh department of Archaeology¹².

The earliest coins in the hoard are three pieces of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos. From the reign of Ptolemaios III Euergetes originate 12 bronzes, while 108 coins are of Ptolemaios IV Philopator. They are classified and arranged in the following coin list according to A. Krohmann/O. Mørkholm. 1977. *Egypt: The Ptolemies. Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals. Danish National Museum, Copenhagen* (= SNG Cop.) with the corresponding entries of J.N. Svoronos. 1904. *Ta Nomismata tou kratous ton Ptolemaion*, Athens (= Sv.), R.S. Poole. 1882. *The Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt. Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum*. London (= BMC), and W. Weiser. 1995. *Katalog ptolemäischer Bronzemünzen der Sammlung des Instituts für Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln. Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensia XXIII*. Opladen (= Weiser). For the comparative material A. Geissen. 1974-1983. *Katalog Alexandrinischer Kaisermünzen der Sammlung des Instituts für Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln. Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensia V*. Opladen (= Geissen), and G. Dattari. 1901. *Monete Imperiali Greche. Numi Augg. Alexandrini*. Cairo (= Dattari) were also used.

(12) The numbers of the individual coins in the register book may be taken from the coin list.

Coin list of the hoard from Tell Sakha (anc. Xoïs) 1995

**Ptolemaios II Philadelphos
(Alexandria 285/4 - 247/6)**

Obv.: Head of Zeus Ammon r. wearing diadem with floral ornament in front; dotted border.

Rev.: Eagle l. on thunderbolt, looking back, wings open; between legs E; dotted border; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ.

SNG Cop. 142 (Sv. 446; BMC 158; Weiser 19-21) No. of spec.: 3

No.	Weight (g)	Diameter of flan (mm)	Thickness of flan (mm)	Reg. No.
1.	83,2	45,8	6,8	102
2.	78,7	45,6	6,0	63
3.	74,3	45,0	6,1	78

**Ptolemaios III Euergetes
(Alexandria 246/5 - 222/1)**

Obv.: Head of Zeus Ammon r. with diadem and floral ornament; dotted border.

Rev.: Eagle l. on thunderbolt; in front cornucopiae; between legs □; dotted border; ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.

SNG Cop. 171-172 (Sv. 964; BMC 87-88; Weiser 71) No. of spec.: 6

No.	Weight (g)	Diameter of flan (mm)	Thickness of flan (mm)	Reg. No.
4.	67,7	42,0	6,5	90
5.	66,8	42,3	6,5	104
6.	66,3	42,1	6,5	10
7.	65,1	42,3	6,4	40
8.	62,7	41,9	6,0	21
9.	54,0	41,1	5,5	11

Obv.: Head of Zeus Ammon r. with diadem and floral ornament; dotted border.

Rev.: Eagle l. on thunderbolt; in front conucopiae; between legs □; dotted border; ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.

SNG Cop. 173-175 (Sv. 965; BMC 89-91; Weiser 72) No. of spec.: 6

No.	Weight (g)	Diameter of flan (mm)	Thickness of flan (mm)	Reg. No.
10.	32,9	35,8	4,7	23
11.	32,9	34,6	4,8	72
12.	32,4	34,1	5,0	29
13.	32,3	32,6	5,2	59
14.	31,9	33,4	5,0	53
15.	31,5	34,7	5,6	31

**Ptolemaios IV Philopator
(Alexandria 222/1 - 204)**

Obv.: Head of Zeus Ammon r. with diadem and floral ornament; dotted border.

Rev.: Eagle l. on thunderbolt; in front cornucopiae; between legs Δ; dotted border; ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.

SNG Cop. 199-200 (Sv. 1125; BMC 106-108; Weiser 49) No. of spec.: 10

No.	Weight (g)	Diameter of flan (mm)	Thickness of flan (mm)	Reg. No.
16.	68,9	40,0	7,3	37
17.	67,1	40,9	6,8	5
18.	66,7	42,5	6,6	42
19.	66,7	41,0	6,3	96
20.	66,6	41,1	6,3	97
21.	66,4	43,0	6,2	43
22.	66,0	41,0	6,3	95
23.	63,1	40,1	6,3	65
24.	58,3	40,1	6,3	115
25.	57,6	41,0	6,2	55

SOCIÉTÉ ARCHÉOLOGIQUE D'ALEXANDRIE - BULLETIN N° 48

Obv.: Head of Zeus Ammon r. with diadem and floral ornament; dotted border.

Rev.: Eagle l. on thunderbolt; in front cornucopiae; between legs Δ; dotted border; ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.

SNG Cop. 201-202 (Sv. 1127; BMC 109-110; Weiser 50) No. of spec.: 9

No.	Weight (g)	Diameter of flan (mm)	Thickness of flan (mm)	Reg. No.
26.	38,8	33,3	5,3	30
27.	35,1	33,6	5,3	50
28.	32,7	33,7	5,2	1
29.	32,0	33,4	5,2	38
30.	30,7	32,7	5,2	39
31.	30,1	33,6	5,3	107
32.	28,7	33,7	4,6	49
33.	28,7	33,7	4,6	123
34.	25,7	34,1	4,3	47

Obv.: Head of Zeus Ammon r. with diadem and floral ornament; dotted border.

Rev.: Eagle l. on thunderbolt; in front cornucopiae; between legs Δ; dotted border; ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.

SNG Cop. 203-204 (Sv. 1128; BMC -; Weiser 52) No. of spec.: 2

No.	Weight (g)	Diameter of flan (mm)	Thickness of flan (mm)	Reg. No.
35.	30,7	37,5	5,0	52
36.	29,3	33,7	4,7	91

Obv.: Head of Zeus Ammon r. with diadem and floral ornament; dotted border.

Rev.: Eagle l. on thunderbolt; in front cornucopiae; between legs Σ E; dotted border; ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.

SNG Cop. 205-206 (Sv. 992; BMC 69-71; Weiser -) No. of spec.: 6

No.	Weight (g)	Diameter of flan (mm)	Thickness of flan (mm)	Reg. No.
37.	73,3	42,6	6,9	100
38.	65,2	40,5	7,0	93
39.	64,8	41,5	6,4	69
40.	64,7	41,0	6,7	6
41.	61,3	42,3	6,5	3
42.	57,5	42,4	6,5	122

Obv.: Head of Zeus Ammon r. with diadem and floral ornament; dotted border.

Rev.: Eagle l. on thunderbolt; in front cornucopiae; between legs Σ E; dotted border; ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.

SNG Cop. 212 (Sv. 993; BMC 72; Weiser -) No. of spec.: 4

No.	Weight (g)	Diameter of flan (mm)	Thickness of flan (mm)	Reg. No.
43.	33,3	34,0	5,4	51
44.	32,2	33,5	5,6	54
45.	32,2	32,7	5,3	80
46.	27,5	34,1	5,7	86

Obv.: Head of Zeus Ammon r. with diadem and floral ornament; dotted border.

Rev.: Eagle l. on thunderbolt; in front cornucopiae; between legs Σ E (monogram); dotted border; ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.

SOCIÉTÉ ARCHÉOLOGIQUE D'ALEXANDRIE - BULLETIN N° 48

SNG Cop. 205-206 (Sv. 992; BMC 69-71; Weiser 61) No. of spec.: 9

No.	Weight (g)	Diameter of flan (mm)	Thickness of flan (mm)	Reg. No.
47.	67,8	41,0	7,1	73
48.	66,3	41,0	6,8	56
49.	64,7	41,2	6,5	77
50.	63,9	41,0	6,5	36
51.	62,6	40,0	7,9	25
52.	61,1	40,0	6,5	74
53.	59,4	39,0	6,8	64
54.	59,0	41,0	6,3	101
55.	56,8	40,0	6,0	76

Obv.: Head of Zeus Ammon r. with diadem and floral ornament; dotted border.

Rev.: Eagle l. on thunderbolt; in front cornucopiae; between legs ΣΕ (monogram); dotted border; ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.

SNG Cop. 212 (Sv. 993; BMC 72; Weiser 63) No. of spec.: 1

No.	Weight (g)	Diameter of flan (mm)	Thickness of flan (mm)	Reg. No.
56.	27,4	37,6	4,8	121

Obv.: Head of Zeus Ammon r. with diadem and floral ornament; dotted border.

Rev.: Eagle l. on thunderbolt; in front cornucopiae; between legs Σ; dotted border; ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.

SNG Cop. 212 (Sv. 993; BMC 72; Weiser -) No. of spec.: 2

No.	Weight (g)	Diameter of flan (mm)	Thickness of flan (mm)	Reg. No.
57.	31,7	33,7	5,4	68
58.	29,3	33,7	4,7	117

Obv.: Head of Zeus Ammon r. with diadem and floral ornament; dotted border.

Rev.: Eagle l. on thunderbolt; head reverted, wings open; between legs Σ E; dotted border; ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.

SNG Cop. 207 (Sv. 1148; BMC 73-76; Weiser -) No. of spec.: 5

No.	Weight (g)	Diameter of flan (mm)	Thickness of flan (mm)	Reg. No.
59.	46,7	38,2	5,5	46
60.	45,9	37,3	5,6	16
61.	43,2	37,3	5,8	87
62.	42,1	38,6	5,2	13
63.	40,0	38,0	5,2	35

Obv.: Head of Zeus Ammon r. with diadem and floral ornament; dotted border.

Rev.: Eagle l. on thunderbolt; head reverted, wings open; between legs Σ E (monogram); dotted border; ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.

SNG Cop. 208 (Sv. 1148; BMC 73-76; Weiser 97) No. of spec.: 2

No.	Weight (g)	Diameter of flan (mm)	Thickness of flan (mm)	Reg. No.
64.	40,9	36,5	5,6	61
65.	37,9	37,5	5,2	2

SOCIÉTÉ ARCHÉOLOGIQUE D'ALEXANDRIE - BULLETIN N° 48

Obv.: Head of Zeus Ammon r. with diadem and floral ornament; dotted border.

Rev.: Eagle l. on thunderbolt; on l. shoulder cornucopiae bound with fillet; between legs A; dotted border; ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.

SNG Cop. 220-221 (Sv. 1166; BMC 36; Weiser 87-88) No. of spec.: 6

No.	Weight (g)	Diameter of flan (mm)	Thickness of flan (mm)	Reg. No.
66.	42,5	38,0	5,5	98
67.	40,4	40,3	4,8	8
68.	39,7	38,5	5,1	20
69.	35,7	39,0	4,3	62
70.	35,3	38,5	4,0	15
71.	33,2	39,6	4,1	7

Obv.: Head of Zeus Ammon r. with diadem and floral ornament; dotted border.

