

The Philippus in Switzerland and the Rhineland

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Objektyp: **Article**

Zeitschrift: **Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau = Revue suisse de numismatique = Rivista svizzera di numismatica**

Band (Jahr): **53 (1974)**

PDF erstellt am: **25.09.2024**

Persistenter Link: <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-174153>

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THE PHILIPPUS IN SWITZERLAND AND THE RHINELAND

1. The aim of this paper is to survey the gold coins of the La Tène period from Switzerland, the Rhineland and eastern France and to show their interconnection¹. Most of these form a group together, sharing common characteristics, in much the same way as do the Celtic coins of Armorican or Belgic Gaul, which have long been recognised as forming distinct regional groups. My interest in this eastern or Helvetic group has grown from an attempt to reassemble and interpret the coins found during the last century at La Tène, which included nine of gold². It is with the scarcely explored context of those gold coins that the present paper is concerned.

The material brought together here is drawn from a number of published and unpublished sources, including the coins I have been able to find in Swiss museums. The largest single collection is in the National Museum at Zürich, which is being catalogued by Dr. Karel Castelin. I have naturally taken full account of the coins in Zürich but, to avoid duplication of Dr. Castelin's work, most of the coins illustrated come from other collections.

The term «philippus coinage» is used to refer to the entire range of coins which owe their origin to the gold stater of Philip II of Macedon, so extensively copied in the west. It is found, in one version or another, over virtually the whole of France north of the Massif Central and in parts of Belgium, Germany and Switzerland. The eastern frontier is sharply defined; it runs just to the east of the Rhine from the region of Cologne to the lake of Constance, where it turns south-west

¹ This paper is a revised and amplified version of a lecture delivered at the Archäologisches Seminar of the University of Bern on 18th February 1974. I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Dr H. Jucker and Professor Dr D. Van Berchem for the arrangements which made this possible.

This paper could not have been written without the generous help of the curators of the collections in which the coins reproduced are to be found. I wish to express my gratitude to the following in particular: American Numismatic Society, New York; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels; British Museum, London; Cabinet de Médailles, Lausanne; Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Historisches Museum, Basel; Historisches Museum, Bern; Koninklijk Kabinet van Munten, Penningen, en Gesneden Stenen, The Hague; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien; Landesmuseum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Saarbrücken; Münzkabinett, Frankfurt am Main; Musée d'Antiquités Nationales, St-Germain-en-Laye; Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva; Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Neuchâtel; Musée Lorrain, Nancy; Musées de Besançon; National Museum, Copenhagen; Prähistorische Staatssammlung, Munich; Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier; Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zürich; Stadtbibliothek Winterthur; Staatliche Museen, Berlin; Städtisches Museum, Wiesbaden; Vatican Library, Rome; Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart.

² D. F. Allen, The coins found at La Tène, in *Etudes Celtiques* 13 (1973), 477-521, esp. 504-505.

along the foot of the Alps to re-enter France. Of the total area of philippus coinage the eastern group, with which we are here concerned, covers something like a fifth. The number and variety of these coins found in Switzerland and neighbouring areas to north and west is much larger than any recent publication indicates. The general map published by Behrens some forty years ago no more than hints at its scale³.

To the east of this frontier there are found the gold coinages usually referred to collectively under the name of «Regenbogenschüsselchen». These, instead, owe their ultimate origin to the gold stater of Alexander III of Macedon, though the transformations here were even more drastic than in the west. Though scarcely found elsewhere in the area covered in this paper a few of these coins penetrated into Switzerland. The best known find is the hoard of St-Louis bei Basel, the contents of which originated in Bavaria and Bohemia⁴. The peculiar gold coins of the Valais are an offshoot from this same tradition; the usual ascription to the Salasses, a tribe on the Italian side of the Alps, must be wrong, since the earlier and uninscribed version is confined to the Swiss side, and only the inscribed coins are found to the south⁵. One should also record the early gold minims with a Janus head, at home in Vindeliccia, which are occasionally found in Switzerland⁶. All these types of coin are mentioned here only to dismiss them, as they do not substantially intrude on the area with which alone we are concerned, in which the vast majority of gold coins found belong firmly and exclusively to the Gallic tradition of the gold philippus.

2. As is well known, the first stage of the philippus coinage is represented by gold staters weighing more than 8,00 g or by half- and quarter-staters corresponding. On many of these there are recognisable traces of the Greek legend ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. The staters usually show a biga team of two horses, though on the fractions the second horse is gradually eliminated. Like the Greek originals, the coins can be classified by the symbol below the horses, which was generally reproduced on the copies. The heavy coins found in Switzerland for the most part have one of two symbols, a monogram of A and P (rho, nos. 1-2, 16-24, cf. 25, 45) or a jar or cantharos (nos. 2-10, 26-28). Heavy coins with other symbols have also been found

³ G. Behrens, Kelten-Münzen im Rheingebiet, in *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 34-35 (1949-1950), 339, Abb. 1.

⁴ B. Reber, In der Schweiz aufgefundene Regenbogenschüsselchen und verwandte Goldmünzen, in *Anzeiger für Schweiz. Altertumskunde* 3 (1900), 157-166; K. Castelin, Ein keltischer Goldstater aus dem Funde von St-Louis, in *Schweizer Münzblätter* 9 (1959), 37-40; Zur sogenannten «Basler Gruppe» keltischer Goldstater, *ib.* 11 (1961), 35-37.

⁵ A. Pautasso, Appendix on Le Monete attribuite ai Salassi, in *Le Monete Preromane dell'Italia Settentrionale*, Varese (1966) (Sibrium VII), 137-153.

⁶ H.-J. Kellner, Die älteste keltische Fundmünze aus dem Oppidum von Manching, in *Germania* 39 (1961), 299-305.

there, especially those with an ear of corn, and this type is strongly represented in Swiss museums even though find-spots are often unrecorded (ear of corn, nos. 13–15, 30–31; trident, nos. 12, 29; thunderbolt, cf. no. 47; ring, no. 11; miscellaneous, nos. 32–35)⁷.

The heavy philippus coinage is associated by Colbert de Beaulieu with the so-called Arvernian hegemony, which he dates from 218 to 121 B.C.⁸. Coins of this class occur sporadically in most parts of Gaul. There is, however, no concentration of them in or near the territory of the Arverni in the Auvergne. In contrast the number found in Switzerland and along the Rhine is significant. Although records are obviously very incomplete, present evidence is that by far the tightest concentration of them lies in this area, which, from the start of the coinage, emerges as a distinct entity (Map 1). Indeed, the coins suggest that the copying of the Macedonian philippus may well have begun in Switzerland and spread west and north into Gaul from this centre. Such a conclusion would be logical because Switzerland is certainly the most accessible point from Macedonia in the area of philippus coinage distribution⁹. The Arvernian hegemony, claimed by the oral tradition of the Arverni to have stretched from the Rhine to the Atlantic, rests on a single passage of Strabo¹⁰. One can only say that the heavy coins, which must in the main belong to the second century B.C., do not confirm that tradition as regards the east.

Until a die study is undertaken of all surviving philippus type coins of heavy weight – staters, halves and quarters – and all the recorded find-spots correlated, the study of this early phase of the coinage cannot be on a sound basis. But at present the most reasonable hypothesis is to suppose that for the most part it originated in Switzerland.

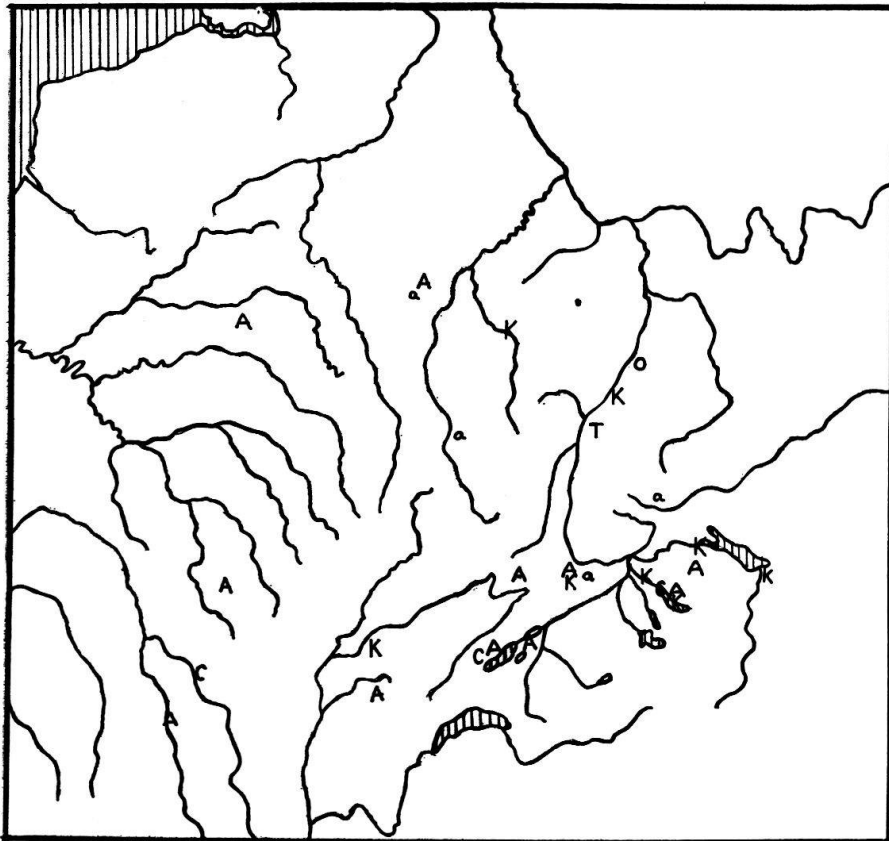
3. The coins which follow in Switzerland are all readily distinguishable from the first stage. Except for freak examples, the weight is never more than 8.00 g or equivalent and the coins are all broader, thinner and more cup-shaped. The style is unmistakable. On the head side Apollo's laurel wreath is almost straight and

⁷ Type references to the most frequently used standard works will be found in Appendix I, a classified list of the available find-spots of philippus coins from Switzerland, Rhineland and East France. They are not repeated in the footnotes to the text, unless there is any ambiguity. The evidence for the statements in the text is to be found in a combination of Appendix I with the coins illustrated, which are briefly described in Appendix II.

⁸ J. B. Colbert de Beaulieu, *Traité de numismatique celtique*, I, 1973, 173–176, 202–205; some find-spots 175, n. 223–224, 201, n. 314; cf. A. Blanchet, *Traité de monnaies gauloises*, 1905; 207 f.

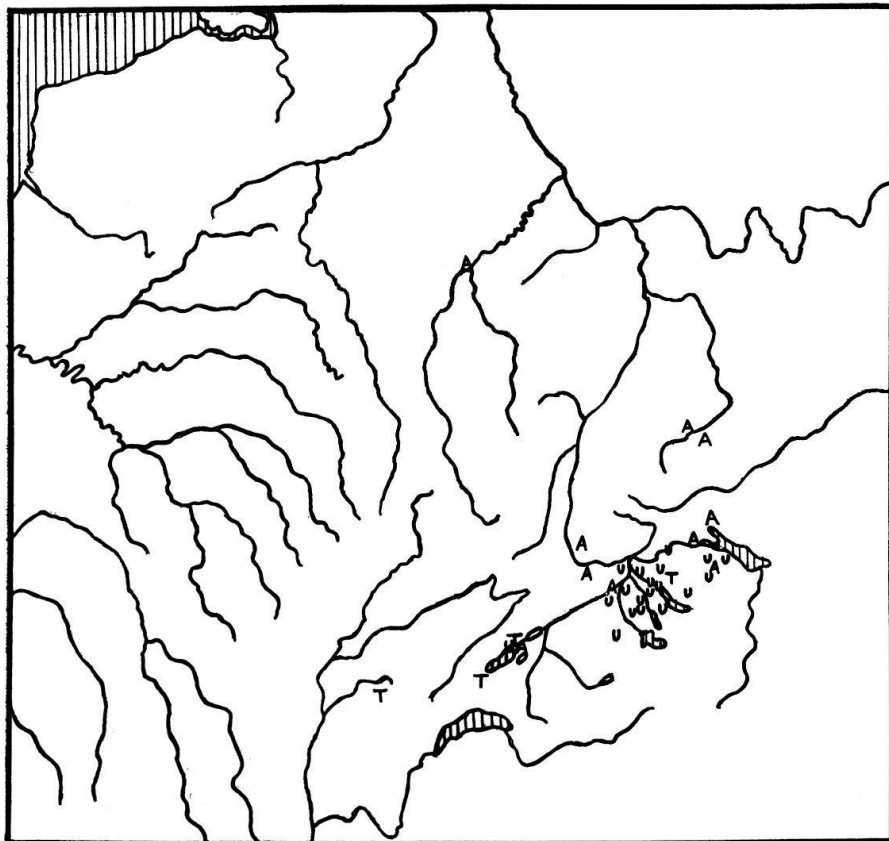
⁹ This bears on the sterile controversy, launched by G. C. Brooke, *The Philippus in the West*, in *Numismatic Chronicle* 1933, 88–133, as to whether the philippus reached Gaul by way of the Rhone or the Danube. There is no evidence that it reached Gaul in quantity at all but a strong presumption to the contrary. As a model to copy, the philippus could have been available at any place which had contacts with the Mediterranean and Macedonian worlds, where the coin was internationally used as a trading currency. See also note 26.

