*The Hebrew Inscriptions from Sardis**

Frank Moore Cross
Harvard University

The inscriptions in Hebrew found in the Sardis Synagogue are few and fragmentary in comparison with the rich deposit of Greek inscriptions. One may compare the coeval synagogue in Hammath-Tiberias with its similar proportion of Greek and Hebrew inscriptions—despite its Palestinian locale. The Hebrew inscriptions were found, save one, in the Synagogue near the southern shrine in the east side of the Main Hall, and originally, no doubt, were built into or attached to the walls of the Synagogue.[1] The inscription from outside the Synagogue, the graffito of Shemaryah, was found in a fill north of the Expedition camp.

Inscription 1 (Figs. 1–2)

IN 62.79. Width: 25.1 cm; height: 24.3 cm; incised frame: 22.4 x 10.6 cm.[2] Polished marble.

[ס]בירוס
[S]everus

The plaque is made of polished marble, and evidently was the final plaque in an

*This article was completed and submitted for publication in its present form on November 1, 1994. It is published here in advance of its official publication with the permission of the Publications Committee, Archaeological Exploration of Sardis. Images are reproduced with permission, ©Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/Harvard University. The writer has benefited greatly from a preliminary study of these inscriptions by the late Professor Isaac Rabinowitz. Where my readings and interpretations differ substantially from his, my readings are to be found in the text, his in the notes.

[1]See A. R. Seager, "The Building History of the Sardis Synagogue," *AJA* 76 (1972) 432–33.

[2]The measurement of the lightly incised frame was made by Andrew Ramage. I am in his debt for detailed descriptions of the physical condition of most of the stones.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816002041020 Published online by Cambridge University Press

inscription extending over several such stones. It has lightly incised linings framing the inscription on three sides, as well as framing blank spaces above and below the inscription. The vertical line on the left side of the plaque evidently marks the left margin of the text. The lack of a line on the right side of the inscription makes clear that the inscription extended further to the right, most likely on additional plaques, a technique found also in the Greek inscriptions from Sardis.[3] While the left margin with its vertical lining is surely the original end of the line of the inscription, the right margin of the plaque cannot be the original beginning of the inscription, not only because of the open lining on the right, but also because of the spacing in front of the letter *bet*. The right margin is too narrow to be the space between words (compare the space at the end of the line after *samek*). It is not even the width this elegant scribe placed between individual letters.[4]

The name Severus, a fairly common Jewish name in the inscriptions of this period, is most easily reconstructed here.[5] A Jewish סברס, "Severus," appears in a synagogue text found near Hebron.[6] The name appears in Greek script in an

[3]See, for example, L. Robert, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes* [Archaeological Exploration of Sardis], I^re^ Fascicule (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1964), inscrs. 7, 13, 14, and 15, pls. VI and VII. Compare Inscription 3 below, where an incised line marking the margin is found on the right side of the inscription.

[4]Professor Rabinowitz argued that the right side of the inscription preserves the original beginning of the inscription and rejected the reading "Severus."

[5]Rabinowitz wished to read בירוס, "Verus," and developed a striking theory that it was the name of the Roman emperor Verus (161–169 C.E.), the weakling who shared the throne with Marcus Aurelius (161–180 C.E.), and who perhaps visited Sardis in 166 C.E., when he returned from Syria after having directed the Roman forces in the war against the Parthians. Indeed, an inscribed statue base, evidently designed for a statue of the co-emperor Verus, was found in the gymnasium (more precisely Building "B"). See Sherman E. Johnson, "Preliminary Epigraphic Report on the Inscriptions Found at Sardis in 1958," *BASOR* 158 (1960) 7–10, with figs. 2 and 3; G. M. A. Hanfmann, "New Explorations at Sardis," *Archaeology* 12 (1959) 53–61, esp. 57 and fig. 7 (the inscribed statue base); and idem, "The Ninth Campaign at Sardis (1966)," *BASOR* 187 (1967) 25 and n. 25, citing Rabinowitz's views. I prefer a less exciting solution—Severus, a Latin name in use among Jews—and would suppress the entire skein of speculations about the emperor Verus and the Sardis Synagogue. I should add that the name Verus as a *Jewish* name is unknown. Finally, as we shall see, the palaeography of the text points to a date in the second half of the third century C.E. at earliest, not a date in the mid-second century.