Rev.: Eagle l., looking r., on thunderbolt; on l. shoulder cornucopiae bound with fillet; between legs E; dotted border; ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.

SNG Cop. 224-226 (Sv. 974; BMC 37; Weiser 91) No. of spec.: 21

No.	Weight (g)	Diameter of flan (mm)	Thickness of flan (mm)	Reg. No.
72.	48,3	38,1	5,3	34
73.	45,0	38,6	5,0	119
74.	43,2	37,0	5,3	94
75.	42,4	39,5	5,1	85
76.	42,2	37,5	5,0	84
77.	42,0	36,5	5,8	9
78.	41,8	38,6	5,1	66
79.	41,4	37,0	5,2	118
80.	41,1	38,1	5,0	14
81.	41,0	37,1	5,5	33
82.	40,2	39,0	5,1	26
83.	40,2	36,8	5,2	110
84.	38,1	39,5	4,7	4
85.	36,6	37,8	4,9	114
86.	36,5	38,2	5,0	113
87.	36,4	39,0	4,5	120

88.	36,2	36,8	4,7	41
89.	35,7	37,2	4,3	58
90.	35,3	39,3	4,0	45
91.	33,3	38,5	4,2	103
92.	32,7	37,9	4,0	111

Obv.: Head of Zeus Ammon r. with diadem and floral ornament; dotted border.
Rev.: Eagle l., looking r., on thunderbolt; on l. shoulder cornucopiae bound with fillet; between legs EP (monogram); dotted border; ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.

SNG Cop. 227-229, 233 (Sv. 974; BMC 38; Weiser 92) No. of spec.: 31

No.	Weight (g)	Diameter of flan (mm)	Thickness of flan (mm)	Reg. No.
93.	51,2	38,2	5,8	79
94.	46,8	37,9	5,5	70
95.	46,4	37,5	5,5	81
96.	46,3	37,6	5,6	48
97.	46,1	38,1	5,5	18
98.	45,4	37,7	6,0	83
99.	44,8	37,2	5,7	24
100.	44,7	37,5	5,0	60
101.	44,5	36,5	5,8	108
102.	44,2	38,8	4,7	92
103.	43,8	37,6	5,5	112
104.	43,7	37,0	5,5	109
105.	43,6	37,9	5,4	44
106.	43,1	39,1	4,4	99
107.	43,1	36,5	5,5	17
108.	43,0	36,6	5,4	88
109.	42,9	39,0	4,4	75
110.	42,6	38,2	5,2	19
111.	42,3	35,5	5,8	106
112.	42,2	37,3	5,3	82
113.	42,1	39,9	5,2	32
114.	40,1	38,0	5,3	71
115.	40,0	37,0	4,5	116
116.	39,4	37,7	5,1	105
117.	38,2	36,6	5,3	67
118.	38,1	37,5	4,5	28

119.	37,9	37,2	5,1	22
120.	36,6	37,3	4,8	89
121.	36,5	37,6	5,0	12
122.	33,7	38,0	4,3	57
123.	31,4	37,5	4,4	27

Notes to the coin list:

- 47. Control mark very poor.
- 53. Control mark very poor.
- 54. Control mark very poor.
- 67. Reverse double struck.
- 68. Reverse double struck.
- 101. Reverse double struck.
- 107. Reverse double struck.

In 1882 R.S. Poole wrote in his introduction to the British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins "The Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt": "No series of coins struck by the successors of Alexander is more difficult to class than that of the Ptolemies, no one indeed so difficult except the less important issues of the Pergamene kings... The copper money has almost always heads derived from mythology. There is no reckoning from an era, like that of the Seleucidae, save in the issue of a foreign dependency which does not illustrate the ordinary coinage"¹³.

More than 20 years later, in 1908, - in the meantime the monumental catalogue *Ta nomismata tou kratous ton Ptolemaion* of J.N. Svoronos had been published in 1904, - J.G. Milne noted of the Ptolemaic bronze issues, "that their classification as regards date has not yet been by any means settled ... there is diversity of opinion as to the periods to which many pieces are to be assigned; and the latest classification - that of Svoronos - although a distinct improvement, especially as regards its scientific basis, on any previous one, does not appear to have reached a satisfactory conclusion in reference to many of the types". He concludes: "The only way in which more definite evidence could be procured on this point would be the careful examination of hoards of Ptolemaic copper coins; and unfortunately, though such hoards are frequently found in Egypt, I am informed that they almost always pass into the hands of the metal dealers and are melted down"¹⁴.

(13) R.S. Poole. 1882. *The Ptolemies of Egypt. Catalogue of Greek Coins*. London, XIII.

(14) J.G. Milne. 1908. *The Copper Coinage of the Ptolemies. Annals of Archaeology and*

Again almost thirty years later in 1935, the situation looked not very different to E.T. Newell when he published a hoard: "As hoards of the heavy Ptolemaic bronze coins have seldom been published it is probable that the description of this little hoard will not come amiss to students of the subject. Especially is this the case as it is only by means of hoard analyses that we can definitely prove, disprove or correct the theories and arrangements proposed by J.N. Svoronos in his epoch-making corpus of the Ptolemaic coins¹⁵."

All this is generally still valid today, although in the meantime the efforts of several numismatists such as O. Mørkholm, G.K. Jenkins, A. Gara, and M.J. Price led to many improvements and certainty in the classification of Ptolemaic bronze issues.

There is still felt widespread negligence and even contempt towards such bronze hoards, which nevertheless represent an important part of the currency of a Hellenistic kingdom. From the nearly 300 years of domination of the Ptolemaic kings in Egypt we know of not more than about 40 bronze hoards, many of them published so **insufficiently** that they are not suitable for a detailed analysis.

Therefore, just as during the lifetimes of Milne and Newell, the publication of the coin list of a further recently found hoard as well as the comparison of its coin composition to those of contemporaneous hoards from Egypt, is very welcome.

Including our hoard from Xoïs, there are 14 Ptolemaic bronze hoards which contain coins of the first four Ptolemaic kings (Table 1):

- 1) The earliest hoard is that from Mirgissa near Wadi Halfa in Sudan, with 36 coins of Ptolemaios I Soter and Ptolemaios II Philadelphos before his monetary reform in the 60s of the 3rd cent. B.C.¹⁶

Anthropology 1, 31.

(15) E.T. Newell. 1935. Hoard of Ptolemaic Bronze Coins. Five Greek Bronze Hoards V. *ANSNM* 68. New York, 53.

(16) G. Le Rider. 1969. Monnaies trouvées à Mirgissa. *RN*, 28-35 = IGCH 1685; contents: Ptolemaios I Soter, Alexandria c. 304-283 B.C. SNG Cop. 76-79 (Sv. 271; BMC 41; Weiser

- 2) The hoard chronologically next is much bigger, with 679 bronzes. It was found in 1988 during archaeological excavations in a Ptolemaic house on the Kom of Elephantine near Assuan. More than 90% of the coins are large bronzes of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos. Pieces of Ptolemaios III Euergetes are not present, but some of Ptolemaios IV Philopator. Today the hoard is in the Assuan Museum on the island of Elephantine¹⁷.
- 3) A hoard found before 1913 in Lower Egypt consists of 69 bronzes of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos, Ptolemaios III Euergetes, and

-
- 4,14 (4), SNG Cop. 76 (Sv. 275; BMC -; Weiser 7) (1), SNG Cop. 79 (Sv. 278; BMC 21; Weiser -) (1), SNG Cop. 76-79 (Sv. 288; BMC 12; Weiser 5) (1), SNG Cop. 76-79 (Sv. 269-288) (3), SNG Cop. 80-86 (Sv. 295; BMC 58; Weiser -) (1), SNG Cop. 86 (Sv. 299; BMC 64-65; Weiser -) (2), SNG Cop. 82 (Sv. 291 or 310; BMC 76; Weiser -) (2), SNG Cop. 81 (Sv. 302; BMC -; Weiser -) (1), SNG Cop. 80-86 (Sv. 300; BMC 75; Weiser -) (1), SNG Cop. 80-86 (Sv. 289-303) (1), Ptolemaios II Philadelphos, Alexandria 285-246 B.C. SNG Cop. 91 (Sv. 206/340; BMC -; Weiser -) (5), SNG Cop. - (Sv. 550; BMC 3; Weiser -) (1), SNG Cop. 120-130 (Sv. 560; BMC -; Weiser-) (1), SNG Cop. 122 (Sv. 580; BMC -; Weiser -) (1), SNG Cop. 123 (Sv. 586; BMC 17-18; Weiser 11) (1), SNG Cop. 120-130 (Sv. 598; BMC -; Weiser -) (3), Salamis?/Kition? 285-246 B.C. SNG Cop. - (Sv. 363; BMC 7; Weiser 8) (1), Ptolemaios I Soter/Ptolemaios II Philadelphos, Alexandria c. 304-246 B.C. SNG Cop. 76-86/91/114-130 (5), Kleopatra VII Philopator, Alexandria 51-30 B.C. SNG Cop. 419-421 (Sv. 1871; BMC 4-5; Weiser 183) (2), Augustus, Alexandria 30-28 B.C. Geissen 1 (Dattari 2; BMC 1/2) (1).
- (17) H.-Chr. Noeske. 1993. Prämonetäre Wertmesser und Münzfunde aus Elephantine. *MDAIK* 49, 203-209; contents: Ptolemaios II Philadelphos, Alexandria 285/4-247/6 B.C. SNG Cop. 144-151 (Sv. 413; BMC -; Weiser -) (5), SNG Cop. 144 (Sv. 422; BMC -; Weiser 26) (28), SNG Cop. 144-151 (Sv. 437; BMC 50; Weiser -) (88), SNG Cop. 144-151 (Sv. 447; BMC -; Weiser-) (8), SNG Cop. 145 (Sv. 463; BMC 29-30; Weiser -) (83), SNG Cop. 146-147 (Sv. 464; BMC 124; Weiser-) (19), SNG Cop. 149 (Sv. 479; BMC -; Weiser 22) (116), SNG Cop. 144-151 (Sv. -; BMC -; Weiser -) (26), SNG Cop. 144-151 (Sv. 497; BMC -; Weiser 25) (95), SNG Cop. 150 (Sv. 504; BMC 102-103; Weiser 23-24) (29), SNG Cop. 151 (Sv. 514; BMC 49; Weiser -) (35), SNG Cop. 144-151 (2), SNG Cop. 155 (Sv. 415; BMC -; Weiser -) (4), SNG Cop. 155-157 (Sv. 423; BMC 43; Weiser -) (6), SNG Cop. 156 (Sv. 438; BMC 51-53; Weiser-) (28), SNG Cop. 155-157 (Sv. 449; BMC-; Weiser 29) (13), SNG Cop. 155-157 (Sv. 449; BMC -; Weiser-) (2), SNG Cop. 155-157 (Sv. 458; BMC -; Weiser-) (2), SNG Cop. 155-157 (Sv. 465; BMC -; Weiser 30) (14), SNG Cop. 155-157 (Sv. 466; BMC -; Weiser -) (4), SNG Cop. 155-157 (Sv. 481; BMC -; Weiser -) (5), SNG Cop. 155-157 (Sv. -; BMC -; Weiser -) (5), SNG Cop. 155-157 (Sv. 498; BMC -; Weiser -) (2), SNG Cop. 157 (Sv. 506/510; BMC 106-107; Weiser -) (3), SNG Cop. 158/162 (Sv. 439; BMC 111-114; Weiser 34) (8), SNG Cop. 158-162 (Sv. 450; BMC 115-117; Weiser 31) (2), SNG Cop. 158-162 (Sv. 467; BMC -; Weiser 33) (5), SNG Cop. 161 (Sv. 482; BMC -; Weiser 32) (3), Ptolemaios IV Philopator, Alexandria 222/1-204 B.C. SNG Cop. 222 (Sv. 1167; BMC 43; Weiser 89) (26), SNG Cop. 223 (Sv. 1169) (13).