¹⁰ Strabo IV, 2, 3; presumably based on Poseidonius.



Map 1

- A A + P monogram
- a A + P modified
- K Kantharos
- C Corn ear
- T Thunderbolt
- O Ring or circle
- other symbols



Map 2

- T La Tène types
- U Unterentfelden
- A Sun-marked

each leaf is divided down the middle. The treatment of the hair is characteristic, especially the detached S-shaped forelock on the forehead. The form of truncation is another peculiarity. On the reverse the horses (in some series, it is a single horse) are straightforward and almost linear, the joints being strongly marked with dots. There is little in the design that can be picked on as markedly Celtic in feeling; only the various symbols that appear below the horses or horse belong to the regular range of Celtic ornamentation. The coins are all anonymous, the apparent legend in the exergue on the reverse being no more than nonsense letters or paired dots. In particular the Φ of the original $\Phi\Lambda\text{III}\text{IOY}$ was sometimes reduced to an X, which may survive meaninglessly behind the horse's legs.

The starting point of the main Helvetic series appears not to lie in the heavy staters found in Switzerland but rather in another series of early staters, none of which is recorded from Switzerland; indeed it seems that no find-spot at all is on record for the type (nos. 36–37)¹¹. This may imply that there was a break between the early coins and the Helvetic series; there is, in fact, no evidence, so far as I know, for any direct connection between the two. The prototype coins are easily picked out by the strange curved mark which runs from nose to neck, dividing the cheek. It is traditionally interpreted in France as an elm twig, a druidic emblem, and hence by a false etymology the coins have been attributed to the Arverni¹². The mark could as well be interpreted as a snake. If its origin is not purely numismatic – the all too literal reproduction of a cracked die – its explanation could more probably be anthropological, a kind of veil or barrier to defend the face of the god from direct sight. There are many examples on Celtic coins of deliberately defaced heads. However that may be, the mark is faithfully reproduced on the early coins of the Helvetic group, staters and quarter-staters, and it survived on some varieties for an appreciable time (e.g. it is also present on no. 47).

a) The first coins of the Helvetic group are clearly those with a strong cheek mark; at first the symbol beneath the horses is indeterminate, but later becomes a sun (nos. 38–44). The staters weigh almost 8.00 g; the corresponding quarter-staters have a predominant weight in the bracket 1.90–1.95 g. A few examples closely resemble the first staters, including symbols (nos. 96–97), but there is an important series which employs a bow or prone S as a symbol. This series, inadequately recorded in the literature¹³, survives in some numbers (nos. 98–114). The type is die linked with a less frequent series of quarter-staters (nos. 116–120),

¹¹ For other examples see BN, Paris, 3656 (countermarked), 3658–3665; Blanchet, *op. cit.*, 213, fig. 55; E. Hucher, *L'Art gaulois*, 1868, I, tab. 97 a and b.

¹² Colbert de Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, 25.

¹³ Scarcely recognisable in H. de La Tour, *Atlas de monnaies gauloises*, 1892, as 9304; not in H. Meyer, *Beschreibung der in der Schweiz aufgefundenen Gallischen Münzen*, 1863; R. Forrer *Keltische Numismatik der Rhein- und Donaulande*, 1908, 452, fig. 438, gives a doubtful example, but in K. Castelin's Supplement, 1969, pl. II. 7 there is a good one.

where the symbol is a sun and the biga has become a single horse; these coins can be distinguished by style from certain unlocated but probably early Belgic quarter-staters which employ a similar symbol (nos. 248–250)¹⁴. The sun-marked quarter-staters are in turn die linked with another scarce variety which has a triskeles symbol (no. 121), and to this a triskeles-marked stater corresponds (no. 46). Finally there is another series of quarter-staters with a triskeles mark in which the obverses lack the wreath usual on coins of the Helvetic group; the reverses begin with a left facing horse exactly resembling the regular triskeles-marked coins, but there is a die link with others which do not conform (nos. 122–128, cf. 129). The die linkages and other resemblances of all these coins, even though the symbols differ, permit them to be plotted together on a single distribution map (Map 2).

It can be no coincidence that of the nine gold coins found at La Tène seven certainly (nos. 39–40, 99, 101, 108, 116 and 125) are amongst those just described – two staters with indeterminate or possibly sun mark (nos. 39–40), three quarter-staters with prone S mark (nos. 99, 101, 108), another with sun mark (no. 116), and one with triskeles mark and no wreath (no. 125)¹⁵. The two latter coins were found together, adhering to a scabbard¹⁶. An eighth gold coin from La Tène may also have the prone S mark (no. 115), but is probably later than the others (compare nos. 174–176, 188–189). It will be seen from the relatively thin distribution map that these coins belong to the region between the lake of Neuchâtel and the French Jura, but it is unfortunate that more find spots of a fairly plentiful group have not been recorded.

b) The remaining quarter-stater coin from La Tène belongs to a well known series marked with a cock-headed dragon below the horse (nos. 130–140). This type has been excellently studied by Kellner¹⁷, who has shown that its distribution is narrowly confined to the neighbourhood of Zürich and between here and the lake of Constance (Map 2). The weight of the dragon-marked or Unterentfelden type appears to be marginally lower than that of the La Tène series, falling into the bracket of 1.80–1.95 g. There are a number of dies, but the coins show very little variation between one another.

c) There is another important and barely recognised series which is very close in style and execution to the La Tène coins. Here the symbol below the horses is a variety of the sun symbol, two dots, one above the other, the upper dot being ringed with smaller dots; this double-sun symbol could well have been derived from the cantharos of the heavy series (nos. 141–159, perhaps also 160). The coins

¹⁴ Cf. de La Tour, *op. cit.*, 4198, 3781. No find-spots are recorded, but the coins are perhaps related to those mentioned in note 25.

¹⁵ See D. F. Allen, *op. cit.* in note 2.

¹⁶ J. M. de Navarro, *The Finds from the Site of La Tène*, 1972, 213, pl. LIII, 2 a–c.

¹⁷ H.-J. Kellner, Zur Goldprägung der Helvetier, in *Provincialia* (Festschrift Laur-Belart), 588–602.

appear to have been engraved by the same hand as the La Tène series, but none, apparently, has the cheek mark. On the reverse the initial two horses gradually give way to one. The most frequent weight lies in the bracket of 1.80–1.90 g. It would seem from this to be, by a small margin, later than the La Tène and Unterentfelden types. The double-sun coins of the Helvetic group must be carefully distinguished from superficially similar coins with a fleuron mark which come from central Gaul (no. 161 and stater no. 49)¹⁸.

The double-sun marked quarter-staters are accompanied by staters with a similar symbol (nos. 50–54, cf. no. 43). Again the weight appears to be marginally lower than that of the La Tène staters, at about 7.70 g. Some devolution of the type suggests that the staters are later than the bulk of the quarter-staters. What distinguishes the staters from all other coins in the Helvetic group is their exaggerated cup shape, no mere gentle curvature, but a sharp turn-up of the edges. All Celtic coins are more or less scyphate, but in this series a special process subsequent to striking must have been used to bend the edges at right angles.

The distribution of the double-sun type is distinct from that of the La Tène and Unterentfelden types, being confined to the vicinity of the Rhine between Augst and Konstanz and between there and the Danube (Map 2). It is possible that an example without provenance in Neuchâtel, presumably a local find, might have come from La Tène (no. 154). Thus, the three series, mostly consisting of quarter-staters, which are so closely related in type, the La Tène, the Unterentfelden and the double-sun series, lie in an almost straight line across the north Swiss plateau and south-west corner of Germany, and they appear to have developed from west to east in this order. This is an extremely well defined phase, and indicates a triple division of the Helvetic territory. It is possible that there was a fourth division to the north west, represented by some of the coins discussed in the next paragraph (nos. 55, 168–172), but the recorded find-spots are at present too few for certainty.

4. The phase which follows in Switzerland is much less sharply defined, but its general course is none the less unmistakable. The coins again consist mostly of quarter-staters, only occasionally including staters, each series being distinguished by a specific symbol under the horse. Unfortunately the number of find-spots recorded is insufficient to determine the location of individual types. With a few possible exceptions, weight, metal content and typology suggest that all the coins grouped together here are subsequent to the initial Helvetic phase, but more or less continuous with it; no sharp break is indicated. It is possible that, if we had the evidence, this second phase would, like the first, be seen to fall into a distinct

¹⁸ BN, Paris, 4538–4545. This type, with its trefoil of dots on the cheek, in fact plays much the same role in relation to the coins of the Treviri (nos. 76–78, 198–202) as the cheek-marked coins do in relation to those of the Helvetii. – The origin of the symbol here is usually sought in a Helios head, Colbert de Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, 150, fig. 42.

regional pattern. As it is, all we can say is that during it the number of types increases and the divergencies of style from the original norm become greater, though remaining far from revolutionary. It seems that in Switzerland and its vicinity the second phase was less prosperous than the first and less systematically organised; but, though the quantity of surviving coinage is much smaller, the range of types suggests that the period may have lasted longer.

a) We may start consideration of the second phase with coins which can be related to the La Tène series of the first. These are the quarter-staters with a large S below the single horse, which are found around the lake of Neuchâtel, though not at La Tène itself (nos. 162–167). The average weight of 1.72 g indicates that there was no direct continuity with the earlier prone-S quarter-staters.

b) Another series of coins, in relatively good gold, consists of staters and quarter-staters which have below the horse a cross of four distinct arms, almost like a flower of four petals (nos. 55, 168–172). Two out of three find-spots lie to the north and only one in Switzerland itself; this is the type which might prove to be a fourth element in the first phase, although the coins are typologically closer to the second. Moreover, in the records they are easily confused with a more frequent series of staters and quarter-staters, which have a simple X below the horse (to be compared with the misunderstood Φ of the heavy coins) (nos. 56–60, cf. 61, 173–179). Weight, which is under 7.50 g for the staters and under 1.80 g for the quarters, indicates a relatively late date, which the quality of metal confirms. The six recorded find-spots do not point to any well defined area. Although there is no binding rule, these later coins tend to face left, at least on the reverse.

c) There are also triskeles-marked coins of base gold in both denominations, which belong to this later phase (nos. 62–63, 180–182); they are easily distinguished from the early coins with this mark. Here again the recorded find-spots give no real indication of location, and, indeed, the group may eventually prove not to be homogeneous. The coins must be distinguished, too, from the staters of the Tayac hoard which have a similar triskeles mark (no. 48 is an example). As Kellner has shown in his excellent paper on this hoard, there is no necessary reason to deduce any connection between the Tayac coins and the Helvetic group¹⁹. Their presence in numbers in Swiss collections is due to Forrer's attribution of them to the Rauraci, and their subsequent attraction to Swiss collectors. The associations of the type would seem rather to be with coins of the Aedui, though in the absence of find-spots other than Tayac, this must remain conjectural. In the present context they may be disregarded.

¹⁹ H.-J. Kellner, *Der Fund von Tayac, ein Zeugnis des Cimbernzuges?*, in *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 19 (1969), 13–47.

d) In addition there is a considerable number of relatively poor metal coins which can, in view of their types and the collections in which they are found, be attributed with more or less certainty to the Helvetic group (nos. 64–68, 183–189, cf. unlocated quarter-staters nos. 190–196). The symbols below the horse include, for instance, a flower (nos. 64, 183–184), a dagger (nos. 66, 185–187), double bars (nos. 67–68, 188–189), a lyre (no. 65) and other less determinate marks. In most cases no find-spots are recorded. (It is possible that no. 115 from La Tène should be placed in this category, cf. nos. 174–176 or 188–189.) All that is possible at this stage is to call attention to the existence of these various series and to the virtual certainty that they belong to the extended second phase of the Helvetic group, though not necessarily to Switzerland itself. What subdivisions of the area or stratifications in time are implied cannot as yet be suggested.

The coins which are here attributed to the second phase have been plotted together, despite the miscellaneous character of the evidence (Map 3). It will be seen that they belong to much the same area as those of the first phase; they include an extension into western France in the departments of Doubs and Jura, but, in compensation, to the north and east of the Rhine they disappear.