[6]See J. Naveh, *On Mosaic and Stone: The Hebrew and Aramaic Inscriptions from Ancient Synagogues* (Hebrew) (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Karta, 1989) no. 72. The reading *sbrs* has been treated by some as uncertain, and an alternate *sbns*, "Sabinus," proposed. But the confusion is caused by a *bet-reš* ligature; *nun* is an impossible reading in the script of this period. The top of the vertical stroke of *nun* tilts to the right (so!) in this period, or is straight; it does not have the tick leftward that will develop in the future, much less a top bar. It should be noted that the use of *matres lectionis* varies greatly in this period, especially in the writing of foreign names. Compare the writing of the name as *sbrs* (without the use of vowel letters *yod* and *waw*), and *sbyryny'*, "inhabitant of [Beth] Severina."

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816002041020 Published online by Cambridge University Press



Fig. 1, Inscription 1



Fig. 2, Inscription 1

Images reproduced with permission. ©Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/Harvard University

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816002041020 Published online by Cambridge University Press

inscription of the Hammath-Tiberias synagogue: CEYHP[OC] ΘΡΕΠΤΟC ΤΩΝ ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΩΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΩΝ ΕΠΟΙΗCΕΝ. ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΑΥΤΩ. ΑΜΗΝ, "Sever[os], disciple of the most illustrious patriarchs fulfilled (it). Blessings upon him. Amen." This Severus is a founder or donor providing for the construction of the synagogue.[7] The names Severus and Severa, written CEBHPOΣ and CEBHPA, are found in a number of Jewish inscriptions from Rome and more broadly Italy.[8]

The use of the name Severus by Jews evidently reflects the favorable treatment of the Jews by the Severan dynasty, and in particular by Alexander Severus (222–235 C.E.). We have knowledge of such good treatment of the Jews by the Severi from rabbinic, Christian, and Roman sources, and while there may be folkloristic elements in some of these accounts, there is no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of their general thrust.[9]

The names of two of the Severan emperors are also found in Jewish inscriptions, probably inscriptions originally set up in synagogues.[10] There are also traditions of a synagogue of (Alexander) Severus in Rome.[11] However, synagogue inscriptions honoring emperors, or acknowledging imperial subventions, are excessively rare in comparison with inscriptions on the walls and floors of synagogues bearing notices of gifts or of *ex votos* given by Jews. It is not impossible that the Severus of the Sardis inscription refers to (Alexander) Severus; but on the epigraphic principle that the banal reading is to be preferred, I am inclined to identify the Severus of our inscription as a Jew of Sardis. This fits best too, as we shall see, with the palaeography of the inscription.

While there are few letters on which to base a palaeographical dating of the inscription, happily there are letters—notably *bet* and *yod*—with highly distinctive features.

[7]See Moshe Dothan, *Hammath Tiberias*: *Early Synagogues* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, University of Haifa, and Department of Antiquities and Museums, 1983) 54–60 (Inscription 1). The Synagogue of Stratum IIa, called by Dothan "the Synagogue of Severos," dates from the end of the third to the end of the fourth century C.E. Inscription 2 (ibid., 60–62) repeats the name of Severos (CEYHPOC), this time undamaged, and gives the same elaborate title, on which see ibid., 57–59.

[8]See J. B. Frey, *Corpus inscriptionum judaicarum* (2 vols.; Vatican City: Pontifico Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1936–52)—hereafter *CIJ*—I, no. 144 (CEBHPA); I, no. 264 (CEBHPA and CEBHPOΣ); I, nos. 352 and 594 (CEBHPA); II, no. 766 (CEOYHPA).

[9]See M. Avi-Yonah, *Geschichte der Juden im Zeitalter des Talmud* (Studia Judaica 2; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1962) 38–41, and the references in nn. 11–14. Cf. *CIJ* I: LXXX – LXXXI; Dothan, *Hammath Tiberias*, 57–58 and n. 410.