Ptolemaios IV Philopator. The coins of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos account for no more than 30%, a level attained by none of the later hoards, which all contain less than 10% of these issues or even none. 21 coins from the hoard are now in the collection of the American Numismatic Society in New York¹⁸.

- 4) It is not known where the small hoard - or only a part of a hoard? - found in Egypt before 1943 comes from. It was brought by a returning soldier after the Second World War to New Zealand. 3 of its 7 extant coins are from the reign of Ptolemaios III Euergetes, 4 are issues of Ptolemaios IV Philopator. The hoard is now in the Auckland Museum, New Zealand¹⁹.
- 5-7) Three hoards of different size, all without a recorded findspot were discovered in Egypt before 1908, and are now kept in the Cairo Museum. They were studied by J.G. Milne. Only one of them contains a single coin of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos. The coins of Ptolemaios IV Philopator, however, make up with more than 60%. The slightly older issues of Ptolemaios III Euergetes account for about 30%²⁰.

-
- (18) E.T. Newell. 1935. Hoard of Ptolemaic Bronze Coins. Five Greek Bronze Coin Hoards V. *ANSNM* 68. New York, 51-61 = Noe 373 = IGCH 1691; contents: Ptolemaios II Philadelphos, Alexandria 285/4-247/6 B.C. SNG Cop. 141 (Sv. 412; BMC 159-163; Weiser -) (1), SNG Cop. - (Sv. 462; BMC 157; Weiser -) (1), SNG Cop. 142 (Sv. 446; BMC 158; Weiser 19-21) (13), SNG Cop. 143 (Sv. 478; BMC -; Weiser -) (1), SNG Cop. 149 (Sv. 479; BMC -; Weiser -) (1), SNG Cop. 145-151 (Sv. 497; BMC -; Weiser -) (2), SNG Cop. 145-151 (2), Ptolemaios III Euergetes, Alexandria 246/5-222/1 B.C. SNG Cop. 171-172 (Sv. 964; BMC 87-88; Weiser 71) (8), SNG Cop. 173-175 (Sv. 965; BMC 89-91; Weiser 72) (2), Ptolemaios IV Philopator, Alexandria 222/1-204 B.C. SNG Cop. 199-200 (Sv. 1125; BMC 106-108; Weiser 49) (14), SNG Cop. 199-200 (Sv. 1126; BMC 106-108; Weiser 51) (2), SNG Cop. 203-204 (Sv. 1128; BMC -; Weiser 52) (2), SNG Cop. 205-206 (Sv. 992; BMC 69-71; Weiser -) (5), SNG Cop. 205-206 (Sv. 992; BMC 69-71; Weiser 61) (3), SNG Cop. 205-206 (Sv. 992; BMC 96-71; Weiser -) (4), SNG Cop. 224-226 (Sv. 974; BMC 37; Weiser 91) (4), SNG Cop. 227-229, 233 (Sv. 974; BMC 38; Weiser 91) (4).
- (19) Ch. Erhardt. 1990. Greek and Roman Coins in New Zealand Collections. *NZ Numismatic Journal* 68, 10-13 = CH VIII (1994) 352; contents: Ptolemaios III Euergetes, Alexandria 246/5-222/1 B.C. SNG Cop. 171-172 (Sv. 964; BMC 87-88; Weiser 71) (2), SNG Cop. 173-175 (Sv. 965; BMC 89-91; Weiser 72) (1), Ptolemaios IV Philopator, Alexandria 222/1-204 B.C. SNG Cop. 199-200 (Sv. 1125; BMC 106-108; Weiser 49) (1), SNG Cop. 201-202 (Sv. 1127; BMC 109-110; Weiser 50) (3).
- (20) J.G. Milne. 1908. The Copper Coinage of the Ptolemies. *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 1, 32; Egypt (Cairo 1), before 1908 = Noe 370 = IGCH 1698; contents: Ptolemaios III Euergetes, Alexandria, 246/5-222/1 B.C. SNG Cop. 171-172 (Sv. 964; BMC 87-88; Weiser

SOCIÉTÉ ARCHÉOLOGIQUE D'ALEXANDRIE - BULLETIN N° 48

	Hoard	Coins in Hoard	Ptol. I Soter	Ptol. II Philad.	Ptol. III Euerg.	Ptol. IV Philop.	Quotient Ptol. III / Ptol. IV
1	Mirgissa, 1er lot, 1968/9	36	13,9 50,0 33,3				
2	Elephantine, 1988	679		94,3		5,7	
3	Lower Egypt, before 1913	69		30,4	14,5	55,1	0,3
4	Egypt, CH VIII (1994) 352	7(+?)			42,8	57,1	0,7
5	Egypt (Cairo 1), before 1908	121			37,2	62,8	0,6
6	Egypt (Cairo 3), before 1908	58			31,0	69,0	0,5
7	Egypt (Cairo 2), before 1908	49		2,0	28,6	69,4	0,4
8	Ramesseum, 1896	68		5,9	19,1	75,0	0,3
9	Delta, before 1976	136		8,1	17,6	74,3	0,2
10	Egypt, before 1914	49		6,1	16,3	77,6	0,2
11	Xois, 1995	123		2,4	9,8	87,8	0,1
12	Saqqara, Anubieion, 1978	456		8,1		91,9	
13	Luxor (Birabi), 1915/6	157		X	X	X	

71) (24), SNG Cop. 173-175 (Sv. 965; BMC 89-91; Weiser 72) (21), Ptolemaios IV Philopator, Alexandria 222/1-204 B.C. SNG Cop. 199-200 (Sv. 1125-1126; BMC 106-108; Weiser 49, 51) (14), SNG Cop. 201-204 (Sv. 1127-1128; BMC 109-110; Weiser 50, 52) (9), SNG Cop. 205-206 (Sv. 992; BMC 69-70; Weiser 61) (7), SNG Cop. 212 (Sv. 993; BMC 72; Weiser 63) (6), SNG Cop. 220-221, 224-229, 233 (Sv. 974, 1166; BMC 36-38; Weiser 87-88, 91-92) (40) - Egypt (Cairo 3), before 1908 = Noe 368 = IGCH 1696; contents: Ptolemaios III Euergetes, Alexandria, 246/5-222/1 B.C. SNG Cop. 171-172 (Sv. 964; BMC 87-88; Weiser 71) (10), SNG Cop. 173-175 (Sv. 965; BMC 89-91; Weiser 72) (8), Ptolemaios IV Philopator, Alexandria 222/1-204 B.C. SNG Cop. 199-200 (Sv. 1125-1126; BMC 106-108; Weiser 49, 51) (6), SNG Cop. 201-204 (Sv. 1127-1128; BMC 109-110; Weiser 50, 52) (6), SNG Cop. 205-106 (Sv. 992; BMC 69-70; Weiser 61) (6), SNG Cop. 212 (Sv. 993; BMC 72; Weiser 63) (8), SNG Cop. 220-221, 224-229, 233 (Sv. 974, 1166; BMC 36-38; Weiser 87-88, 91-92) (14) - Egypt (Cairo 2), before 1908 = Noe 369 = IGCH 1697; contents: Ptolemaios II Philadelphos, Alexandria, 285/4-247/6 B.C. SNG Cop. 141, 142, - (Sv. 412, 446, 462; BMC -, 158-163, -; Weiser -, 19-21, -) (1), Ptolemaios III Euergetes, Alexandria, 246/5-222/1 B.C. SNG Cop. 171-172 (Sv. 964; BMC 87-88; Weiser 71) (5), SNG Cop. 173-175 (Sv. 965; BMC 89-91; Weiser 72) (9), Ptolemaios IV Philopator, Alexandria, 222/1-204 B.C. SNG Cop. 199-200 (Sv. 1125-1126; BMC 106-108; Weiser 49, 51) (5), SNG Cop. 201-204 (Sv. 1127-1128; BMC 109-110; Weiser 50, 52) (6), SNG Cop. 205-206 (Sv. 992; BMC 69-70; Weiser 61) (5), SNG Cop. 212 (Sv. 993; BMC 72; Weiser 63) (5), SNG Cop. 220-221, 224-229, 233 (Sv. 974, 1166; BMC 36-38; Weiser 87-88, 91-92) (13).

14	Xois, 1963	X		X	X	X	
----	---------------	---	--	---	---	---	--

Table 1: Coins of the early Ptolemaic kings (Ptolemaios I Soter - Ptolemaios IV Philopator) in bronze hoards from Egypt (in %).

- 8) In 1896 near the great north wall of the Ramesseum at Thebes a hoard was discovered during archaeological excavations²¹. That hoard belongs to a group in which the bronzes of Ptolemaios III Euergetes contribute less than 20% and those of Ptolemaios IV Philopator about 75% of the totals in the hoards. Coins of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos are still present in small numbers²².