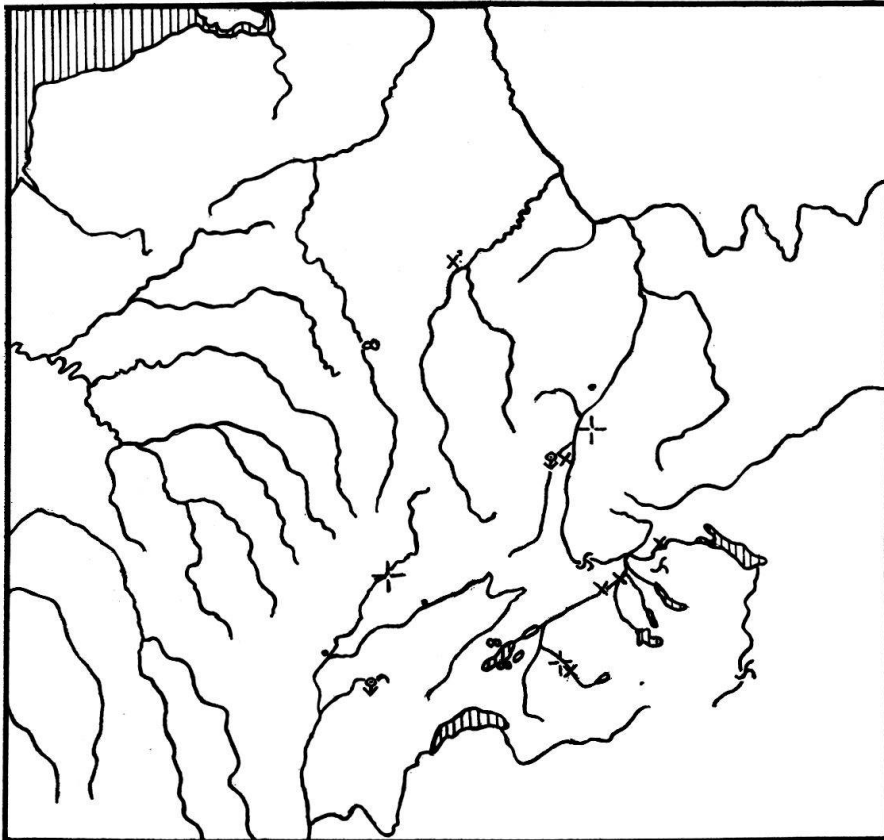
5. Nevertheless, there are, from this south-west area of Germany, a few coins which certainly belong to the same Helvetic group, but have been debased to the extent that they are virtually of base silver or billon. Two series of them can be identified, those with a sun or indeterminate mark (nos. 69–71) and those with a triskeles mark (nos. 72–74); there are fractions of the latter (compare also the strange no. 75, in base gold, which has a rider on the reverse). The few find-spots suggest that we are dealing with a third or final phase of the coinage. The pieces with the triskeles mark are mainly found in Switzerland, the others appear to be more widely distributed to north and east. Examples from Manching and Stradonitz are important as an indication of their late date²⁰. These base coins, of little intrinsic worth, have been mapped jointly with some other late and base coins to which we shall come shortly (Map 5).

6. While the coinage of Switzerland followed this protracted course, other developments were taking place in parallel further north.

a) The focal point here lay amongst the Treviri of Trier, whose early coinage, before it was displaced by types emanating from Belgic Gaul, I have studied elsewhere²¹. Four distinct types are involved, quarter-staters with a star, lyre and guilloche (nos. 201–202), staters and quarter-staters with a man-headed horse, some with winged manikin below (nos. 76, 198), others with lyre below (nos. 77, 200) and quarter-staters with a horned head and a flying box below (no. 199); in addition

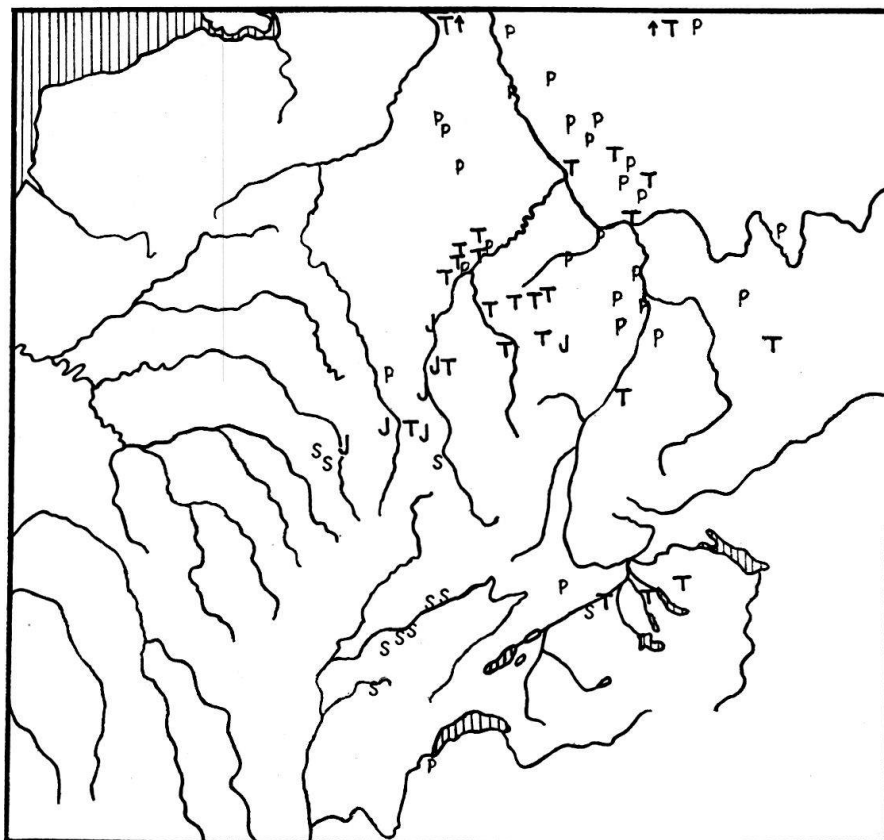
²⁰ H.-J. Kellner, *op. cit.* in note 17, 600–601, T. 3. 9.

²¹ D. F. Allen, The Early Coins of the Treviri, in *Germania* 49 (1971), 91–110. See also note 18.



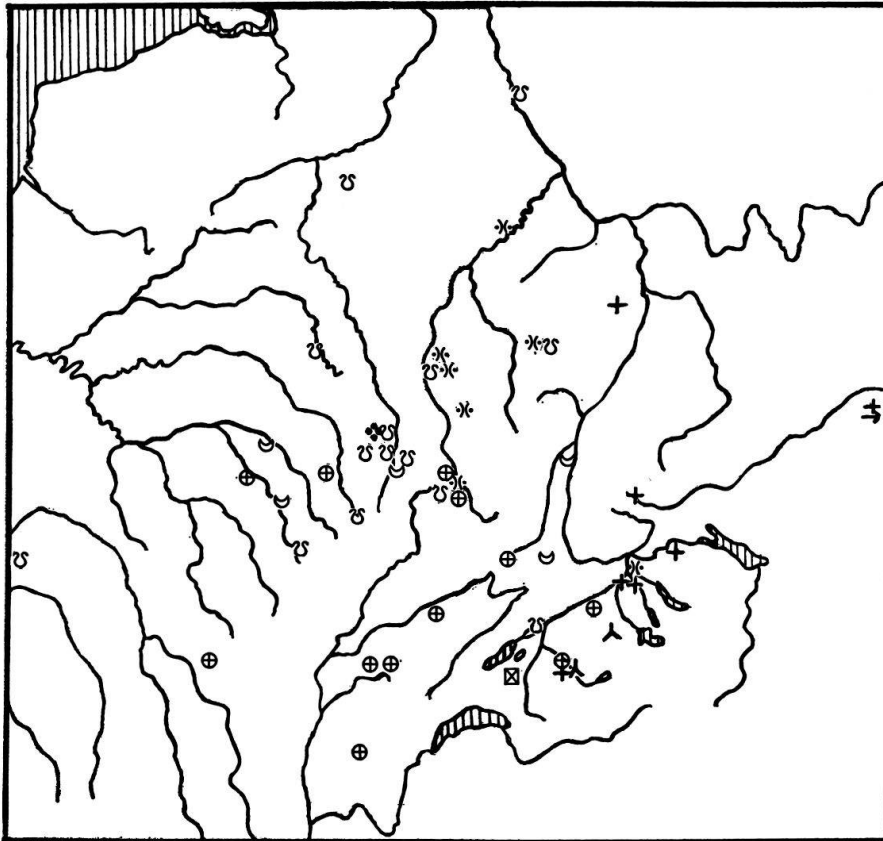
Map 3

† × ⊕ ∞ √
 symbols
 • other types



Map 4

T Treviri types
 P Pegasus
 J Janus
 S Sequani



Map 5

- ⊕ Sequani
- ☾ Leuci ☾
- ☾ Mediomatrici ❖
- + Helvetii ▲

there are a few base silver or billon coins (no. 78). If these inter-related types are compared with the coins of the Helvetic group which we have been considering, it will readily be seen that some features, especially of the obverses, show close stylistic affinities. This is especially true of the type which both on grounds of weight and of standard appears to be the earliest, the quarter-staters with star, lyre and guilloche. The distribution has been plotted (Map 4). Several early coins of the Treviri are recorded as found outside their normal habitats and to the east of the Rhine, while three have been found in Switzerland. In the case of the horned head and flying box coins there are also close connections with coins of the Sequani, to which we shall come. In this context we need not pursue the remarkable parallel of the Treviri types with those of the Aulerici Cenomani in Normandy, but concentrate on their obvious connections with Switzerland. The early coins of the Treviri should be seen as the most northerly extension of the style of the Helvetic group. The history of the Treviri coins, which begin with quarter staters weighing 1.90–2.00 g falling to 1.50 g or less, and staters similarly falling from 7.75–8.00 g to 7.50 g or less was clearly a much longer one than that of any single Helvetic type, and must have unrolled in parallel to phases one, two and even three of the coinage of Switzerland.

b) There is another series of coins, found adjoining those of the Treviri, which should be seen in a similar light, as well as in relation to Belgic Gaul. On this

large group of quarter-staters the traditional horse on the reverse is replaced by a winged pegasus, and the wreath on the obverse is lost (nos. 209–222). These coins have traditionally been misunderstood, having been attributed most misleadingly to the Mediomatrici of Metz. They are, in fact, a coinage which straddles the Rhine in the vicinity of Koblenz, with the greater concentration on the German side²². Their distribution (Map 4) represents a unit, presumably tribal, which is not known to history, occupying on the west bank a part of what was later the territory of the Ubii. The coins are remarkably common, and absolutely uniform; that they are as early as phase one in Switzerland is indicated by their weights, which lie in the bracket 1.90–1.95 g, and in most cases by a high specific gravity. The number of dies employed is large, and they often show signs of long and heavy wear. At the end of the series there are a few coins of light weight and base metal (e.g. no. 222 appears to be of silver). There exists an earlier type from the same general area with winged horse, often overlooked (no. 262)²³, but the true antecedents are probably to be sought in Switzerland. The imitated legend, for instance, comes straight from heavy staters such as no. 14. The two locks of hair hanging behind the head on the pegasus coins are directly comparable with the locks on the Unterentfelden type, nos. 130–140. One may also compare the La Tène triskeles type for the omission of the wreath. Apart from the star, lyre and guilloche type, there is nothing else to west, east or north with which the pegasus type could have had even a remote connection. When the coins cease, they had no gold successors. The political unit they represent may have vanished, but the same area is subsequently covered by five separate varieties of silver quinarius coin, of unrelated type²⁴.

c) A few quarter-staters from the heart of Belgic Gaul may be thought to follow the typological conventions of the Helvetic group (e.g. no. 195); but there are related half-staters from this area as well (e.g. nos. 244–247)²⁵. The half-stater is the characteristic denomination of the early phase in Belgic Gaul, where the coinage had its own distinct evolution. If there is a Swiss connection, it is one that is not exclusive.

²² For much of the information in regard to these coins, as well as to some of the series which follow, I am indebted to the doctoral thesis of Dr S. Scheers, presented in 1973 at the University of Leuven, which will no doubt in due course be published. Much labour in assembling and plotting find-spots has thereby been saved. I hope I may be forgiven if I have not treated as Belgic all the coins covered in *L'histoire monétaire de la Gaule belge du III^e au I^{er} siècle av. J.-C.*

²³ Not in De la Tour or Forrer, but see BN, Paris, 4600–4616, 8961–8962. Scheers, *op. cit.*, p. 120, n. 36, gives as find-spots Tarquimpol and Vernéville, Moselle; Rohden, Lower Saxony; and Dillendorf, Rhein-Pfalz. Cf. nos. 244–247 and 197, which may be related.

²⁴ G. Behrens, *op. cit.*, 346–348, Abb. 4.

²⁵ Not in De la Tour; the half-staters are recorded from Ciney and Spontin, near Dinant, and, interestingly, from Yverdon (Zürich LMant 1168, 3.50 g). No quarter-stater find-spots seem to be recorded, but V. Tourneur believed them to come from the right bank of the Meuse and between it and the Sambre, *Revue belge de numismatique*, 85 (1933), 7.

d) One may also note here a very interesting group of coins which could well belong to Switzerland or the Rhineland, although no find-spot appears to be known (nos. 237–243). There are examples in Brussels, Paris, Luxembourg and Zürich, as well as Glasgow. All the coins are quarter-staters, with head facing left or right. On the reverse there is a horse prancing right, but the charioteer is replaced by what appears to be an enormous serpent, consuming the head of the horse. There is a pseudo-legend in the exergue. The symbol below the horse and the pseudo-legend recall the Unterentfelden and Pegasus types of quarter-stater. Weight suggests that these coins come fairly early in the series. It would be valuable to establish the true home of the type.