[10]At Qiṣyon (Kh. Qaṣyûn) in northern Palestine is found a votive inscription erected by members of the Jewish community "for the well-being of . . . L. Septimius Severus" (Λ. CEΠΤ. CEOYH[POY]). It may be associated with the synagogue remains found at the site. See *CIJ* II, no. 972, and M. Avi-Yonah, *Geschichte der Juden*, 77. An inscription of a leader of the synagogue in Intercisa is dedicated to SEV[ERI] A[LEXANDRI], "Alexander Severus." See *CIJ* I, no. 677.

[11]Notable is the reference of David Kimḥi in his commentary on Genesis (1:13) to a synagogue of Severus (בניסתא דאסוירום) in Rome. See *CIJ* I: LXXXI and references.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816002041020 Published online by Cambridge University Press

The *bet* is ticked at the beginning (left) of the top horizontal. The lower horizontal at the right corner of the base of the letter bulges outward slightly to the right, but does not break through the vertical to the right. These characters are found at two periods in the late Jewish script: in the Early Herodian period,[12] and later in the formal script of the era of the earliest synagogues, from the mid-third into the first half of the fourth century C.E. There is no question, of course, of dating the inscription in the Herodian period. Compare the *bet* in the script of two inscriptions from the synagogue of Chorazain (beginning of the third to the early fourth century C.E.).[13] The *bet*s of the Jewish script found on Panel 13 from the Synagogue of Severus at Hammath-Tiberias have little or no "break through."[14] The inscription appears to date to the early fourth century C.E.

The *yod* of the inscription is very long, filling the space between the (theoretical) base line and ceiling line. It is almost the length of other letters, and difficult to distinguish from *waw*. One is reminded of the falling together of *waw* and *yod* in the Early Herodian script. However, in the Early Herodian period the letters *waw* and *yod* were characterized by triangular heads. In the third and early fourth centuries C.E., we find a short-lived form of *yod*, long, with only a slight tick to the left at the beginning of the down stroke—the *yod* of the Sardis text. Earlier and later a much shorter and more strongly ticked *yod* characterized the formal script.[15] Examples of the elongated *yod* appear in inscriptions from Chorazain,[16] Hammath-Tiberias,[17] and Dura Europos.[18] The last of these is the famous foundation inscription from the synagogue of Dura Europos. It bears a double date formula, "year 556 (of the Seleucid Era), which is year 2 of Philip," namely 245 C.E.

The *reš, waw,* and *samek* all have close parallels in these inscriptions or in inscriptions of like date.[19] However, they are evolving slowly in this period and hence are less useful for dating.

[12]See the Herodian script chart in F. M. Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts" (*The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* [ed. G. Ernest Wright; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961] 133–202), fig. 2, especially lines 4, 5, and 6 (pp. 138–39).

[13]Naveh, *On Mosaic and Stone*, nos. 17 and 18. In no. 17, note the *bet*s in line 1 (in *br*) and line 2 (third letter); in no. 18, compare the *bet*s in line 1 (*br* [bis]) and line 2 (*ʿbd*).

[14]Dothan, *Hammath Tiberias*, pls. 21:1, 35:3; Naveh, *On Mosaic and Stone*, no. 26 (with drawing). See especially the *bet* on line 3 (*brkh*).

[15]The elongated *yod* may indeed be a biform used for a brief period alongside the normal short form. In any case it is most useful for dating.

[16]Naveh, *On Mosaic and Stone*, no. 18; see the *yod* in *zbydh*, line 1.

[17]Ibid., no. 26.

[18]Ibid., no. 88. The inscription is *CIJ* II, no. 828b; it is also reproduced in Solomon A. Birnbaum, *The Hebrew Scripts* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1971), no. 105.