Thus structure of these hoards is later than that of the preceding group (no. 3: Lower Egypt, before 1913; no. 4: Egypt, CH VIII (1994) 352; nos. 5-7: Egypt (Cairo 1-3), before 1908), which had percentages between 55 and 70% of coins of Ptolemaios IV Philopator and about 15 to 40% of coins of Ptolemaios III Euergetes.

- 9) A hoard of 136 coins found before 1976 somewhere in the Delta, and now kept in the J. Paul Getty Museum in the USA presents proportions very similar to the Ramesseum-hoard as far as the distribution of the coins of the second, the third and the fourth Ptolemies is concerned²³.

(21) J. Quibell. 1896. *The Ramesseum. Egyptian Research Account*. London, 13; E.T. Newell, Hoard of Ptolemaic Bronze Coins. Five Greek Bronze Coin Hoards *V. ANSNNM* 68. New York 1935, 65 = Noe 1102 = IGCH 1699; contents: Ptolemaios II Philadelphos, Alexandria 185/4-247/6 B.C. SNG Cop. 141 (Sv. 412; BMC 159-163; Weiser -) (2), SNG Cop. 142 (Sv. 446; BMC 158; Weiser 19-21) (2), Ptolemaios III Euergetes, Alexandria 246/5-222/1 B.C. SNG Cop. 171-172 (Sv. 964; BMC 87-88; Weiser 71) (8), SNG Cop. 173-175 (Sv. 965; BMC 89-91; Weiser 72) (5), Ptolemaios IV Philopator, Alexandria 222/2 -204 B.C. SNG Cop. 199-200 (Sv. 1125; BMC 106-108; Weiser 49) (8), SNG Cop. 201-202 (Sv. 1127; BMC 109-110; Weiser 50) (5), SNG Cop. 205-206 (Sv. 992; BMC 69-71; Weiser 61) (11), SNG Cop. 212 (Sv. 993; BMC 72; Weiser 63) (13), SNG Cop. 220-221 (Sv. 1166; BMC 36; Weiser 87-88) (1), SNG Cop. 224-226 (Sv. 974; BMC 37; Weiser 91) (13).

(22) The hoards of this group are no. 8: Ramesseum, 1896; no. 9: Delta, before 1976; no. 10: Egypt, before 1914; and tentatively no. 11, our hoard from Xois, 1995.

(23) P. Visonà. 1978/9. A Hoard of Ptolemaic Bronze Coins in the J. Paul Getty Museum. *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 6/7, 153-163 = CH VI (1981) 30: contents: Ptolemaios II

- 10) Still in private possession is a rather small hoard of 49 pieces which was found in Egypt before 1914, and has nearly identical percentages of the issues of the kings concerned here²⁴.
- 11) The hoard from Xoïs, found in 1995, has to be considered the latest hoard of the group because it has the highest percentage of coins of Ptolemaios IV Philopator, and the lowest of coins of Ptolemaios III

-
- Philadelphos, Alexandria 285/4-247/6 B.C. SNG Cop. 141 (Sv. 412; BMC 159-163; Weiser -) (3), SNG Cop. 142 (Sv. 446; BMC 158; Weiser 19-21) (8), Ptolemaios III Euergetes, Alexandria 246/5-222/1 B.C. SNG Cop. 171-172 (Sv. 964; BMC 87-88; Weiser 71) (17), SNG Cop. 173-175 (Sv. 965; BMC 89-91; Weiser 72) (5), SNG Cop. 176-177 (Sv. 966; BMC 92; Weiser 73) (1), SNG Cop. - (Sv. 1002; BMC -; Weiser 67) (1), Ptolemaios IV Philopator, Alexandria 222/1-204 B.C. SNG Cop. 199-200 (Sv. 1125; BMC 106-108; Weiser 49) (15), SNG Cop. 201-202 (Sv. 1127; BMC 109-110; Weiser 50) (3), SNG Cop. - (Sv. 1130; BMC 65; Weiser -(Tyros?)) (1), SNG Cop. 199-200 (Sv. 1126; BMC 106-108; Weiser 51) (9), SNG Cop. 203-204 (Sv. 1128; BMC -; Weiser 52) (3), SNG Cop. 205-206 (Sv. 992; BMC 69-71; Weiser -) (6), SNG Cop. 212 (Sv. 993; BMC 72; Weiser -) (1), SNG Cop. 205-206 (Sv. 992; BMC 69-71; Weiser 61) (19), SNG Cop. 212 (Sv. 993; BMC 72; Weiser 63) (5), SNG Cop. 205-206 (Sv. 992; BMC 69-71; Weiser -) (12), SNG Cop. 212 (Sv. 993; BMC 72; Weiser -) (1), SNG Cop. 207 (Sv. 1148; BMC 73-76; Weiser -) (2), SNG Cop. - (Sv. -; BMC -; Weiser -) (2), SNG Cop. 220-221 (Sv. 1166; BMC 36; Weiser 87-88) (3), SNG Cop. 222 (Sv. 1167; BMC 43; Weiser 89) (1), SNG Cop. 224-226 (Sv. 974; BMC 37; Weiser 91) (16), SNG Cop. 224-226 var. (Sv. 974 var.; BMC 37 var.; Weiser 91 var.) (2), SNG Cop. 230-231 (Sv. 975; BMC 15-16; Weiser -) (1), SNG Cop. 227-229, 233 (Sv. 974; BMC 38; Weiser 92) (6), SNG Cop. 220-221, 224-229, 233 (Sv. 974, 1166; BMC 36-38; Weiser 87-88, 91-92) (2).
- (24) H.-Chr. Noeske. 1998. *Ein frühptolemäischer Bronzeschatz in deutschem Privatbesitz*, in: U. Peter (ed.), Stephanos Nomismatikos. Edith Schönert-Geiss zum 65. Geburtstag. Berlin, 491-502; contents: Ptolemaios II Philadelphos, Alexandria 285/4-247/6 B.C. SNG Cop. 141 (Sv. 412; BMC 159-163; Weiser -) (1), SNG Cop. 142 (Sv. 446; BMC 158; Weiser 19-21) (2), Ptolemaios III Euergetes, Alexandria, 246/5-222/1 B.C. SNG Cop. 171-172 (Sv. 964; BMC 87-88; Weiser 71) (5), SNG Cop. 173-175 (Sv. 965; BMC 89-91; Weiser 72) (2), SNG Cop. 176-177 (Sv. 966; BMC 92; Weiser 73) (1), Ptolemaios IV Philopator, Alexandria, 222/1-204 B.C. SNG Cop. 199-200 (Sv. 125; BMC 106-108; Weiser 49) (11), SNG Cop. 201-202 (Sv. 1127; BMC 109-110; Weiser 50) (3), SNG Cop. - (Sv. 1126; BMC -; Weiser 51) (1), SNG Cop. 203-204 (Sv. 1128; BMC -; Weiser 52) (2), SNG Cop. 205-206 (Sv. 992; BMC 69-71; Weiser -) (3), SNG Cop. 212 (Sv. 993; BMC 72; Weiser -) (3), SNG Cop. 205-206 (Sv. 992; BMC 69-71; Weiser 61) (4), SNG Cop. 212 (Sv. 993; BMC 72; Weiser 63) (1), SNG Cop. 205-206 (Sv. 992; BMC 69-71; Weiser 60) (1), SNG Cop. 220-221 (Sv. 1166; BMC 36; Weiser 87-88) (1), SNG Cop. 222 (Sv. 1167; BMC 43; Weiser 89) (1), SNG Cop. 224-226 (Sv. 974; BMC 37; Weiser 91) (2), SNG Cop. 227-229, 233 (Sv. 974; BMC 38; Weiser 92) (5).

Euergetes²⁵. Its chronological position in the series of the bronze hoards under discussion is corroborated by the ratio of the different issues from the reign of Ptolemaios IV Philopator, which will be discussed in detail below.

- 12) Nearly four times bigger is the hoard which was discovered in 1978 during excavations in the Anubieion in Saqqara²⁶. Nearly 92% of its 456 bronze coins are from the reign of Ptolemaios IV Philopator, 8% are considerably older and are identified as issues of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos. The hoard contains no coins at all of Ptolemaios III Euergetes.
- 13-14) Two more hoards must be mentioned at the end of the list of comparative hoards. One of them was found as early as 1915/6 in Upper Egypt, in Luxor²⁷. 157 coins of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos, Ptolemaios III Euergetes, and Ptolemaios IV Philopator are reported to have been found. But the detailed distribution was regrettably not published.

Even worse is the documentation of the hoard discovered during excavations of a pottery kiln on Tell Sakha-Xois in 1963²⁸. As already

(25) For the contents see the coin list p. 4.

(26) M.J. Price. 1988. The Coins, in: D.G. Jeffreys/H.-S. Smith, *The Settlement and the Temple Precinct. The Anubieion at Saqqâra I. Egypt Exploration Society, 54th Excavation Memoir.* London, 66-70 = CH V (1979) 37 = CH VIII (1994) 310; contents: Ptolemaios II Philadelphos, Alexandria 285/4-247/6 B.C. SNG Cop. 142 (Sv. 446; BMC 158; Weiser 19-21) (16), SNG Cop. 142 var. (Sv. 446 var.; BMC -; Weiser -) (2), SNG Cop. 143 (Sv. 478; BMC -; Weiser -) (2), SNG Cop. 156 (Sv. 438; BMC 51-53; Weiser -) (7), SNG Cop. 155-157 (Sv. 449; BMC -; Weiser 29) (3), SNG Cop. 155-157 (Sv. 449 var.; BMC -; Weiser 29 var.) (1), SNG Cop. 155-157 (Sv. 465; BMC -; Weiser 30) (5), SNG Cop. 155-157 (1), Ptolemaios IV Philopator, Alexandria 222/1-204 B.C. SNG Cop. 220-221 (Sv. 1166; BMC 36; Weiser 87-88) (31), SNG Cop. 222 (Sv. 1167; BMC 43; Weiser 89) (22), SNG Cop. 222 (Sv. 1167; BMC 43; Weiser 89) (2), SNG Cop. 223 (Sv. 1169) (29), SNG Cop. 224-226 (Sv. 974; BMC 37; Weiser 91) (151), SNG Cop. - (Sv. 974a (p. 419)) (1), SNG Cop. 230-231 (Sv. 975; BMC 115-116; Weiser -) (31), SNG Cop. 227-229, 233 (Sv. 974; BMC 38; Weiser 92) (104), SNG Cop. 230-231 (Sv. 975; BMC -; Weiser 93) (31), SNG Cop. 220-221, 224-229, 233 (Sv. 974, 1166; BMC 36-38; Weiser 87-88, 91-92) (12), SNG Cop. 223, 230-231, 234 (Sv. 975, 1169; BMC 15-16; Weiser 93) (5).