7. Two other coinages contemporary with those of the Treviri should be mentioned here, though neither is directly linked with the Helvetic group. Both begin fairly early and have well defined distributions (Map 4). One is clearly correctly attributed to the Mediomatrici in the vicinity of Metz, the other to the Sequani in Doubs and Jura, where they overlap the westerly extremity of the Helvetic group.

a) The Mediomatrici series consists in the main of coins with a beardless Janus head derived from Roman coins of c. 230–216 B.C. and a philippus horse on the reverse (nos. 260, 207–208). The Janus head starts in good style and deteriorates; the quarter-stater weight for specimens of good style is 1.90–2.00 g while it later sinks to 1.70 g or less. There are also a few staters and quarter-staters with a philippus head, clearly not in the Helvetic tradition, which are die linked with early Janus coins (nos. 206 and 207 share a reverse die).

b) The Sequani series likewise adopted an individual obverse, distinct from the usual philippus type. Both staters and quarter-staters have a horned head based on the gold staters of Lysimachos of Thrace (nos. 79, 203–205)²⁶. In the process of

²⁶ The existence of copies of Lysimachus staters in the Jura bears on the controversy as to how the philippus reached Gaul, see note 9. It has never been suggested that a pocket of Thracian influence is to be sought amongst the Sequani, nor that original staters of Lysimachus circulated there and no where else in Gaul. The Lysimachus coins formed part of the mixed stream of Macedonian and related gold coins circulating in the Mediterranean area, some of which no doubt spasmodically reached Gaul, and from which the Gauls learned the idea of gold coinage. Any wandering or mercenary Gaul familiar with gold coinage at all is just as likely to have handled staters of Alexander as of Philip, and he may very well have been familiar also with the coins of Lysimachus and Tarentum. Out of the potential models the actual choice appears to have been made less out of ignorance or necessity than for reasons of taste, sentiment or religion, being influenced primarily by the types involved. The common choice of Alexander in Germany and Bohemia and of Philip in Gaul should be seen as reflecting a conscious preference. Similarly, the choice of a Lysimachus model in the Jura must be connected with the presence of the horned head on the obverse; it is no more necessary to assume a special trade route here than a Tarentine one to Belgic Gaul. (It could be argued that the prototype of the Sequani coins is the stater of Tarentum with Hercules head [Principal Coins of the Greeks IV C 3] not of Lysimachus [IV B 12], but I regard this as very improbable.)

borrowing, what may be interpreted as tattoo marks and other Celtic peculiarities have been added to the face. As we have seen, the type influences some of the coins of the Treviri (e.g. no. 199). The usual symbol below the horse is a lyre on its side, but on one example of the quarter-stater (no. 203) its place is taken by an A-P monogram, precisely as on the heavy coins, an indication that this is the earliest coin in the series.

The weight of these Sequani coins is comparable with the Janus coins not far away to the north, namely 1.90–2.00 g for the quarter-staters and a little over 7.80 g for the staters. Apart from the presence of a lyre on both there is little or no connection with the gold coins of the neighbouring Aedui in the Côte d'Or²⁷.

8. Although neither the early coins of the Mediomatrici nor of the Sequani are directly related to those of the Helvetic group, both were eventually displaced by later and baser coins, whose origins are to be sought primarily in the coins of Switzerland. There are, in fact, four distinct coinages of this character, some with subdivisions, which are found spread across the regions of the Vosges and the Jura towards the end of the period of the philippus coinage (Map 5). At the same time the early coins of the Treviri were displaced by lighter and baser coins of Belgic design, but these are not shown on the map. It will be convenient to take these stages from south to north.

a) The first series are the coins curiously named in the standard literature as «incertains de l'est» (nos. 80–89, 252–258, 223–26)²⁸. There are many of these coins, but their poor surfaces and cupped shape make them difficult to photograph intelligibly. Their distribution shows plainly that they, too, are coins of the Sequani. The types are a direct reproduction of the La Tène type of stater, with minor variations. On the earliest coins the horses and chariot face right, on the later left. The coins always have a wheel below the horse and below the wheel, as well as in front and behind the horse, an approximation to an epsilon. This combination of marks is also present on the later silver coins of the *Kaletedou* series, the silver type most frequently found in Switzerland, and it is likely that the two were contemporary. Staters and quarter-staters are regularly found in hoards, and there can be little doubt that these are to be associated in some way with the dramatic events recorded by Caesar in the territory of the Sequani. It is for the obverse of one of these coins that the die found at Avenches was made (no. 251, reproduced as seen, and hence to be thought of as reversed on the coin). The staters, in very poor metal, weigh on average about 6.50 g, the quarters 1.60 g.

²⁷ Normal type BN, Paris, 4837–4847; late varieties A. Blanchet, *Le dépôt monétaire gaulois de Chenoves*, in *Revue numismatique* 1934, 161–167.

²⁸ E.g. BN, Paris, 8896–8915.

b) On the second series the place of the wheel is taken by a crescent (nos. 90–91, 259, 227–231). The distribution of the staters and quarters so far recorded indicates that their home lay to the north of the coins of the Sequani, which they much resemble. Provisionally they can with plausibility be attributed to the Leuci. What appears to be a subordinate type (nos. 92–93) starts here and stretches along the Moselle valley.

c) The third and fourth series are further removed from Helvetic antecedents, but it is nevertheless plain from what source the main elements of the type derive. In the larger series the horse on the reverse looks backwards. Another characteristic is the straight vertical version of the wreath, with «fishbone» arrangement. So near to the Belgic zone some northern influences are to be expected, but the marked S-shaped forelock clearly betrays a typological origin of the series in the Helvetic group, of which this is a constant characteristic. There are at least four subdivisions of the reverse which deserve study on their own, but they may here all be taken together²⁹. The distribution precisely overlays that of the Janus head coins, with only a slight extension towards the territory of the Leuci; there is no doubt that we again have a coinage of the Mediomatrici. After a few initial coins of an earlier weight standard, the series settles down to a standard weight in base metal of 6.80–7.00 g for staters, or 1.60–1.80 g for quarter-staters (no. 95 is an example of the earlier phase, nos. 261, 232–235 of the later).

d) The fourth series consists of staters only with a similar wreath, but strongly curved (no. 94); there is little doubt that the type derives proximately from the coins of the Mediomatrici. The coins are scarce, almost without variants, and must quickly have gone out of use. There is only one recorded find-spot, from which Mediomatrici coins have also come, though the site lies on the border of the Leuci. The weight 7.60–7.70 g places this short-lived series towards the beginning of the parallel Mediomatrici phase.

e) It could be argued that there are other series which were influenced by coins of the Helvetic group (e.g. no. 236), but by this stage the conglomeration of influences is too great to lead to meaningful conclusions.

The coinages plotted on Map 5 must together represent the final stage of the philippus coinage in the east down to the period of Caesar's campaigns in Gaul, and the distributions shown on it, unlike those in the earlier phases, may safely be related to the tribal geography and relationships which he records. It will be recalled that this map also shows the billon coins of Helvetic type. It naturally omits the final gold coinage of the Treviri, which by this stage formed part of the zone of Belgic Gaul.

²⁹ For the differentiation of these varieties see S. Scheer's thesis, already mentioned. Some of the varieties are clearly also influenced by coins of the Ambiani, thus sharing Helvetic and Belgic characteristics.

9. It is now time to look at the picture as a whole and in perspective and to take some account of the silver and bronze coinages also found in the same region. These are, however, a separate phenomenon, of subsequent origin to the philippus coinage, and can properly be studied more or less apart³⁰.

There are strong indications that, from the start of the philippus coinage, Switzerland and the Rhineland represented an area in many respects distinct from Gaul proper. From the early stages, which presumably lie in the second, conceivably in the third, century B.C., this eastern area appears to have been at least as prosperous as Gaul proper, and probably the centre from which the concept of money spread into much of Gaul. It need not have been the only such centre, but none is more logical than an important territory with equal access to the Danube, the Rhone and the Rhine.

As in all parts of the Celtic world, the first stage of the coinage was one of plain imitation. In Switzerland two main varieties are detectable. In the second stage these imitations were replaced by coins with a local individuality. They were of good metal and clearly there was plenty of it³¹. From the start of this Helvetic phase three distinct regions can be recognised, in the south-west, the centre and the north-east of the Swiss plateau. These may be compared with the four pagi to which Caesar referred³², but we are dealing with a much earlier date, when a branch of the Helvetii may still have occupied some part of South Germany³³. The only clues we have to the absolute date of these coins are the finds at La Tène³⁴ and the presence of Unterentfelden type coins in two burial groups³⁵. Both suggest a date in La Tène II, perhaps towards the end of the second century B.C. Subsequent phases of the coinage in Switzerland, while they indicate a variety of different groupings over a long period, do not provide any comparable evidence for the regional subdivision of the Helvetii.

More or less simultaneously with the development of individual coinages amongst the Helvetii, exactly similar developments were taking place amongst the Treviri. There the coinage followed a more consistent pattern until swept away by an altogether new style coinage from Belgic Gaul towards the end of the period of Gaulish independence. Other contemporary coinages define different areas to east and west of the Rhine. For a while a nameless area adjoining the Treviri on both

³⁰ For some views on the silver and potin coins from the east see D. F. Allen, *op. cit.* in note 2.

³¹ For gold from Switzerland see Strabo iv, 3, 3; vii, 2, 2; Athenaeus vi, 233.

³² Caesar, *BG* I, 12, 4. The pagus of the Tigurini lay to the east of the lake of Neuchâtel; the location of the pagus of the Verbigeni is uncertain; the names of the other two pagi are unknown.

³³ The Helvetii were concentrated south of the Rhine only after the defeat of the Cimbri and Teutones in 103 B.C.

³⁴ J. M. de Navarro, *op. cit.*, 312–327, esp. 320 f.

³⁵ H.-J. Kellner, *op. cit.* in note 17, 595, 599, 601. For Horgen burial see R. Wyss, *Funde der Jüngerer Eisenzeit aus dem Schweiz. Landesmuseum*, Zürich 8 (1957), 12, no. 7. For Langdorf burial see D. Viollier, Die gallischen Gräber in Langdorf bei Frauenfeld (Thurgau), in *Anzeiger für Schweiz. Altertumskunde* 12 (1910), 4 f.

banks of the Rhine shows signs of exceptional prosperity, but it eventually vanished without obvious succession. South of the Treviri two distinct areas emerge, which may be equated with the Mediomatrici and the Sequani, each with coinage of an individual character, distinct from the common run of Gaulish philippus coinage. All these developments belong at latest to the early part of the first century B.C.

The subsequent phase is one of gradual decline. In Switzerland the quality and quantity of the coinage falls off, and its variety increases; incomplete evidence suggests no dominant types. Finally the philippus coinage here was reduced to billon; but by this stage there were undoubtedly in Switzerland ample supplies of silver and potin or cast bronze coins from western Gaul.

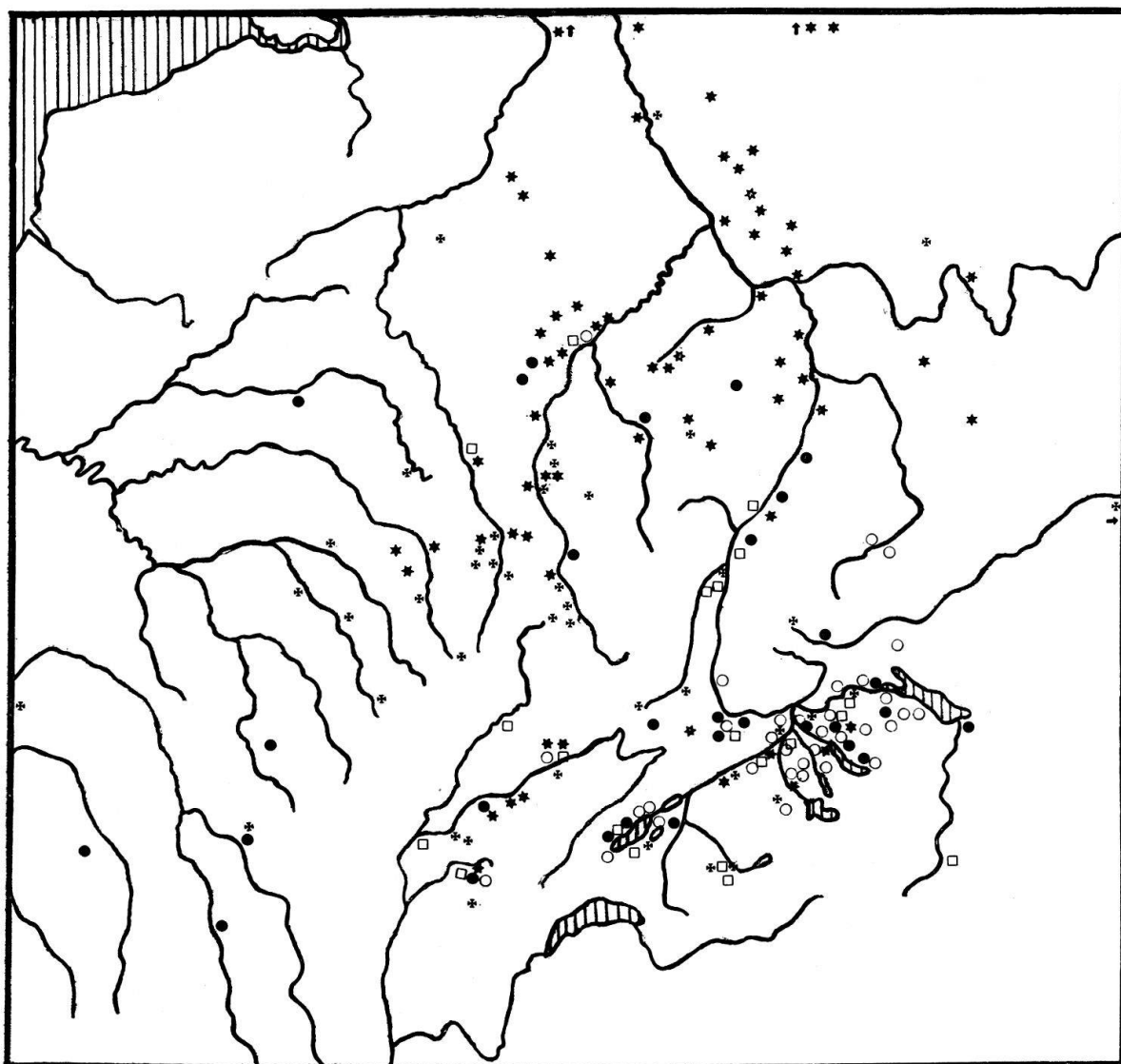
Similarly amongst the Mediomatrici and the Sequani, to whom may be added the Leuci, the early coinages were swept away at this time by base gold coins of Helvetic inspiration. These were made in great numbers and hoards of them were buried, apparently in a wave, at or just before the time of Caesar's campaigns.