[19]For *samek*, see Naveh, *On Mosaic and Stone*, nos. 1 (*ywsh*) and 17 (line 2, *ṣtwh*); also Birnbaum, *Hebrew Scripts*, no. 106 (*bswp*).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816002041020 Published online by Cambridge University Press

The Sardis inscription is thus to be dated palaeographically to the period mid–third century to the mid–fourth century C.E.[20] If we take into account the evidence that the Jew of Sardis bears the name of the emperor Alexander Severus, who reigned from 222–235 C.E., it yields a *terminus post quem* for dating the Sardis text, and all our data dovetail nicely.

Inscription 2 (Figs. 3–4)

IN 62.66 (a and b joined). Maximum width: 24 cm; maximum height: 16 cm; thickness: 1.6–1.8 cm. Broken on all sides. Front: polished white marble much encrusted with lime concretion; back: well smoothed.

שלום
Peace !

The word *šlwm*, "peace," is ubiquitous in inscriptions from synagogues and on epitaphs.[21] Often it is the lone Hebrew word in a Greek or Latin inscription. Frequently too it is found in the clichés שלום על ישראל, "Peace (be) on Israel," or שלום על כל ישראל, "Peace (be) upon all Israel."[22]

The formal script of the inscription is difficult to date, given its four letters—letters which indeed change little over considerable periods of time. Two of the letters have notable features. The *waw* is virtually without a tick at the top; it merely bends to the left. In the formal character, it is found as early as the first century C.E., though the form with a triangular tick at the head is normal in the Herodian period. It is found even earlier in the cursive, a fact that is not relevant to dating the highly formal script of the Sardis inscription. The form with the "bent top" continues in use as late as the fourth century,[23] although the form with a sharply angular head continues parallel in use until it finally becomes the standard form in medieval book hands.

The *mem* has three notable characters. The left vertical reaches up and touches the horizontal top bar and hence is called a "closed" form. The tick at the upper right corner of the *mem* is the second significant feature. Both appear together as early as the second half of the first century C.E.[24] However, these elements persist

[20]Professor Rabinowitz discussed the palaeographical evidence, but without analysis of its salient typological features. His date for the inscription, 166 C.E., was based actually on his reading of the name as Verus, and his identification of this Verus with the Roman emperor.

[21]See, for example, Naveh, *On Mosaic and Stone,* nos. 1, 3, 38, 46, 50, 68, 70, 71, 75, 88, and 105.

[22]See, for example, ibid., nos. 38, 50, 68, 70, 75, and 111.

[23]See, for example, the *waw*s in Birnbaum, *Hebrew Scripts*, nos. 90 and 90*.

[24]See the script of the Qumrân Psalms scroll drawn on line 9 of the script chart in F. M. Cross, "Excursus on the Palaeographical Dating of the Copper Document," *Les 'petites grottes'*

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816002041020 Published online by Cambridge University Press



Fig. 3, Inscription 2



Fig. 4, Inscription 2

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816002041020 Published online by Cambridge University Press

intermittently into the third and even the fourth centuries.[25] Finally the left top corner has only a vestigial tick for the older complex head of the second century C.E. and earlier. This is a late characteristic in the formal script, and along with the characters described above suggests that this text belongs with the other late-third- or early-fourth-century inscriptions from Sardis.[26]

Inscription 3 (Figs. 5–6)

IN 62.63. Maximum width: 9 cm; maximum height: 7 cm; thickness: 2 cm. Broken on all sides. Front: white marble with large grayish crystals; back: flat but not polished. Above the script are two thin incised lines, 0.5 cm above the script, 0.7 cm apart from one another. On the right side of the inscription, 0.5 cm from the letter beginning the inscription, is a thin, incised line marking the right margin.[27]

יו֯ח֯[נן]
Yoḥa[nan]

"Yoḥanan" is reconstructed as the probable, but not certain, reading. In any case, the name "Yoḥanan" and its more frequent biform "Yehoḥanan" are quite popular in inscriptions from Persian until Roman times.[28]

There is little palaeographical evidence by which to date the inscription. The elongated form of the letter *yod* which begins the inscription probably points to a

de Qumrân (DJD III; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962) 218. The manuscript dates from the second half of the first century C.E..