(27) IGCH 1700.

(28) Cf. p. 2 no. 5 and note 10.

mentioned, not even the number of coins was reported. The hoard is now in the collection of the Cairo Museum.

The chronological sequence of the hoards, which is shown in Table 1, was established on the proportions of the coins of Ptolemaios III Euergetes and Ptolemaios IV Philopator, those of Euergetes decreasing, while those of Philopator steadily grow in the hoards. The ratio of both is given in the last column of the table.

To corroborate this arrangement, and to give more details, one may use the distribution of the issues of the bronze coins of Ptolemaios IV Philopator, which are marked by different letters or monograms (Table 2).

We agree with O. Mørholm that the earliest are those coins marked with the letters ΔI or ΛI, letters which are not always clearly distinguishable but are probably the same, in case of ΛI only being written with more negligence. So we consider both tentatively as one single issue. The following series is that with Σ, ΣE or ΣE as a monogram, and as in the previous issue, all obviously with the same meaning.

The issues marked with E or EP as monogram and that with Λ, however, are certainly later. Regrettably, in the publications of some of the hoards these series are considered together and cannot be separated today. In contrast to the assumption of O. Mørholm that the issue E/EP was the latest of Ptolemaios IV Philopator, we suggest that the coins with the letter Λ are the final series, because the rather early hoard no. 3 (Lower Egypt, before 1913) comprises from the later series only coins with E, while for hoards nos. 8-12, the later we are, the higher the share of issue Λ. If this arrangement is accepted for hoard no. 2 from Elephantine, the gap between the bronzes of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos, which represent the bulk of the hoard, and the final Λ-pieces of Ptolemaios IV is even larger than before. The few bronzes of Ptolemaios IV Philopator must have been finally added to the older pieces of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos after about 40 years. The reasons for this are difficult to understand, but the absence of coins of Ptolemaios III Euergetes in the hoard finds its parallel in the absence of these coins in

more than 500 single finds from the 30 years of excavations on the island of Elephantine, and more recently in about 280 single finds from the excavations in Syene-Assuan. Both series have not one single piece of Ptolemaios III Euergetes.

Hoard		Coins of Pt. IV in hoard	AI	AI	AI + AI	ΣE,Σ	E	EP	E + EP	Λ (A)	E + EP + Λ
1	Mirgissa, 1er lot, 1968/9										
2	Elephantine, 1988	39								100	100
3	Lower Egypt, before 1913	34	41,2	11,8	52,9	35,3	11,8		11,8		
4	Egypt, CH VIII (1994) 352	4	100		100						
5	Egypt (Cairo 1), before 1908	76			30,3	17,1					52,6
6	Egypt (Cairo 3), before 1908	40			30,0	35,0					35,0
7	Egypt (Cairo 2), before 1908	34			32,4	29,4					38,2
8	Ramesseum, 1896	51	25,5		25,5	47,0	25,5		25,5	2,0	27,5
9	Delta, before 1976	91	20,9	13,2	34,1	34,1	20,9	6,6	27,5	4,4	31,9
10	Egypt, before 1914	40	35,0	12,5	47,5	30,0	5,0	12,5	17,5	5,0	22,5
11	Xois, 1995	108	17,6	1,9	19,4	26,9	19,4	28,7	48,1	5,6	53,7
12	Saqqara, Anubieion, 1978	402					45,5	33,6	79,1	20,9	100,0
13	Luxor (Birabi), 1915/6	X									
14	Xois, 1963	X									

Table 2: The bronze issues of Ptolemaios IV Philopator in hoards from Egypt (in %).

In Philae, however, a small parcel of four coins, consisting exclusively of bronzes of Ptolemaios III Euergetes was found south of the Hathor temple several decades ago²⁹.

(29) Ptolemaios III Euergetes, Alexandria, 246/5-222/1 B.C., SNG Cop. 171/172 (Sv. 964;

The explanation of the enigmatic absence of coins of Ptolemaios III Euergetes on important sites at the southern frontier of Egypt as being the effect of the Egyptian revolts against the Ptolemies may be easy, but is not at all a satisfying and convincing conclusion from a chronological point of view. More finds are needed to solve the problem of interpretation. The material available at the moment is apparently insufficient to solve the problem. The classification of our hoard from Xoïs, however, as a relatively late one in the series studied here, is corroborated by the presence of more than 50% of all the late issues of Ptolemaios IV Philopator, and nearly 6% for the final series with the letter Λ , while the early issue with the letters $\Delta I/\Lambda I$ is already less than 20%. The much bigger and even later hoard no. 12 from Saqqara, Anubieion, 1978 shows no coins belonging to the two earlier series at all, but only those of the later issues.

As for the reasons which may have led to the hiding and burying of the hoards, there are no indications of any catastrophes or warlike events. These hoards are not emergency hoards.

On the other hand, with the exception of hoard no. 2 from Elephantine, the ensembles are not so big and extensive to **interpret** them as savings hoards proper, which had been accumulated during a considerable period of time.

So the most probable assumption is that these hoards comprise the large denominations which were available from the money circulating in the country at a given time in the early Ptolemaic period until the end of the reign of Ptolemaios IV Philopator³⁰.

BMC 87-88; Weiser 71) (1), SNG Cop. 173-175 (Sv. 965; BMC 89-91; Weiser 72) (3). Assuan Museum, Elephantine, Reg. no. PH 17.

(30) Sometime in the reign of Ptolemaios IV Philopator, probably before July 210 B.C., the parity between silver currency and bronze currency was abolished by the royal administration in Egypt. One may assume that this brought about a number of changes in the economic behaviour of the people of Egypt. T. Reekmans. 1948. Monetary History and the Dating of Ptolemaic Papyri. *Studia Hellenistica* 5, 15-43. T. Reekmans. 1951. The Ptolemaic Copper Inflation. *Studia Hellenistica* 7, 61-119. W. Clarysse, E. Lanciers. 1989. Currency and the Dating of Demotic and Greek Papyri from the Ptolemaic Period. *Ancient Society* 20, 117-132. K. Maresch. 1996. Bronze und Silber. Papyrologische

There may have been many individual reasons, which remain unknown in detail, leading the owners to collect and to hide parcels of bronze coins, and there were plenty of incidents which may have hindered them recovering their money again.

Finally, two further points must be mentioned here in short. The first concerns the origins of the coins in the hoards. With two exceptions, all the bronzes from our hoards are from the mint of Alexandria. In contrast to the Ptolemaic silver coinage to which all royal mints contributed from the beginning of its circulation in Egypt, that of Alexandria, including those of Palestine and of Cyprus, the bronze coinage circulating in Egypt seems to be exclusively that of the mint of Alexandria, and only isolated pieces from mints abroad are found³¹.

The second deals with the denominations of the bronze coins which were collected and hoarded until the end of the reign of Ptolemaios IV Philopator.

Although we know a lot of small, even very small denominations, mainly the bigger, or even the biggest denominations available are to be found in our hoards.

So whereas the mint distribution is a result of the royal Ptolemaic administration, of its regulations, environment and scale, the hoarding pattern as regards the denominations is a reflection of the attitude and appreciation of the people of Egypt towards the coinage issued by their kings.

Beiträge zur Geschichte der Währung im ptolemäischen und römischen Ägypten bis zum 2. Jahrhundert n.Chr. *Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensia* XXV. Opladen, 21ff. H. Cadell, G. Le Rider. 1997. Prix du blé et numéraire dans l'Égypte lagide de 305 à 173. *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 30, 90ff. R. Bagnall. 1999. *RSN* 78, 197-203 (review of H. Cadell, G. Le Rider 1997).

- (31) The same pattern is to be observed in the site finds from Egypt. The hoard found in 1989 in El-Gaza'ir in the Maryut west of Alexandria, containing 212 bronze pieces of Ptolemaios V Ephiaphanes (SNG Cop. 533, 534, 536), all from an uncertain mint in Phoenicia from the years 203/2 and 202/1 B.C. and only one piece of Ptolemaios VI Philometor from the mint of Alexandria seems to be an exception. But it was brought as a whole from Phoenicia to Egypt, probably in the aftermath of the battle of Panion. These coins never circulated in Egypt. The hoard is now kept in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria and will be published soon by Mona Shahin.

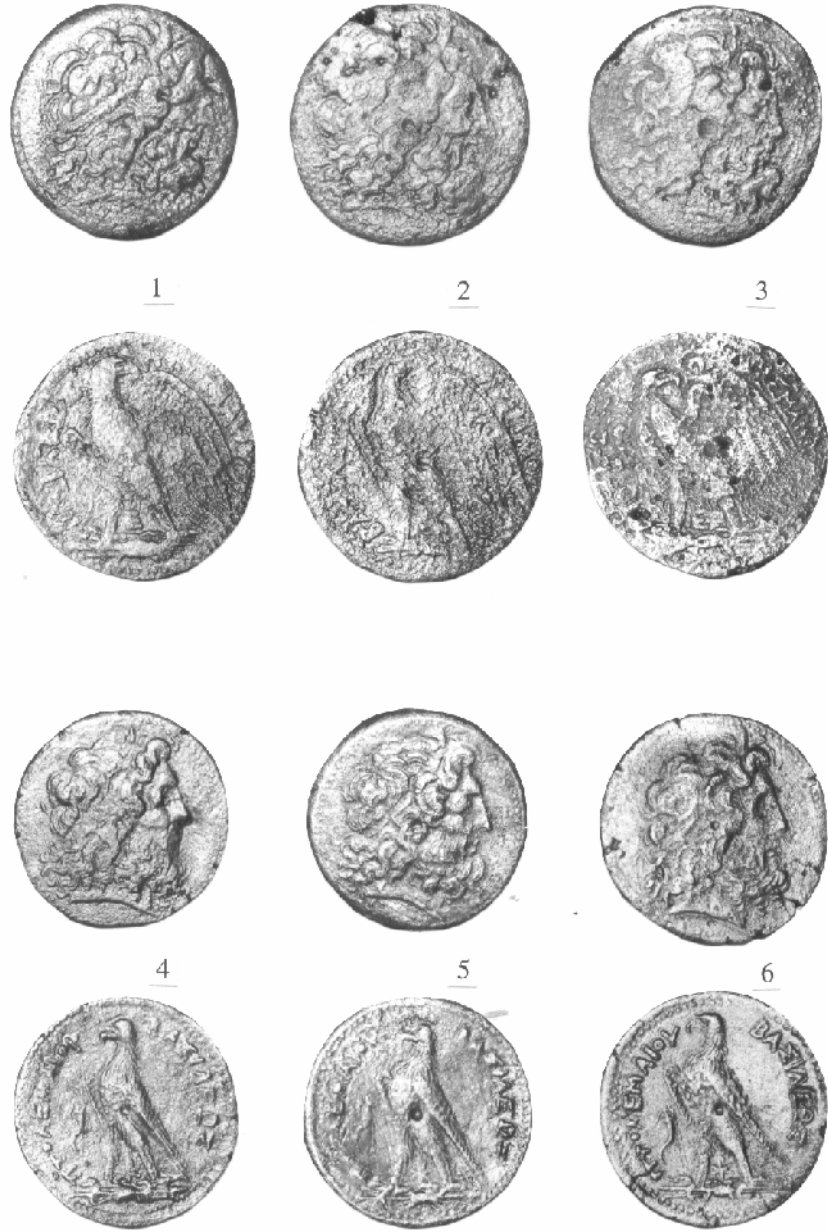
Although not of silver or even of gold, the Ptolemaic bronze coinage of the third century B.C. is an important archaeological source which has wrongly been neglected until now. Properly published and analyzed it can contribute to a comprehensive understanding of the history of the Hellenistic kingdom in Egypt during its brilliant climax from Ptolemaios I Soter up to Ptolemaios IV Philopator, and of course, of the later periods until Kleopatra VII.