10. One effect of the Gallic war and the defeat of the Gauls was to eliminate the last vestiges of the philippus coinage. The decline of the philippus over the first half of the first century B.C. is matched by the simultaneous growth in the same areas of entirely separate coinages of silver and potin (but almost none of struck bronze). It is clear that the place of the increasingly debased gold coinage was taken by the new and smaller money. The silver coins belonged to the category of a Roman inspired quinarius; the potin reflected in local style the small bronze coins of Massalia. Even if a large part of the silver coins originating amongst the Allobroges and the Aedui was intended for soldiers' pay, as seems likely³⁶, the demand for both may as plausibly be associated with the needs of the emerging oppida and their embryo market economies. The day of treasured gold coinage, never a trading currency beyond the immediate locality, was over. The supply of gold, it seems, had by then petered out. The geographical relationships suggested by the silver and potin coinages are not identical with those indicated earlier by the gold, but we are dealing with a different set of circumstances at a later date, and any inconsistency there may be in no way invalidates the story told by the gold.

It is, however, no part of this paper's purpose to explore the silver and potin coins of Switzerland and the east. I have touched on that subject in what I have written on the coins found at La Tène³⁷. What I hope the present paper has demonstrated is the essential unity of the area in which the gold coins dealt with in it are found. The find-spots are recorded collectively in Map 6. To the east of this well defined triangle we have the gold coinages of Germany in the tradition of the

³⁶ E. M. Wightman, *La Gaule cherche entre César et Auguste, D'études sur les frontières romaines*, Actes du IX^e Congrès International, Bucaresti, 1974, 480-483.

³⁷ D. F. Allen, *op. cit.* in note 2.



Map 6 Combined Distribution

● Map 1 ○ Map 2 □ Map 3 ★ Map 4 ✱ Map 5

«Regenbogenschüsselchen», to the north the prolific but compact gold coinages of the Belgic tribes, to the west a virtual desert until we reach the gold coins of the Parisii and of the Aedui, Arverni and Bituriges Cubi, almost a separate world. Seen in this way, the eastern or Helvetic group of gold coins in the philippus tradition constitutes an entity as distinct as the better recognised regional coinage groups of the Belgic and Armorican tribes. To this demonstrable numismatic region there are grounds for thinking that a distinct archaeological region may correspond. The region has no recognised name in ancient geography, any more than in modern, but is none the less real for that.

APPENDIX I

Classified list of find-spots of Philippus coins from Switzerland, Rhineland and East France

(For abbreviations see appendix III)

A. Early series, heavy staters mainly weighing over 8.00 g, and fractions corresponding

a) AP monogram

1. Staters, halves and quarters (T 3614, 3629; F 24; pl. I 1–2, 16–24).
Neuchâtel, Ct. Neuchâtel; AV 2.12 g; Wüthrich 4 (v. no. 21).
Castell bei Tägerwilten, Ct. Thurgau; AV 2.01 g; Meyer 105, Zürich MNS.
Basel; AV 8.31 g; Zürich MNS, LMant 1418.
Pruntrut, Ct. Bern; AV 2.03 g; Bern MH 156 (v. no. 16).
Stäfa, Ct. Zürich; AV 4.12 g; Zürich MNS, LMant 1194.
Alsace; AV 8.32 g; at Cahn, 1974.
Luxembourg?; AV 7.96 g; Weiller 21.
Lons de Saunier, Dt. Jura; AV 4.12 g; C. de B. 1962, p. 29, n. 6.
Saulieu, Dt. Côte d'Or; Blanchet pl. I. 4.
Méry sur Cher, Dt. Cher; AV 8.06 g; Bourges M.
Vichy, Dt. Allier; Ogam X (1958) 2–3.
Rheims, Dt. Marne; AV 8.36 g; BM, Blanchet pl. I. 6.
Creully, Dt. Calvados; Hucher I, pl. 101. 8.
Tulle, Dt. Corrèze; C. de B. 1973, p. 201.
2. Devolved or subsequent versions of stater (T –; F –; pl. II 45, I 25 ?)
North Switzerland; AV 7.63 g; Wüthrich 32.
Augst, Ct. Basel; AV 7.85 g; Zürich MNS, LMant 1174.
Roedgen, Luxembourg; AV 8.05 g; Weiller 22 (O on neck).
Birs bei Basel; AV 7.86 g; Forrer 1908, 79; Zürich MNS, LMant 1154 (O on neck).
Rottweil, Schwaben; Fdb. v. Schwaben XII (1904) 66.
3. Version of stater with female head left (T 3652; F –)
Nancy, Dt. Meurthe et Moselle; AV 8.04 g; Blanchet fig. 56.
4. Countermarked quarter stater, mark probably AP monogram (T –; F –)
Jegenstorf, Ct. Bern; Num. Chron. 1866, p. 252–253.

b) Cantaros symbol

1. Staters and quarters (T 6410–6411; F –; pl. I 2–10, 26–28)
Stein am Rhein, Ct. Thurgau; AV 8.39 g; Zürich MNS, LMant 1149 (10636).
«Oberrhein»; AV 8.45 g; ANS New York (v. no. 7).
Gugach bei Niederweningen, Ct. Zürich; AV 2.04 g; Zürich MNS, M 8722 (v. no. 26).
MuttENZ, Ct. Basel; AV ¼; Meyer 106.
Stäfa, Ct. Zürich; AV 2.04 g, also 2 variants, 2.03, 2.07 g; Zürich MNS, LMant 1182–1183, 1189.
Gamshurst, Kr. Bühl, hoard; AV 8.52, 8.45, 8.45, 8.35, 8.25 g; Wielandt 14 (v. no. 6).
St. Arnaul, Kr. Saarbrücken; AV 8.30 g; Saarbrücken M, Behrens (v. no. 8).
Colonne, Dt. Jura; AV 8.30 g; Blanchet pl. I. 3, C. de B. 1959, 96.
Dinan, Dt. Côte du Nord; AV 8.37 g; BN Paris 6410.

(The coins from Avesne, Hérault, and St. Silvain Montagut, Creuse, each AV 8.60 g, Blanchet p. 211, pl. I, 1, are considered to be Greek originals. An original half-stater from Surat, Puy de Dôme, Gallia 21 [1963], 501.)

2. Stater with types to left with circle? symbol (T –; F 432)

Bregenz, Vorarlberg; AV 8.34 g; Zürich MNS, LMant 1152; Forrer 1908, 432.

c) *Circle symbol*

Stater (T –; F –; pl. I 11)

Ebersteinburg, Kr. Rastatt; AV 7.19 g; Wielandt 12 (v. no. 11).

d) *Trident symbol*

Stater (T –; F –; pl. I 12, 29)

Stollhofen-Lichtenau, Kr. Kehl; AV cut 8.39 g, another 8.45 g; Wielandt 45 (v. no. 12).

Témes, Réká; AV 8.33 g; Dessewffy 980.

(Aarau?; F 437 appears to be a Tayac hoard coin; this hoard contained in addition to other types, e.g. no. 48, staters with trident symbol which are located in West Gaul, C. de B. 1973, 289–290.)

e) *Ear of corn symbol*

Staters and quarters (T 4832, 4834; F 434; pl. I 13–15, 30–31)

Zürich; AV 8.34 g; Zürich MNS, ZB 1034.

Cercy la Tour, Fours, Dt. Nièvre; AV ¼; C. de B. 1967, p. 67.

Val de Ruz, Ct. Neuchâtel; AV 1.99 g; Meyer 108 (left facing).

f) *Thunderbolt symbol*

Staters (T –; F –; cf. pl. II 47)

Kreimbach, Heidenburg, Pfalz; AV 8.33 g; Speyer M.; Reichart 2.

Reitberg, probably; RGZM 025741; Bonn. Jhrb. 94 (1893) 44, pl. I, 3.

g) *Pellets on cheek, reverse to left*

Staters (T 5315; F –) and quarter-staters (T 5317; F –); not mapped

Cremieu, Dt. Isère; hoard, including BN Paris 5315; AV 8.05 g, 5317, AV 2.05 g; Blanchet, p. 218, 569–570.

Geneva, near; AV 7.96 g; BN Paris 5316, Blanchet, p. 218.

B. La Tène group and related Helvetic coins

Prototype coins with cheek-mark (T 3659; F –; pl. II 36–37)

No find-spots of the standard type appear to be known. The type is on record countermarked (Hucher I pl. 97 a und b). A version of the type is known from two examples found in the region of Craon, Dt. Mayenne, but these are clearly a different rendering in another area and offer no direct evidence as to the home of the standard type.

a) *Staters with indeterminate or sun mark related to sun and prone-S quarter* (T 9302; F –; pl. II 38–44, cf. VI 96–97)

La Tène (2); AV 7.9, 7.76 g; Neuchâtel MAH, Zürich MNS, Amiet 84; v. nos. 39–40.

Presumably the staters in Basel, Bern and New York are from Swiss find-spots.

b) *Quarter-staters with prone-S mark* (T 9304; F –; pl. III 98–114)

La Tène (3); AV 1.93, 1.92, 1.91 g (v. nos. 99, 101, 108); Biel, Neuchâtel MAH and Zürich MNS.

Lons le Saunier, Dt. Jura; AV 1.90 g; Lons le Saunier M, C. de B. 1962, 64.

- c) *Quarter-stater with indeterminate mark, possibly the same* (T –; F 438; pl. VI 115)
 La Tène; AV 1.83 g; Zürich MNS, LMant 1185 (v. no. 115).
- d) *Quarter-stater with sun below horse* (T –; F –; pl. VI 116–120)
 La Tène; AV 1.89 g; Neuchâtel MAH (v. no. 116).
 Yverdon, Ct. Vaud; AV 2.07 g; Zürich MNS, LMant 1184.
 Besançon, Dt. Doubs; AV 1.98 g; Besançon M, C. de B. 1959, 170 (v. no. 118).
- e) *Stater with triskeles mark* (T –; F –; pl. II 46)
 Winterthur, Ct. Zürich; AV 7.98 g; Winterthur M; Meyer 100 (v. no. 46).
 Burwein, Ct. Graubünden, hoard; AV; Meyer p. 18.
- f) *Quarter-staters with triskeles mark but no wreath* (T 9305; F –; pl. VI 122–128)
 La Tène; AV 1.94 g; Neuchâtel MAH (v. no. 125).
 Presumably quarter-staters of this or related types in Basel, Besançon and Nancy are more or less local finds, while those in Paris and New York have been classified with Swiss coins.
 Other specimens from the same dies as no. 128, usually treated as British, are Cahn Sale 226 (1962) lot 31, AV 2.04 g; Besançon, C. de B. 1967, p. 69, AV 2.00 g; Hunter, British Uninscribed Gold 14, AV 1.92 g; British Museum, found at Deal, Kent, 1842, Mack 6, AV 1.91 g; but the dies were clearly first used in the Helvetic region.
- g) *Quarter-staters with cock-headed dragon (Unterentfelden type)* (T 9311; F 80; pl. VII 130–140)
 La Tène; F. Keller, p. 302, pl. xv 34.
 The following are taken from Kellner, *Provincialia*, 590 f.:
 Unterentfelden, Ct. Aargau; AV 2.00 g.
 Leuggern, Ct. Aargau; AV 1.9 g.
 Wislikofen, Ct. Aargau; AV 1.8 g.
 Windisch, Ct. Aargau; 1.85 g.
 «Freiamt», Ct. Aargau; 1.8, 1.86, 1.90 g.
 Aargau and Canton Aargau; AV 1.88, 1.81 g.
 Horgen am See, Ct. Zürich, in grave group; AV 1.9 g.
 Rheinau nr., Ct. Zürich; AV 1.81 g.
 Seeb bei Bülach, Winkel, Ct. Zürich; AV 1.81 g.
 Weißlingen, Ct. Zürich; AV 1.9 g.
 Zürich, Ct. Zürich; AV 1.85, 1.88, 1.85, 1.90, 2.0 g.
 Castell bei Tägerwilen, Ct. Thurgau.
 Langdorf bei Frauenfeld, Ct. Thurgau, in grave group; AV 1.90 g.
 Steinegg am Hüttwilersee, Ct. Thurgau; AV 1.9 g.
 Sursee, Ct. Luzern; AV 1.88 g.
- h) *Staters and quarter-staters with double-sun mark* (T 9305; F –; pl. III 50–54, VII 141–160)
 Augst, Ct. Basel; AV 7.35 g; Augst M, *Ur-Schweiz* 16 (1952) 49–50 (v. no. 53).
 Kreenheinstetten, Kr. Meßkirch; AV 7.69 g; Wielandt 26.
 Aargau (2); AV 1.94, 1.86 g; Zürich MNS, AGK 41, 33 (v. nos. 152–153).
 Rheinau, Ct. Zürich; AV ¼; Zürich MNS, AGK 40.
 Neuchâtel, near ?; AV ¼ frag.; Neuchâtel MAH (v. no. 154).
 Castell bei Tägerwilen, Ct. Thurgau; AV ¼; Meyer 104.
 Kleinenstingen, Kr. Reutlingen; AV 1.99 g; Forrer 1925, p. 94.
 Singen bei Konstanz; AV ¼; Forrer 1925, p. 94.
 Badenweiler, Kr. Müllheim; AV 1.837 g; Wielandt 3.
 Obernau, Kr. Rottenburg, Württemberg; AV ¼; *Fdb. v. Schwaben XII* (1904) 66.
 Euren, Kr. Trier; AV 1.89 g; Trier M, Behrens (v. no. 142).