[25]See Birnbaum, *Hebrew Scripts*, no. 103 (= Naveh, *On Mosaic and Stone*, no. 3, but Birnbaum's photographs are much clearer); Naveh, *On Mosaic and Stone*, nos. 17 (line 4), 45, and 105. The last-mentioned text has been republished with superior photographs in R. Degen, W. W. Müller, and W. Röllig, *Neue Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, Band 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1974) 117–23 and pl. IX: 32. It is of particular interest since it can be dated to the reign of a Sabaean king who flourished in the last fifth of the fourth century C.E. Two tombstones found in the Jaffa necropolis from the third century C.E. exhibit an even larger tick at the right corner of the final *mem*, but are open forms. See R. Hesterin et al., eds., *Inscriptions Reveal* (Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1973), nos. 266 and 267.

[26]Compare, for example, the second-century *mem*s on line 11 of the script chart in Cross, "Excursus," with the later *mem*s of Inscription 2 above; Birnbaum, *Hebrew Scripts*, no. 103; Naveh, *On Mosaic and Stone*, nos. 17 and 46; and, of course, the final *mem*s of the later standard book hand (e.g., the seventh-century script of Birnbaum, *Hebrew Scripts*, no. 91[A]).

[27]Compare the incised lines in Inscription 1 above. The line does not show up clearly in photographs but is certain. The line is perfectly straight but is a little off the vertical.

[28]The variant *ywḥnn* appears, for example, in Naveh, *On Mosaic and Stone*, nos. 18 and 75; in Birnbaum, *Hebrew Scripts*, no. 106; and in the famous Bene Ḥezir Inscription (Hesterin et al., *Inscriptions Reveal*, no. 173).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816002041020 Published online by Cambridge University Press

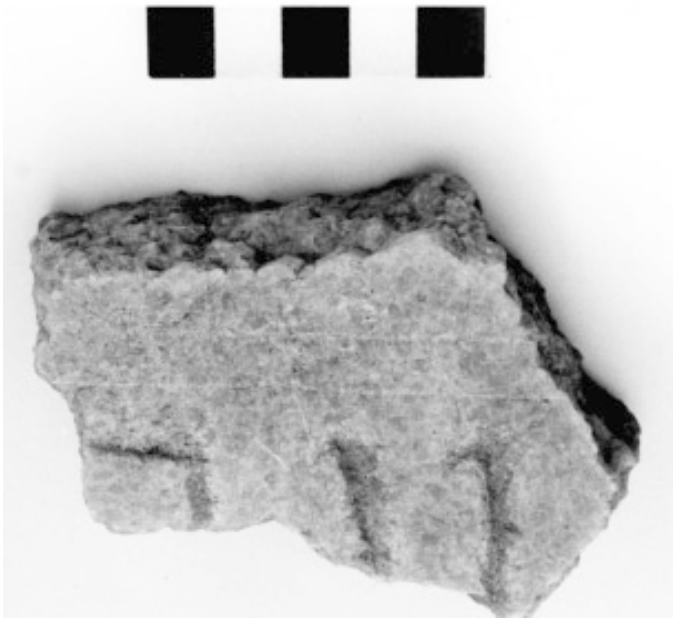


Fig. 5, Inscription 3



Fig. 6, Inscription 3

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816002041020 Published online by Cambridge University Press

late-third- or early-fourth-century date for the inscription.[29] The partially restored *ḥet* does not have a tick on its right corner. This form is less common than the ticked form, but is well documented in the probable period from which the inscription dates.[30] Final *mem* may also be restored yielding *yôm,*"day."[31] As it happens the Hebrew word *yôm* occurs rarely if ever in synagogue texts. The reading of the popular name *Yoḥanan* is to be preferred.

Inscription 4 (Figs. 7–8)

IN 62.80. Maximum width: 22 cm; maximum height: 19.5 cm. Badly chipped or broken on all sides. Polished marble with lime encrustations. A thin, incised line is engraved roughly 2 cm above the tops of the letters. The letters are elegant in shape but crudely engraved, as if the artisan incising the letters was halted before he was finished.

נדר ⸢ר⸣

vow . . .