If stratified in a scientific archaeological excavation, or at least furnished with a findspot at a site, single finds and coin hoards are valuable archaeological sources, both for the history of the site itself and the region. During the last decades a comprehensive methodological framework has been developed and approved, which helps to provide a lot of information which we get from no other ancient source.

But this works only if the finds, especially the hoards are completely **available** for study, and not if they are once more dispersed by the relevant authorities as is reported to be the case recently in Egypt.

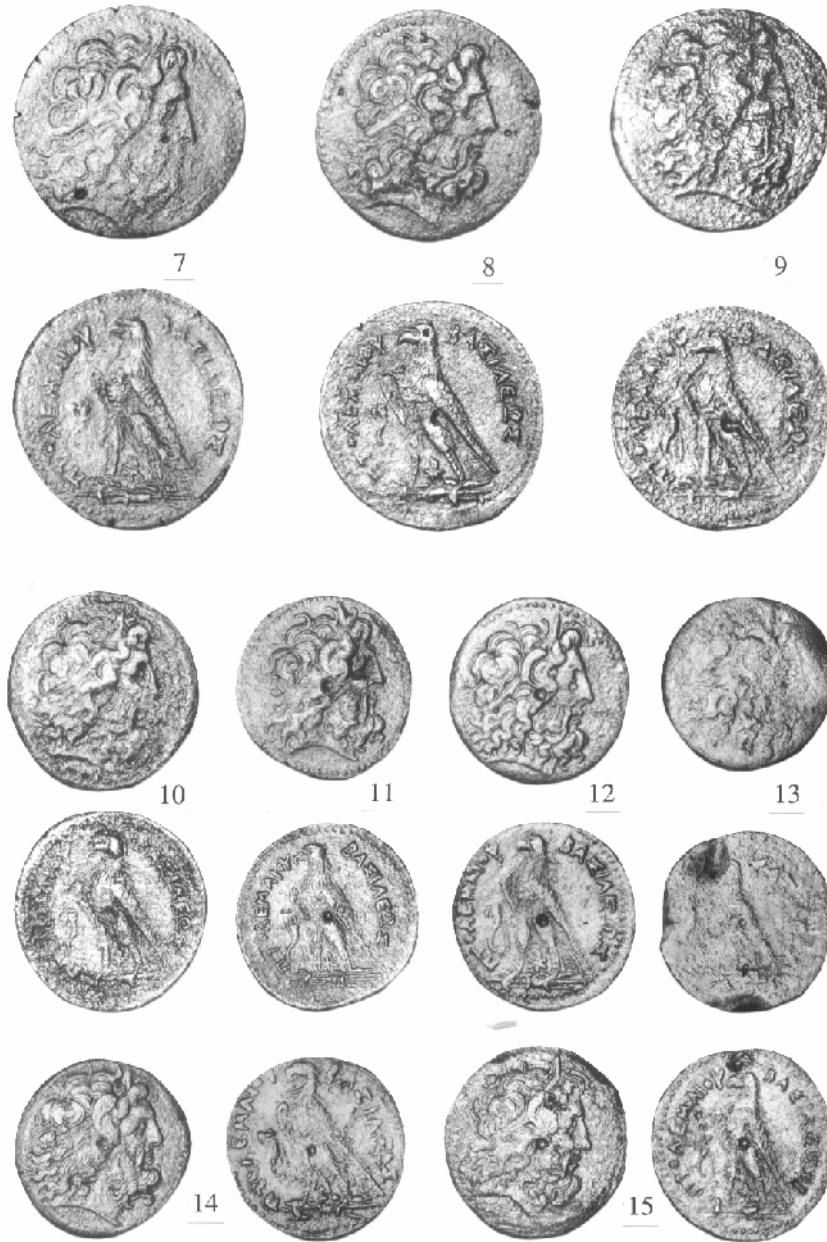
The practice of sharing coin hoards between several museums or collections, even before they have been studied in a scientific and competent way deliberately destroys archaeological source material and should be stopped immediately.

It is not a question of whether or not the individual types are recorded, what concerns us is whether or not the **composition** of a hoard is authentic, and how the series and issues in a hoard fit into a sequence. So the relevant authorities in Egypt are asked to support the study of ancient coin finds by experienced scholars, they are asked to keep together finds from one site, and to keep the hoards complete to protect them from irreparable damage and dispersal after entering the stores of a museum.



Ptolemaic bronze Hoard from Tell Sakha (anc. Xoïs); nos. 1-6

Fig. 1



Ptolemaic bronze Hoard from Tell Sakha (anc. Xoïs); nos. 7-15

Fig. 2



Ptolemaic bronze Hoard from Tell Sakha (anc. Xoïs); nos. 16-22

Fig. 3



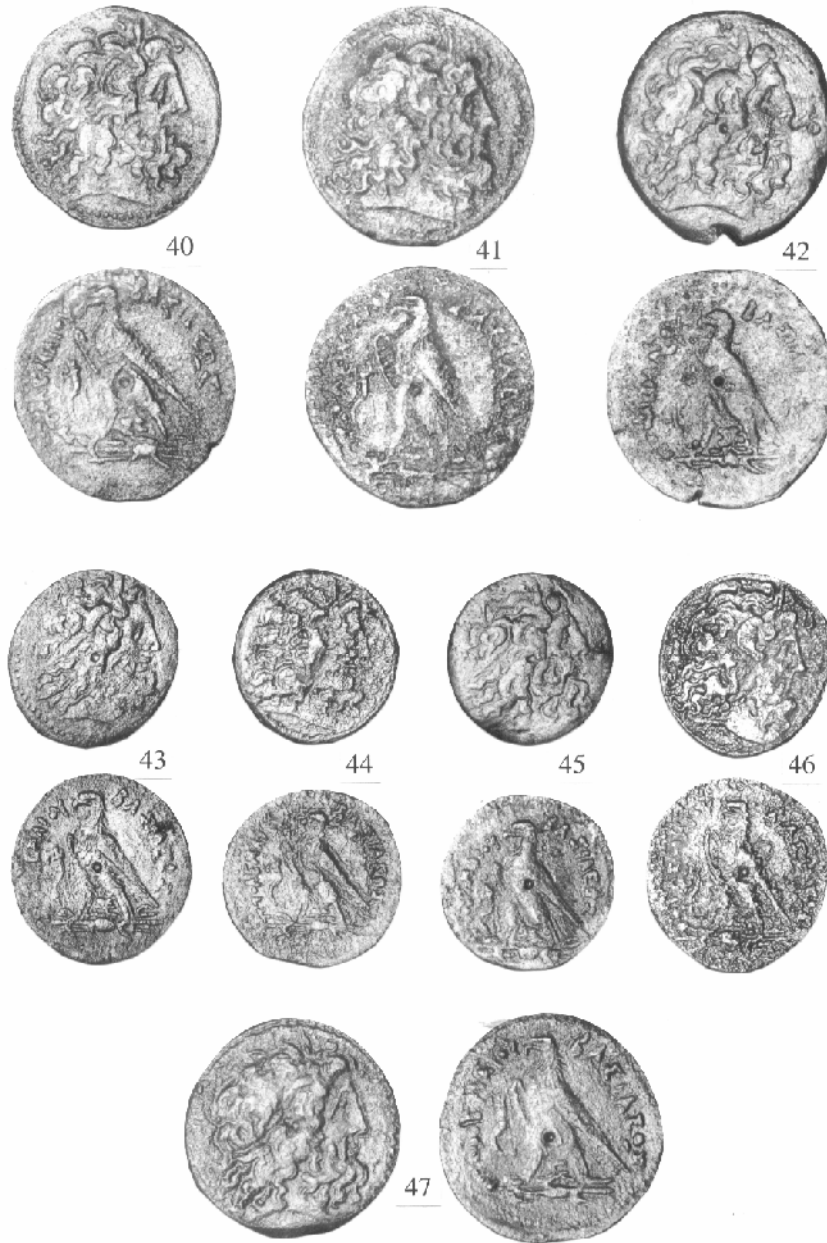
Ptolemaic bronze Hoard from Tell Sakha (anc. Xoïs); nos. 23-31