C. Subsequent Helvetic coins

- a) *Quarter-staters with large S symbol* (T –; F 439; pl. VIII 162–167)
Auvèrner, Ct. Neuchâtel; AV 1.61 g; Zürich MNS, LMant 1172 (v. no. 162).
Estavayer, Ct. Vaud; AV 1.78 g; Zürich MNS, LMant 1218 (v. no. 163).
Jouy (en Argon, Verdun ?); AV 1.78 g; BN Paris 8919 (v. no. 167).
- b) *Staters and quarters with + symbol* (T 8896, 9313; F –; pl. III 55, VIII 168–172)
Hagneck, Ct. Bern; AV 7.615 g; Kellner, Engehalbinsel Ab. d.
Gray, Dt. Haute Saône; AV 1.89 g; BN Paris 1969. 445, Gallia 27 (1970) 346.
Goldscheuer, Kr. Offenbürg, Baden; AV 1.95 g; Forrer 1925, 96, Zürich MNS, LMant 1169.
- c) *Staters and quarters with × symbol* (T 8916; F –; pl. III 56–60, VIII 173–179)
Aargau; AV; Meyer 95, Zürich MNS AGK 23.
Bern Canton; AV; Meyer 95.
Schaffhausen, Ct. Schaffhausen; AV 7.44, 6.62 g; Meyer 96, Zürich MNS, AGK 24; BN Paris 8915.
Brugg, Ct. Aargau; AV 7.07 g?; Heierli fig. 343, assumed to be same as Wüthrich 80.
Luxembourg, near?; AV 1.83 g; Weiller 31.
Ehl, Dt. Bas Rhin; AV 1.45 g; Forrer 1925, 19.
- d) *Quarter-stater with exaggerated triskeles symbol* (T –; F –; pl. VIII 180, cf. III 62–63)
Augst, Ct. Basel; AV ¼; Forrer 1925, 92.
- e) *Quarter-staters with flower or leaves symbol* (T 8930, cf. Stater 8896; F –; pl. III 64, VIII 183–184)
Lons le Saunier, Dt. Jura; AV 1.45 g frag.; C. de B. 1962, n. 67.
Ehl, Dt. Bas Rhin; AV 1.69 g; Forrer 1925, 17; Mulhouse, Musée historique, similar to BN Paris 9312.
- f) *Staters with hippocamp or bird* (T –; F 508, cf. 514)
Doubs à Besançon, Blanchet 222 } For type see Hucher II, n. 25, cf. Zürich MNS, M 8187;
Verdun sur Doubs, Blanchet 222 } AV 7.693 g.
Schirrhein, Bas Rhin; AV 7.30 g; Forrer 1925, 71; cf. Zürich MNS, M 11316; AV 7.15 g.
Cf. also C. de B. 1973, 94, fig. 21; Forrer 1908, 514 probably found at Boviolles.

D. Debasement in the East

- a) *Coins with sun symbol* (T –; F –; pl. IV 69–71)
Engemeistergut, Ct. Bern (2); AR 5.46, 5.77 g; Kellner, Engehalbinsel 23–24 (v. no. 69–70).
Brugg, Ct. Aargau; AR 5.40 g; Zürich MNS, AGK 44.
Rheinau, Ct. Zürich; AR 6.15 g; Zürich MNS, AGK 45.
Windisch, Ct. Aargau; AR base; Meyer 94.
Rheinfall bei Flurlingen, Ct. Zürich; AR base; Meyer 94.
Villingen, Kr. Villingen; base; Wielandt 49.
Weiserheim am Sand, Pfalz (3); Speyer M.
Manching; base; Kellner Provincialia 601, T 3. 9 (v. no. 71).
Presumably examples in Bern and Basel are from local finds.

b) Coins with triskeles symbol (T 9306; F –; pl. IV 72–74)

Buchs bei Uffikon, Ct. Luzern; AR base; Meyer 98.

Tiefenau, Ct. Bern; AR base; Meyer 98.

Wüthrich 352 is a good example, apparently in base gold.

Zürich MNS, ZB 1056, is a half denomination in base silver.

Stradonitz, Bohemia; AR 4.40 g; Píć, Hradiste, p. 26, n. 41.

E. Coins forming part of same general group to north and east

a) Early types of the Treviri (T 6818, 6821, 6909, 9269, 9297, 9298; F 435, 83; pl. IV 76–77, IX 198–202)

Find-spots taken from Allen, Treviri, supplemented by Scheers thesis, 1973:

Bendorf, Koblenz.

Düldeldorf, Bitburg (Lyre type).

Thallichtenberg, Birkenfeld.

Trier-Biewer, Trier (Star, Lyre, Guilloche type).

Frickhofen, Limburg.

Steinheim, Höxter.

Roschberg, St. Wendel (Lyre type).

Saarbrücken, St. Arnaul (Horned head type).

Tholey, St. Wendel.

Wahlen, Merzig-Wadern (Lyre type).

Bei Bliesmündung, from the Saar (Lyre type).

Am Innufer.

Obernhein, Usingen.

Wiesbaden-Erbenheim (Star, Lyre, Guilloche type).

Baden-Baden.

Hilgartshausen, Crailsheim.

Altrier, Luxembourg.

Scheidgen, Luxembourg.

«Luxembourg» (Lyre type).

Rosières aux Salines, Nancy, Dt. Meurthe et Moselle.

Metz, Moselle (Lyre type).

Lorraine (Lyre type).

Schönenwerd, Solothurn.

Zürich.

Wil, St. Gallen.

Nijmegen, Netherlands, C. de B. 1973, p. 28, n. 47.

b) Quarter-staters with Pegasus reverse (T –; F 446; pl. VIII 209–222)

Find-spots taken from Scheers thesis, 1973:

Jöhlingen, Karlsruhe (v. no. 218).

Kirchberg an der Jagst, Crailsheim.

Bönstädt, Friedberg.

Gemarkung Gaukönigshofen, Ochsenfurt.

Hadamar, Limburg a. Lahn (v. no. 213).

Hofheim, Mainz-Taunuskreis (v. no. 215).

Idstein, Untertaunuskreis (v. no. 214).

Lollar, Gießen.

Bingerbrück, Kreuznach.
 Frankenthal, Rhine Province.
 Grünstadt, Frankenthal.
 Landau in der Pfalz.
 Meisenheim, Kreuznach.
 Trier.
 Worms.
 In the Pfalz.
 Near Aachen (v. no. 212).
 Bonn.
 Cologne.
 Leichlingen, Rhein-Wupper-Kreis.
 Quinx, Aachen.
 Near Scherfede, Warburg.
 Schladern a. d. Sieg, Dattenfeld.
 Wahlen, Schleiden.
 Moselthal.
 Am Rhein.
 Remerschen-Greiffen, Luxembourg.
 Verdun, Meuse.
 Near Metz, Moselle.
 Geneva.
 Schönenwerd, Solothurn

c) *Coins with Janus obverse and related types* (T 8933, 8237, 8943, 8944, with 8945; F 543; pl. X 260, IX 206–208)

Find-spots taken from Scheers thesis, 1973:
 Doulevant le Château, St. Dizier, Haute Marne.
 Mars le Tour, Briey, Meurthe et Moselle.
 Pont à Mousson, Nancy, Meurthe et Moselle.
 Near Toul, Meurthe et Moselle.
 Boviolles, Commercy, Meuse.
 Cocheron, Forbach, Moselle.
 Near Metz, Moselle.
 Alost, East Flanders.
 Pfalz.

d) *Sequani coins with Lysimachus obverse*

1. Staters (T 5318; F –; pl. IV 79)

Luxiol, Doubs; AV 7.86 g; C. de B. 1959, p. 21, 41, 1967, p. 67 (v. no. 79).
 Brienne le Château, Aube; C. de B. 1967, p. 21.
 Tourmont, Jura; ib.

2. Quarter-staters (T 5322; F –; pl. IX 203–205)

Grozon, Jura; AV 2.0 g; C. de B. 1959, p. 21, 1967, p. 67 (v. no. 204).
 St. Léger sous Brienne, Aube; ib.
 Besançon, Doubs; AV 2.00 g; ib.
 Lons le Saunier; AV 2.05 g; C. de B. 1962, 13.
 Salins les Bains, Jura; AV 1.50 g; C. de B. 1962, 14.
 Aarburg, Aargau; AV 1.91 g; Zürich MNS, AGK 4.
 Saxon, Sion; M. d'Epinal, RN 1904, p. 21, n. 71.

F. Debasement in the West

a) Coins with cross-in-circle symbol

1. Staters (T 8932, 8901; F 454, 82; pl. IV 80–89, X 252–258)

Uzemain, Dt. Vosges; Blanchet 222.

Thiélouze, Dt. Vosges; Blanchet 222.

* Chausseuans, Dt. Jura; Blanchet 222, Besançon M.; AV 6.51, 5.82, 6.69, 6.61 g.

* Lains, Dt. Jura; Blanchet T. 130 bis, Lons le S. M., C. de B. 1962, 5.97–7.05 g.

Commenailles, Dt. Jura; C. de B. 1962, p. 42.

* Besançon, Dt. Doubs; Blanchet 222, C. de B. 1959.

Bart, Montbéliard, Dt. Doubs; C. de B. 1960.

Doulevant, Haute Marne, BN Paris 8908 (v. no. 87).

Mont Beuvray, Dt. Nièvre: DAG 206.

Mussy sur Seine, Dt. Aube; Blanchet 222.

Bern, Canton; AV 7.47 g; Meyer 97, Zürich MNS, AGK 25.

2. Quarter-staters (T 8920; F 455; pl. IX 223–226)

Solothurn ?, bought at; AV 1.44 g; Zürich MNS, LMant 1205.

* Lain, Dt. Jura; AV 1.60–1.20 g; C. de B. 1962.

3. Stater of similar fabric but with triskeles symbol, head left, horse right (T 8897; F 507)

Bart, Montbéliard, Dt. Doubs; AV; C. de B. 1960, 119.

b) Coins with crescent symbol

1. Staters (T 8922; F –; pl. V 90–91, X 259)

Crainvilliers, Dt. Vosges; AV 7.22 g; BN Paris 8923.

Ville sur Arce, Dt. Aube; Blanchet 395.

Belfort; AV 6.89 g; Zürich MNS, LMant 1203.

2. Quarter staters (T 8925, 2928; F –; pl. IX 227–231)

Allibaudères, Dt. Aube; Blanchet 395.

Ehl, Dt. Bas Rhin; AV 1.66 g; Forrer 1925, 18.

c) Staters with disintegrated face (T 8967; F –; pl. IV 92–93)

Find-spots taken from Scheers thesis, 1973:

Lessy/Plappeville, Metz, Moselle.

Metz, near.

Morville les Vic, Château Salins, Moselle.

Cocheron, Forbach, Moselle (added from Forrer's notes).

Epinal, near, Vosges.

Wederath, Wittluch, Rhein-Pfalz.

Baden, Aargau (SM, 23 [1973] 127).

An example in Wiesbaden is probably a local find.

d) Curved wreath staters, with bird and cross (T 9016; F 445; pl. V 94)

Boviolles, Commercy (3); AV 7.66, 7.73, 7.67 g; Blanchet 390.

* In the case of the finds so marked it is clear that the coins come from a hoard.

e) *Vertical wreath staters and quarter-staters, with horse looking back* (T 8988, 8989, 8990, 8993, 9000, 9004, 8994, 8997, 9003, 9005, 9009; F 456, 457; pl. V 95, X 261, IX 232–235)

Find-spots taken from Scheers thesis, 1973:

Chatillon sur Seine, Côte d'Or.

Muides sur Loire, Blois, Loir et Cher.

Givry en Argonne, Marne.

Langres, Haute Marne.

Nancy, near, Meurthe et Moselle.

Boviolles, Commercy, Meuse.

Metz, near, Moselle.

Cocheron, Forbach, Moselle.

Haut Rhin.

Neufchâteau, Vosges.

March en Famenne, Namur.

«Luxembourg».

Cologne, Rhein Westphalia.

Lüscherz, 1893, near Biel, Bern.

f) *Luxembourg type* (T 8834, 8835; F –; pl. IX 236)

Find-spots taken from Scheers thesis, 1973:

«Luxembourg», near (2).

Haltines, Namur.

APPENDIX II

List of coins illustrated (with notes on die combinations)

1. AV 8.19 g Bern 147, old collection.
2. AV 8.10 g Wüthrich 141.
3. AV 8.29 g British Museum.
4. AV 8.54 g ANS, ex E. T. Newell.
5. AV 8.44 g Winterthur.
6. AV 8.35 g Karlsruhe, from Gamshurst hoard, Wielandt 14.
7. AV 8.45 g ANS, ex E. T. Newell, found «am Oberrhein».
8. AV 8.30 g Saarbrücken, found at St. Arnaul.
9. AV 7.998 g Bern 146.
10. AV 7.80 g Glasgow, Hunter, Philip II 20.
11. AV 7.19 g Karlsruhe, found at Neu Eberstein, Wielandt 12.
12. AV 8.39 g Karlsruhe, found at Stollhofen-Lichtenau, Wielandt 45.
13. AV 8.222 g Wiesbaden.
14. AV 8.23 g Wüthrich 140.
15. AV 8.12 g Bern 148.
16. AV 2.03 g Bern 156, found at Pruntrut.
17. AV 2.05 g British Museum.
18. AV 2.07 g Bern 155.
19. AV 2.10 g British Museum.
20. AV 2.14 g Wüthrich 3, ex de Saulcy.
21. AV 2.12 g Wüthrich 4, ex de Saulcy, found at Neuchâtel.
22. AV 1.80 g Wien 27181.
23. AV 1.91 g Lausanne.
24. AV 1.975 g Bern 150.
25. AV 1.985 g Wien 689.
26. AV 2.04 g Zürich M 8722, found at Gugach bei Niederweningen.
27. AV 1.98 g Basel 1918, 5308.
28. AV 2.10 g Besançon, C. de B. 1967, p. 68.
29. AV 4.139 g Frankfurt 744.
30. AV 2.07 g Besançon, C. de B. 1967, p. 67.
31. AV 2.01 g Naville Sale 5, 1923, lot 79.
32. AV 2.07 g Basel.
33. AV 2.05 g Basel.
34. AV 2.09 g Wien 39.069.
35. AV 1.76 g Karlsruhe.
36. AV 7.93 g BN Paris 3658.
37. AV 7.94 g Copenhagen.
38. AV 7.60 g Cambridge, Fitzwilliam SNG VI. I, 38.
39. AV 7.76 g Zürich, found at La Tène.
40. AV 7.90 g Neuchâtel, found at La Tène.
41. AV 8.20 g Basel.
42. AV 7.69 g Bern 144, same obv. die as no. 41.
43. AV 7.70 g ANS, ex Swiss collection.
44. AV 7.73 g Wien 41/26.669.
45. AV 7.63 g Wüthrich 32, ex de Saulcy, found in north Switzerland?
46. AV 7.98 g Winterthur, probably found nearby.

47. AV 7.71 g Wien 40/26.668.
48. AV 7.42 g Wüthrich 33, from Tayac, Gironde, hoard.
49. AV 8.15 g BN Paris 4539, found at Moulins.
50. AV 7.69 g Karlsruhe.
51. AV 7.45 g BN Paris, 9303.
52. AV 7.81 g Wien 27.179.
53. AV 7.35 g Augst, found at Augst, SG 14.
54. AV 7.25 g BN Paris 9305.
55. AV 7.615 g Bern 145.
56. AV 7.659 g Stuttgart. } (slightly reduced)
57. AV 7.09 g Frankfurt 130. }
58. AV 7.19 g Copenhagen.
59. AV 7.15 g Berlin ex Cassel, same dies as no 58?
60. AV 6.62 g BN Paris 8915.
61. AR 6.47 g Geneva.
62. AV 7.28 g BN Paris 8897; cf. Drouot Sale, 17. 6. 1974, lot 224.
63. AV 6.45 g BN Paris 8898.
64. AV 7.50 g BN Paris 8898.
65. AV 6.95 g BN Paris 8927.
66. AV 6.77 g BN Paris 8899.
67. AV 6.55 g RGZM 029370.
68. AV 7.30 g BN Paris 8912.
69. AR 5.46 g Bern, found at Engehalbinsel.
70. AR 5.77 g Bern, found at Engehalbinsel.
71. AR 5.50 g Found at Manching, Kellner, Provincialia 601, T. 3. 9.
72. AR 5.40 g With ring. Lausanne.
73. AR 4.31 g BN Paris 9306.
74. AR 5.30 g BN Paris 9307.
75. AV 5.60 g (base) Wien 42/26.670.
76. AV 7.15 g Wien 26.698.
77. AV 7.12 g Wien 26.699.
78. AV 6.62 g BN Paris 9300.
79. AV 7.86 g Besançon, found at Luxiol, Doubs.
80. AV 7.74 g Mounted. BN Paris 8932.
81. AV 6.69 g Besançon, C. de B. 1959, 148.
82. AV 6.28 g BN Paris 8905.
83. AV 5.97 g BN Paris 8906.
84. AV 5.50 g Basel 1918. 5314.
85. AV 4.72 g Basel 1968. 5313.
86. AV 6.82 g BN Paris 8909.
87. AV 6.15 g BN Paris 8908, found at Doulevant, Haute Marne.
88. AV 6.50 g The Hague 10498.
89. AV 6.50 g The Hague 10500.
90. AV 7.16 g Wüthrich 149.
91. AV 7.00 g BN Paris 8922.
92. AV 6.53 g Karlsruhe.
93. AV 6.36 g Wiesbaden.
94. AV 7.61 g Berlin 17527.
95. AV 7.03 g British Museum.
96. AV 1.92 g British Museum.

97. AV 1.88 g MAN, St. Germain en Laye 3016.
 98. AV 1.85 g Stuttgart.
 99. AV 1.93 g Biel, found at La Tène.
 100. AV 1.90 g BN Paris 9304.
 101. AV 1.92 g Neuchâtel, found at La Tène.
 102. AV 1.85 g Lausanne.
 103. AV 1.75 g BN Paris 9316.
 104. AV 1.76 g Basel 1918. 5329.
 105. AV 1.91 g Bern 149.
 106. AV 1.92 g Zürich M 10906.
 107. AV 1.93 g Zürich M 11910.
 108. AV 1.91 g Zürich, found at La Tène.
 109. AV 1.97 g ANS, ex E. T. Newell.
 110. AV 1.93 g MMAC Basel, Sale II. (1953), lot 18.
 111. AV 1.87 g Glasgow, Hunter, Philip II 27.
 112. AV 1.99 g Karlsruhe.
 113. AV 1.74 g BN Paris 9317.

The die combinations of nos. 98–113 are as follows:

98	Aa	102	De	106	Gh	110	Ii
99	Bb	103	Ef	107	Gi	111	Ji
100	Bc	104	Fg	108	Hi	112	Jj
101	Cd	105	Gh	109	Hi	113	Kj

114. AV 1.92 g BN Paris 10260.
 115. AV 1.83 g Zürich, found at La Tène.
 116. AV 1.89 g Neuchâtel, found at La Tène.
 117. AV 2.02 g BN Paris 9320.
 118. AV 1.98 g Besançon, found at the Arsenal, Besançon, C. de B. 1959, 170.
 119. AV 1.97 g Naville Sale 5, 1923, lot 41.
 120. AV 1.98 g Wüthrich 6.

Nos. 116–117 are from the same dies. Nos. 118–120 are from the same dies. The obverse die of nos. 118–120 is probably the same as that of nos. 111 and 112 recut.

121. AV 1.80 g Basel.
 122. AV 2.02 g BN Paris 9309.
 123. AV 1.95 g BN Paris 9308.
 124. AV 1.95 g Nancy.
 125. AV 1.94 g Neuchâtel, found at La Tène.
 126. AV 1.86 g ANS, ex E. T. Newell.
 127. AV 2.00 g Besançon, C. de B. 1967, p. 69.
 128. AV 1.94 g Glasgow, Hunter, Gaulish Uncertain 3.

No. 121 is from the same obverse die as nos. 118–120. Nos. 122–125 have the same obverse die; nos. 123–125 are from the same dies on both sides.

129. AV 1.51 g MAN, St. Germain en Laye 2679.
 130. AV 1.96 g British Museum.
 131. AV 1.95 g Winterthur, same dies as no. 130.
 132. AV 1.74 g Wien 685.

133. AV 1.92 g BN Paris 3100, same dies as no. 132.
 134. AV 1.88 g Oxford, Ashmolean.
 135. AV 1.91 g Basel 1918. 5333.
 136. AV 1.59 g Berlin, same obverse die as no. 135.
 137. AV 1.80 g Stuttgart.
 138. AV 1.88 g Glasgow, Hunter, Philip II 29.
 139. AV 1.80 g ANS, ex E. T. Newell.
 140. AV 1.44 g Berlin, ex Imhof-Blumer.
 141. AV 1.93 g Glasgow, Hunter, Philip II 24.
 142. AV 1.89 g Trier, found at Euren, from same dies as no. 141.
 143. AV 1.837 g Stuttgart.
 144. AV 1.814 g Stuttgart, from same reverse die as no. 143.
 145. AV 1.84 g Zürich LMAB 2273.
 146. AV 1.771 g Stuttgart, from same obverse die as no. 145.
 147. AV 1.79 g Oxford, Ashmolean.
 148. AV 1.94 g Berlin.
 149. AV 1.94 g Berlin, ex von Gansauge, 1873, from same obverse die as no. 148.
 150. AV 1.848 g Stuttgart, from same reverse die as no. 149.
 151. AV 1.869 g Stuttgart.
 152. AV 1.94 g Zürich, found in Ct. Aargau.
 153. AV 1.80 g Zürich, found in Ct. Aargau, from the same dies as no. 152.
 154. AV frag. Neuchâtel, without provenance.
 155. AV 1.76 g Zürich Dep. 3084.30.
 156. AV 1.82 g BN Paris 9321.
 157. AV 1.80 g Wüthrich 5.
 158. AV 1.87 g Zürich M 10040.
 159. AV 1.65 g BN Paris 9319.
 160. AV 1.54 g BN Paris 9318.
 161. AV 1.99 g British Museum.
 162. AV 1.66 g frag., Zürich LMA 1172, found at Auvernier.
 163. AV 1.78 g Zürich, LMA 1218, found at Estavayer.
 164. AV 1.80 g Copenhagen, Thomsen 2626.
 165. AV 1.76 g British Museum.
 166. AV 1.709 g Stuttgart.
 167. AV 1.78 g BN Paris, found at Jouy.
 168. AV 1.92 g BN Paris 9313.
 169. AV 1.95 g Wüthrich 10.
 170. AV 1.86 g BN Paris 9314.
 171. AV 1.81 g British Museum.
 172. AV 1.875 g Stuttgart (slightly reduced).
 173. AV 1.62 g Wien 764.
 174. AV 1.95 g Wien 691.
 175. AV 1.74 g BN Paris 8916.
 176. AV 1.83 g Luxembourg 31.
 177. AV 1.90 g Berlin.
 178. AV 1.18 g plated. BN Paris 8917.
 179. AV 1.76 g Glasgow, Hunter, Central Europe 21.
 180. AV 1.48 g Basel.
 181. AV 1.37 g BN Paris 8931.
 182. AV 1.60 g Brussels.

183. AV 1.85 g BN Paris 9315.
 184. AV 1.95 g BN Paris 9312.
 185. AV 1.45 g Zürich LMant 1216.
 186. AV 1.35 g Zürich LMant 1210.
 187. AV 1.58 g Geneva.
 188. AV 1.55 g BN Paris 8913.
 189. AV 1.70 g BN Paris 8914.
 190. AV 1.90 g BN Paris 10246.
 191. AV 1.70 g BN Paris 8900.
 192. AV 1.83 g ANS, ex Swiss collection.
 193. AV 2.06 g ANS, ex Swiss collection.
 194. AV 1.906 g Munich.
 195. AV 1.96 g ANS, ex Köln collection.
 196. AV 1.82 g Oxford, Ashmolean.
 197. AV 2.29 g Berlin.
 198. AV 1.84 g Wien 26.704.
 199. AV 1.60 g The Hague 10574.
 200. AV 1.90 g Wien 26.701.
 201. AV 1.91 g Wien 29.709.
 202. AV 1.98 g Wien 27.215.
 203. AV 2.01 g MMAC Basel, Sale 42 (1972), lot 342.
 204. AV 2.03 g Besançon, found at Grozon, Jura.
 205. AV 1.97 g BN Paris 5319.
 206. AV 1.78 g British Museum.
 207. AV 1.94 g British Museum.
 208. AV 1.756 g Munich.
 209. AV 2.15 g Karlsruhe.
 210. AV 1.99 g The Hague 1950/212.
 211. AV 1.97 g Karlsruhe.
 212. AV 1.89 g Karlsruhe, found at Aachen.
 213. AV 1.97 g Wiesbaden, found at Domburg bei Frickhofen, Limburg.
 214. AV 1.97 g Wiesbaden, found at Idstein, Untertaunuskreis.
 215. AV 2.012 g Wiesbaden, found at Hofheim, Mainz-Taunuskreis.
 216. AV 1.90 g Wien 26.711.
 217. AV 1.90 g Wien 689.
 218. AV 1.63 g Karlsruhe, found at Jöhlingen.
 219. AV 1.94 g Brussels.
 220. AV 1.83 g Wien 27.213.
 221. AV 1.70 g Wien 26.710.
 222. AR 1.36 g British Museum.
 223. AV 1.47 g ANS, ex Köln collection.
 224. AV 1.60 g BN Paris 8920.
 225. AV 1.20 g BN Paris 8921.
 226. AV 1.30 g BN Paris 8911.
 227. AV 1.85 g BN Paris 8924.
 228. AV 1.85 g BN Paris 8925.
 229. AV 1.75 g Berlin.
 230. AV 1.77 g BN Paris 8928.
 231. AV 1.85 g BN Paris 8926.
 232. AV 1.74 g British Museum.