Fig. 4



Ptolemaic bronze Hoard from Tell Sakha (anc. Xoïs); nos. 32-39

Fig. 5



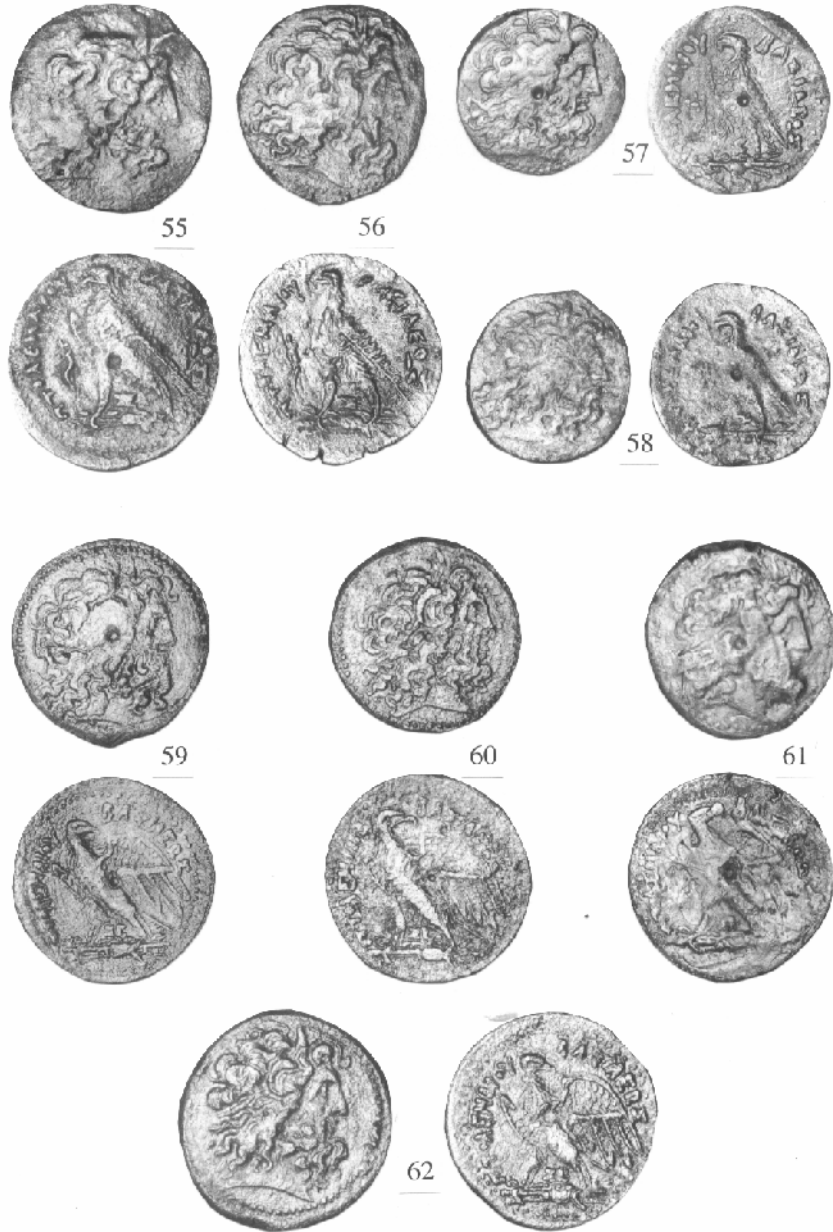
Ptolemaic bronze Hoard from Tell Sakha (anc. Xoïs); nos 40-47

Fig. 6



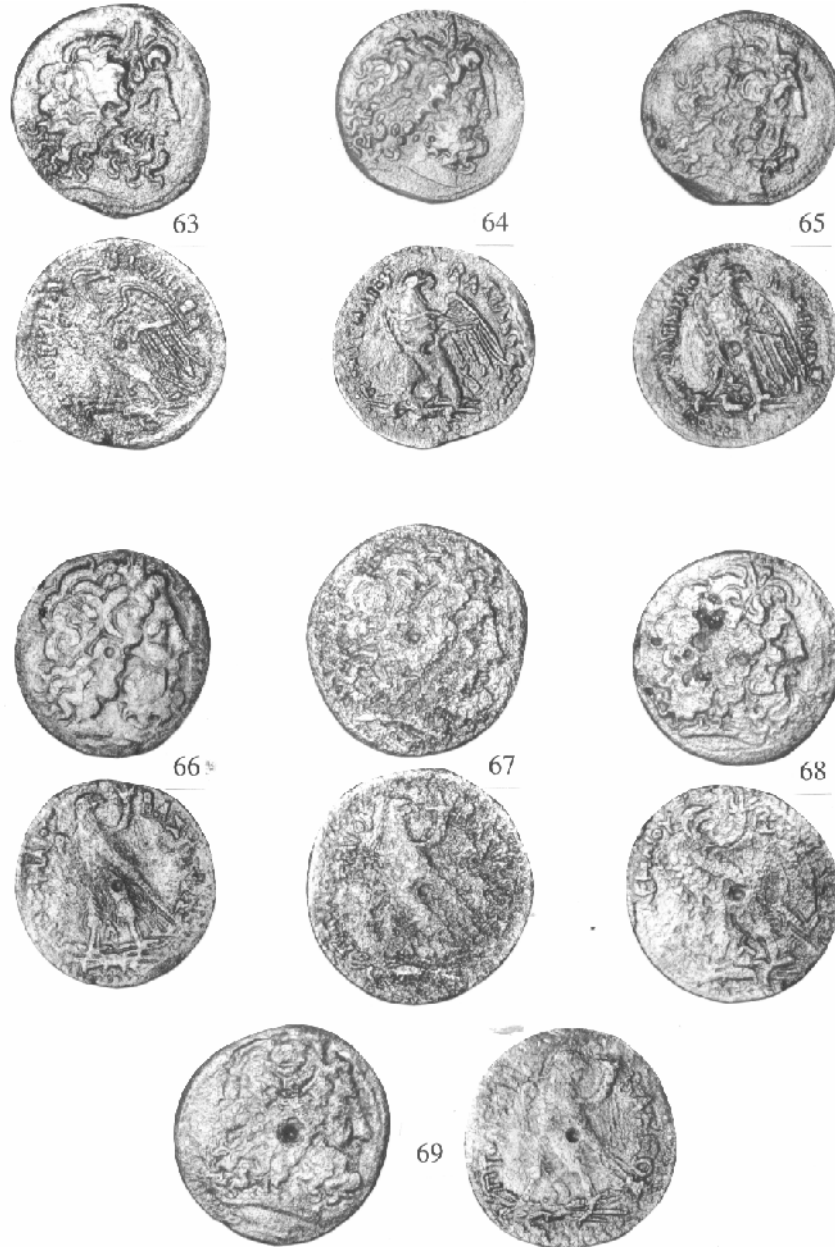
Ptolemaic bronze Hoard from Tell Sakha (anc. Xoïs); nos. 48-54

Fig. 7



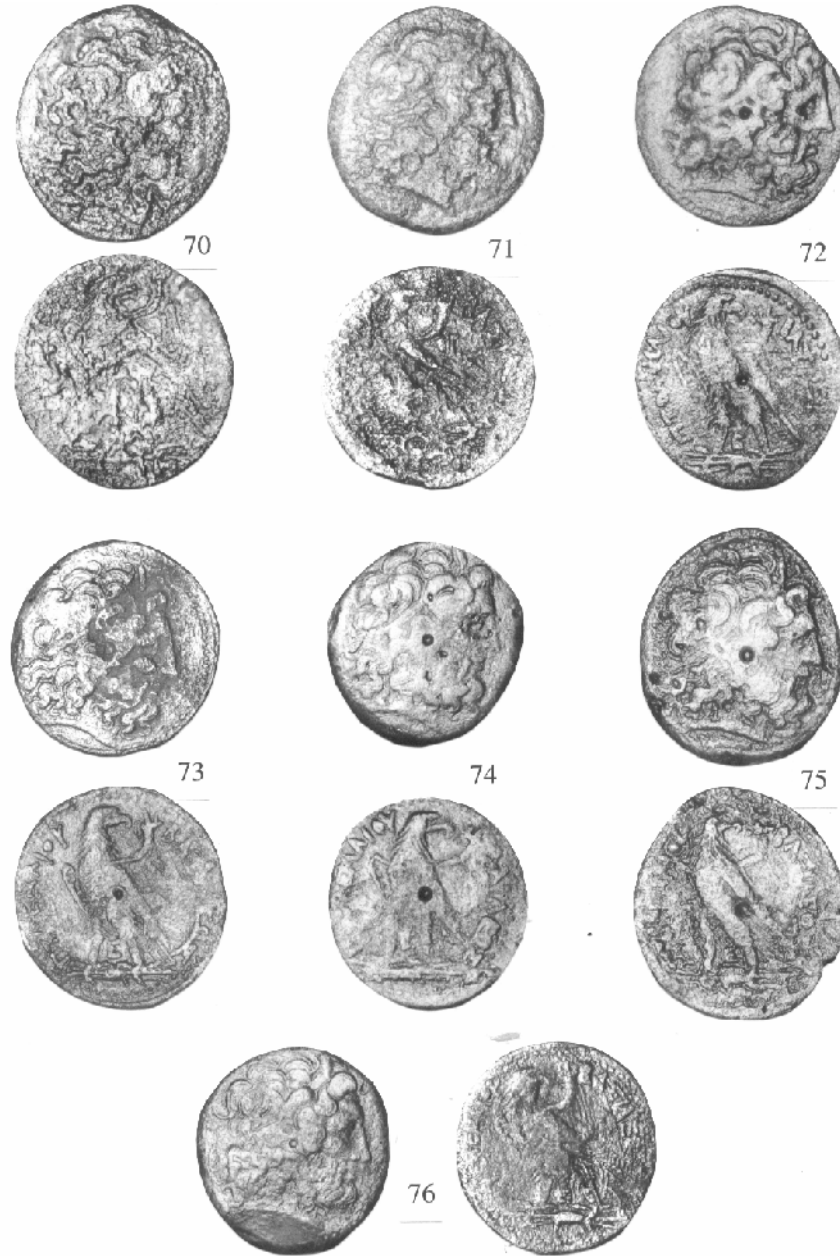
Ptolemaic bronze Hoard from Tell Sakha (anc. Xoïs); nos. 55-62