233. AV 1.66 g Brussels.
234. AV 1.71 g British Museum.
235. AV 1.90 g Besançon.
236. AV 1.70 g Vatican, Rome.
237. AV 2.06 g Zürich LMant 1202.
238. AV 2.03 g Zürich M 8199, from same die as no. 239.
239. AV 2.01 g Glasgow, Hunter, Uncertain Gaulish 6.
240. AV 2.01 g Glasgow, Hunter, Uncertain Gaulish 7, pl. CI 10.
241. AV 2.07 g Brussels.
242. AV 2.03 g Luxembourg 43.
243. AV 2.07 g Paris 10249.
244. AV 4.14 g Brussels.
245. AV 4.18 g Brussels, from same dies as no. 246.
246. AV 4.17 g Brussels.
247. AV 3.03 g Brussels.
248. AV 2.02 g Brussels.
249. AV 1.73 g Brussels.
250. AV 1.85 g Wien 646.
251. Bronze die in iron shaft, found near Avenches; at Musée d'Avenches.
252. AV 6.57 g BN Paris 8901.
253. AV 6.81 g ANS.
254. AV 6.79 g Basel (obverse only).
255. AV 5.82 g Besançon 147.
256. AV 6.61 g Besançon 149.
257. AV 6.74 g ANS, ex Swiss collection.
258. AV 6.78 g BN Paris 8910.
259. AV 6.96 g ANS, ex E. T. Newell.
260. AV 7.17 g Brussels.
261. AV 6.82 g Brussels.
262. AV 2.03 g Stockholm, Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift, 1972, pl. 17. 56.

APPENDIX III

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PLATE 8



PLATE 9



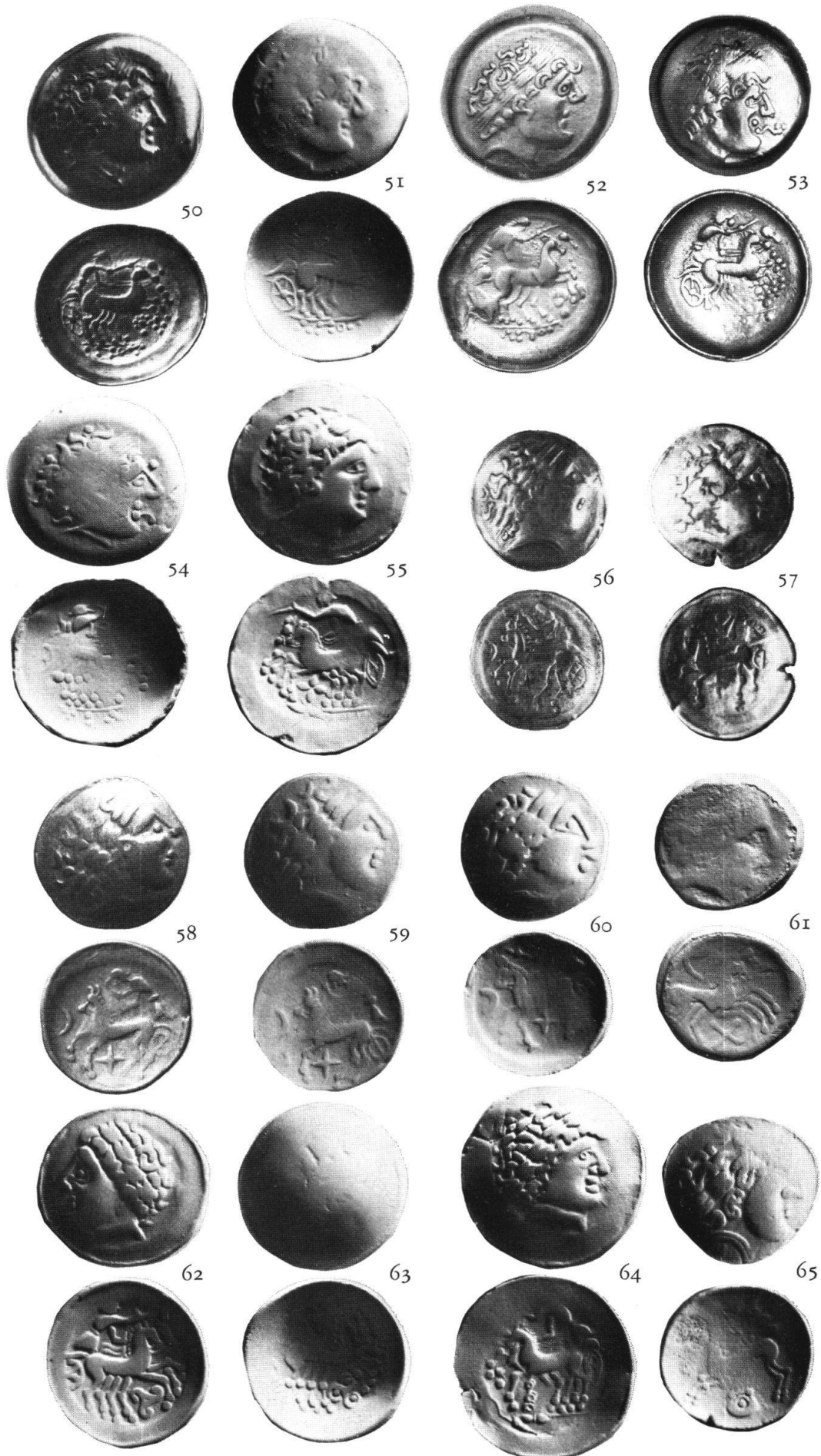


PLATE II

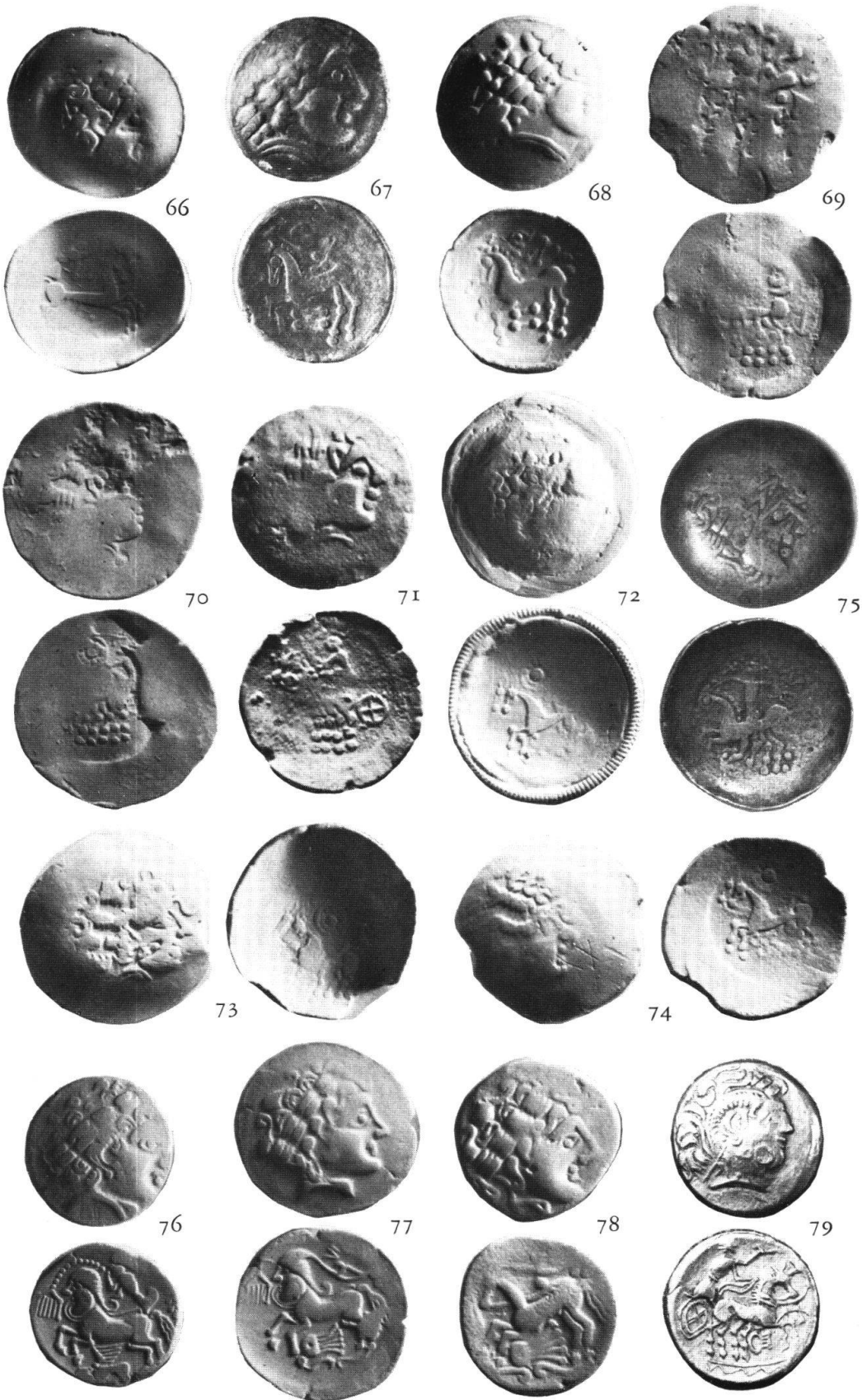


PLATE 12

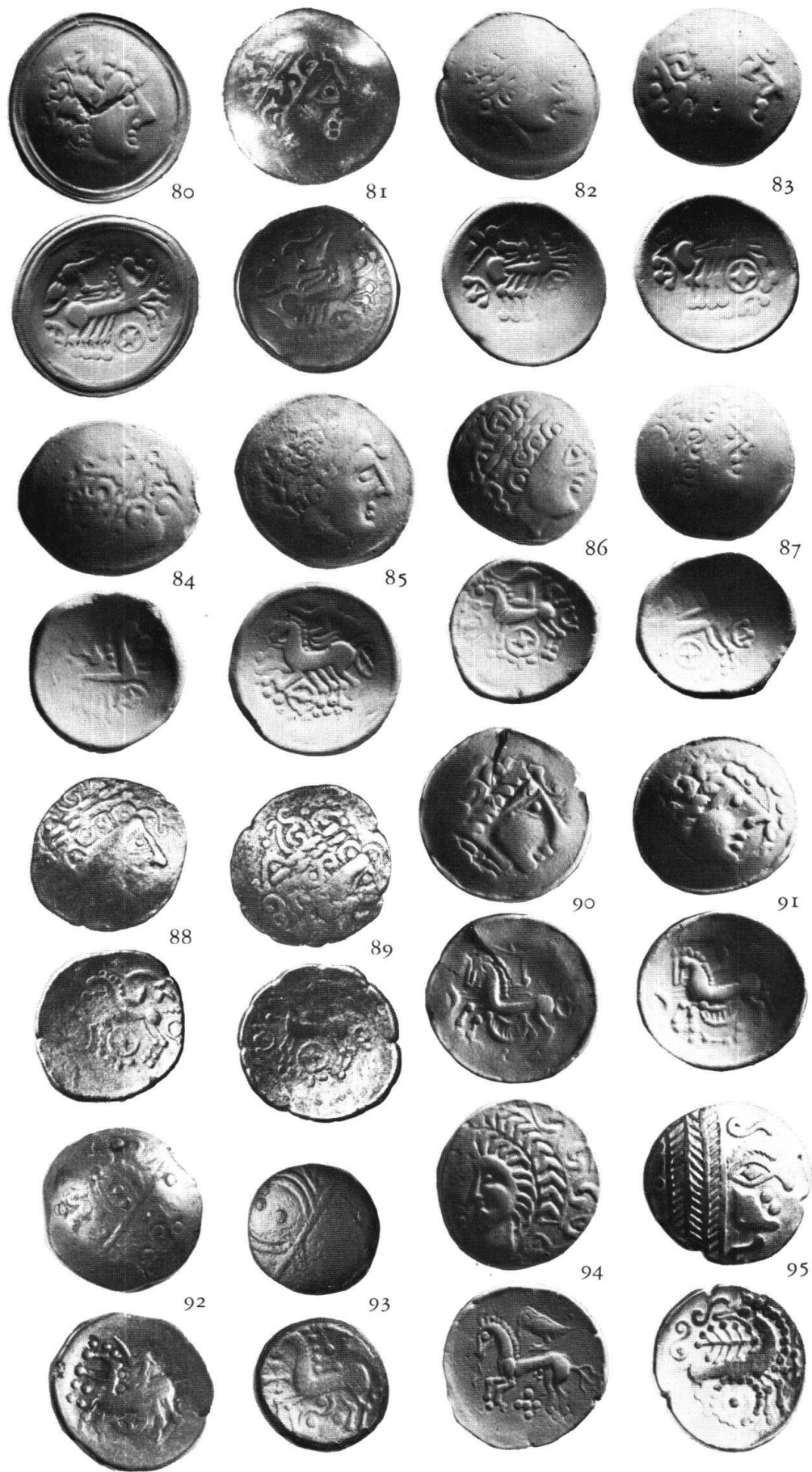


PLATE 13



PLATE 14



PLATE 15



PLATE 16



PLATE 17