Fig. 8



Ptolemaic bronze Hoard from Tell Sakha (anc. Xoïs); nos. 63-69

Fig. 9



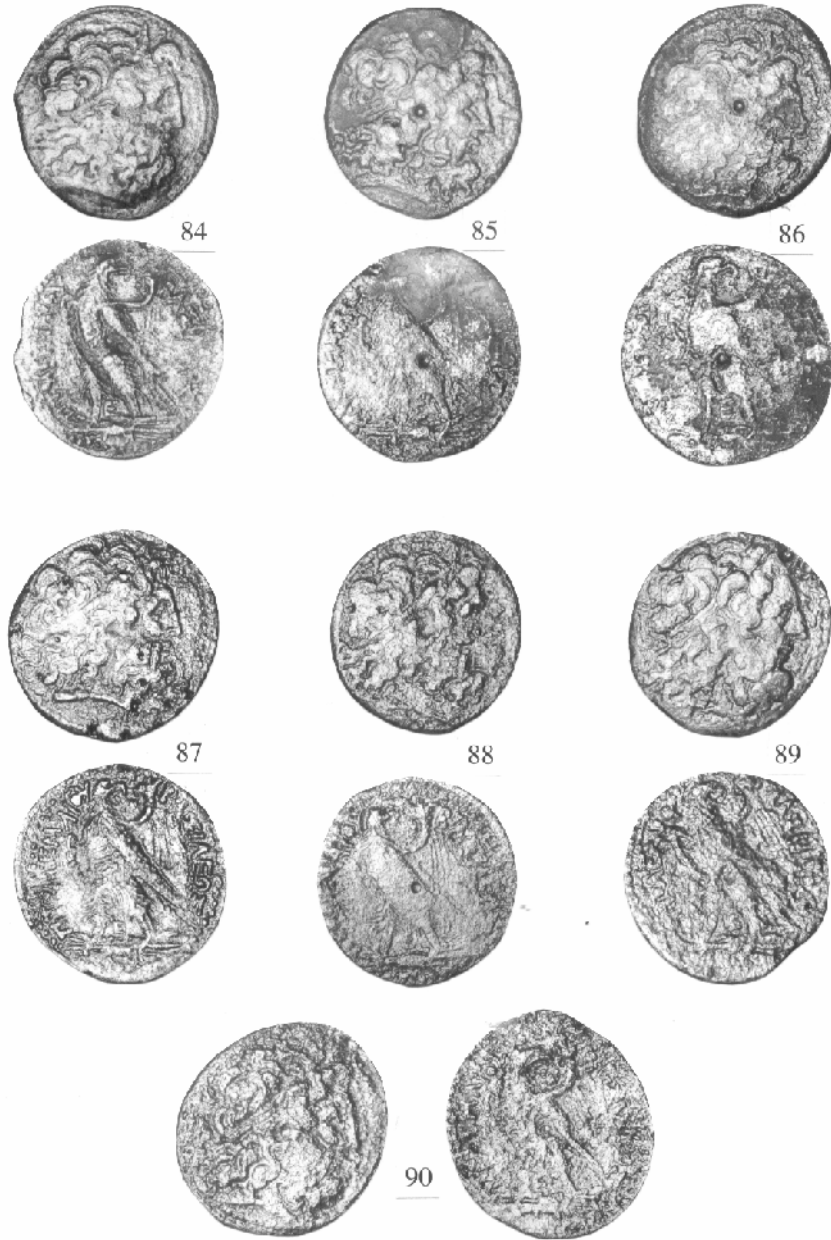
Ptolemaic bronze Hoard from Tell Sakha (anc. Xoïs); nos. 70-76

Fig. 10



Ptolemaic bronze Hoard from Tell Sakha (anc. Xoïs); nos. 77-83

Fig. 11



Ptolemaic bronze Hoard from Tell Sakha (anc. Xoïs); nos 84-90

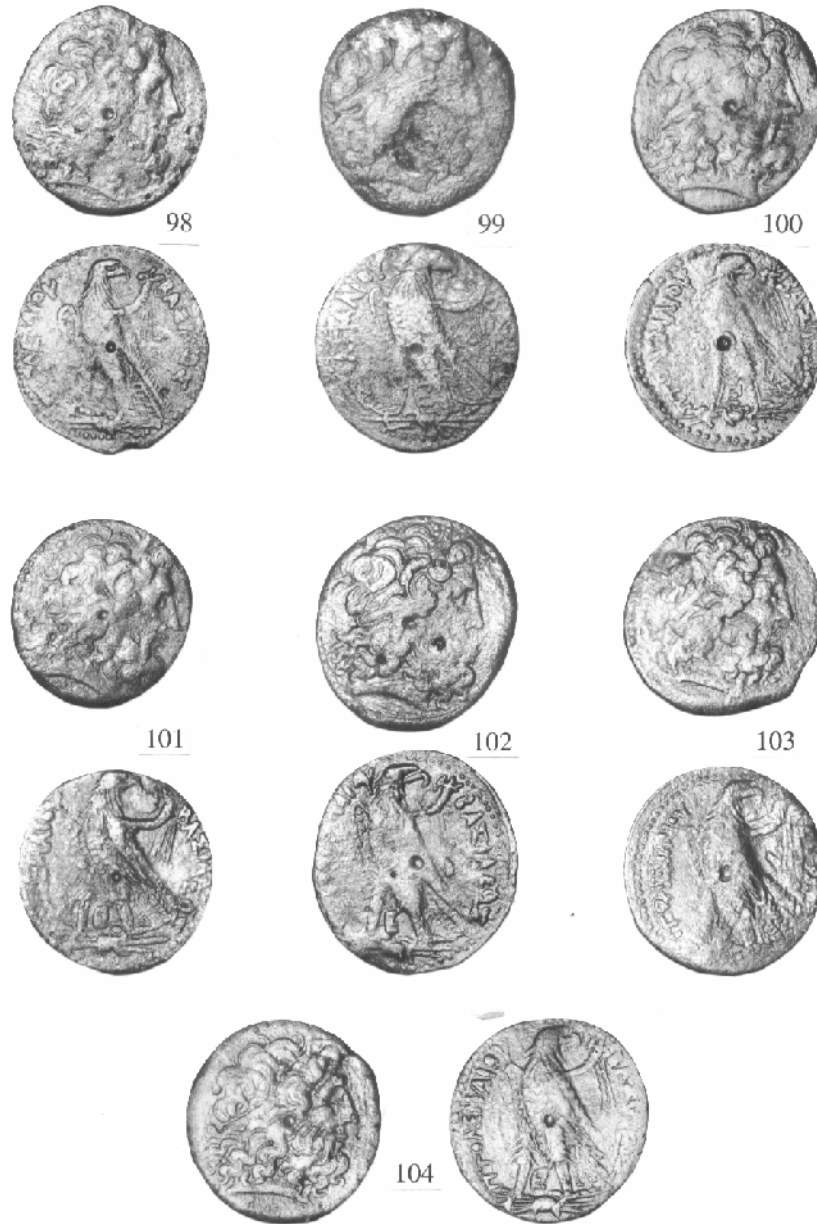
Fig. 12

PL. XXXIV



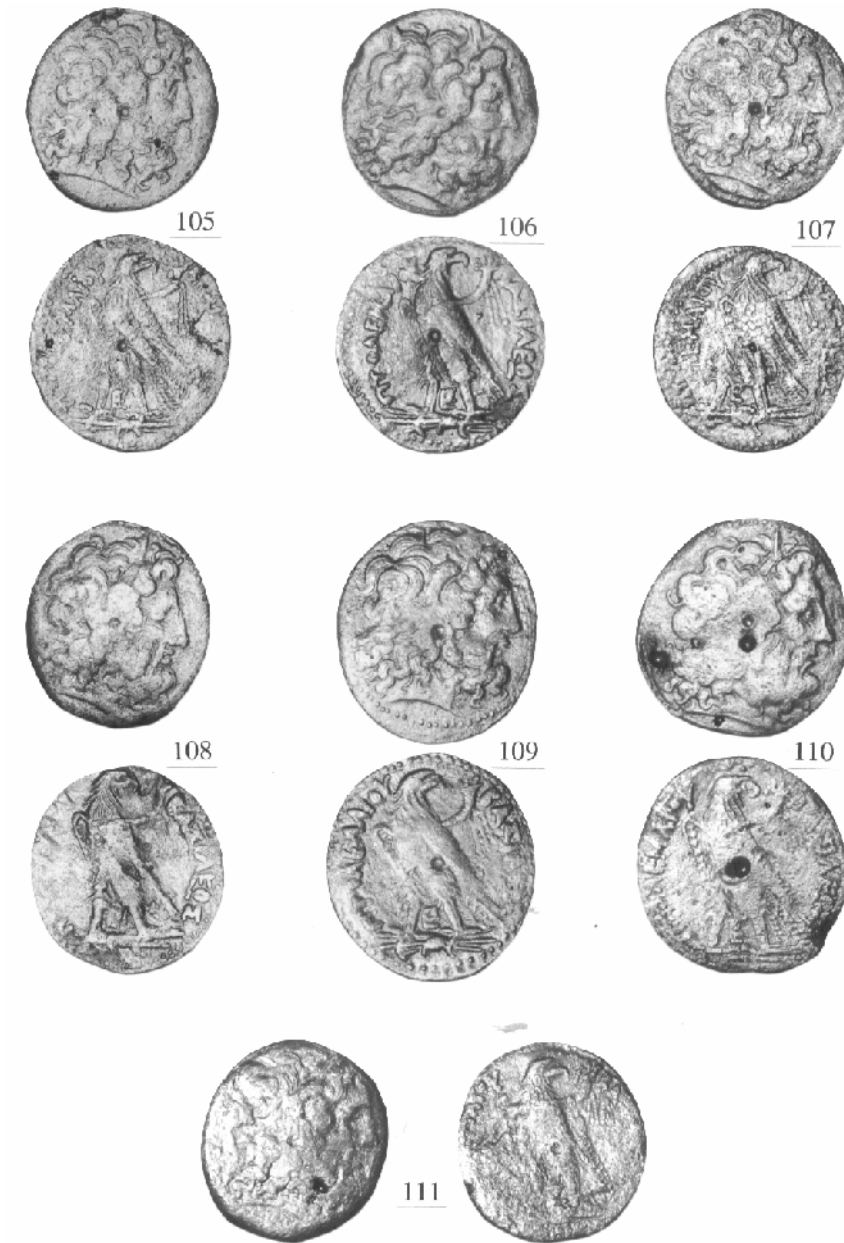
Ptolemaic bronze Hoard from Tell Sakha (anc. Xoïs); nos. 91-97

Fig. 13



Ptolemaic bronze Hoard from Tell Sakha (anc. Xoïs); nos. 98-104

Fig. 14



Ptolemaic bronze Hoard from Tell Sakha (anc. Xoïs); nos. 105-111

Fig. 15



Ptolemaic bronze Hoard from Tell Sakha (anc. Xoïs); nos. 112-118

Fig. 16

PL. XXXVIII



Ptolemaic bronze Hoard from Tell Sakha (anc. Xoïs); nos. 119-123

Fig. 17