Evidently the piece is a fragment of a votive inscription. The word *ndr* can be either the noun "vow" or the verb "vowed." The letter tentatively identified as *reš* could also be *bet, he*, *ḥet*, *mem,* or *taw*.

These letters have few features to assist the palaeographer. There is, in any case, nothing to prevent the text from being coeval with most of the other Hebrew inscriptions from the Synagogue.

Inscription 5 (Figs. 9–10)

IN 62.45. Maximum width: 10.5 cm; maximum height: 13 cm. Broken on all sides. Polished marble, now somewhat pitted.

נדן[ר]

vo[w]

We have reconstructed as most probable the same reading as in Inscription 4 above. Other readings are possible, of course, e.g., the proper name *nd[b]*, "Nad[ab]" or conceivably the proper name *nḥ[m]*.

[29]See the discussion of the elongated *yod* under Inscription 1, above, and nn. 15–18.

[30]See, for example, Naveh, *On Mosaic and Stone*, nos. 12, 18 (bis), and 28.

[31]Isaac Rabinowitz reconstructed *[ḥ]yym*, a frequent word in funerary texts. Unfortunately, he did not observe the incised line before the initial *yod*, which eliminates from consideration this otherwise plausible reconstruction.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816002041020 Published online by Cambridge University Press

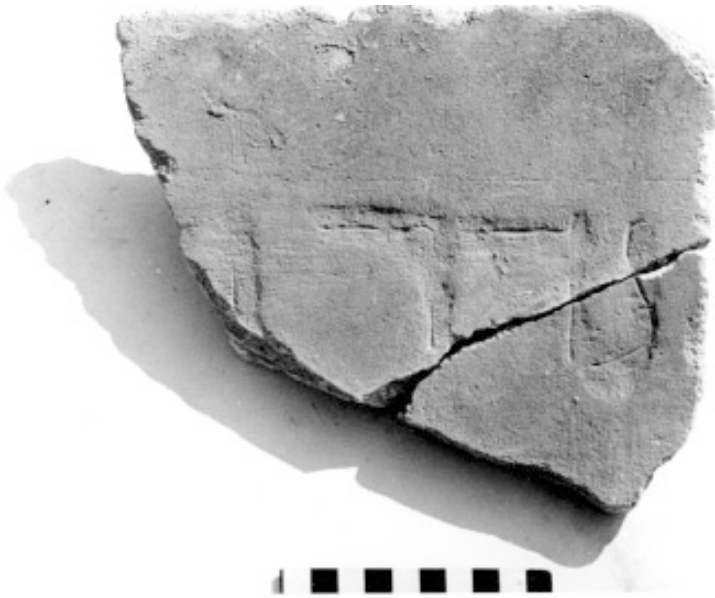


Fig. 7, Inscription 4

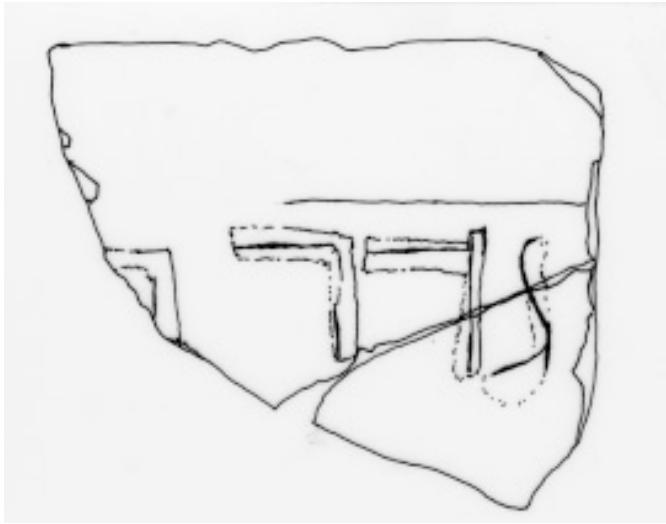


Fig. 8, Inscription 4

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816002041020 Published online by Cambridge University Press



Fig. 9, Inscription 5

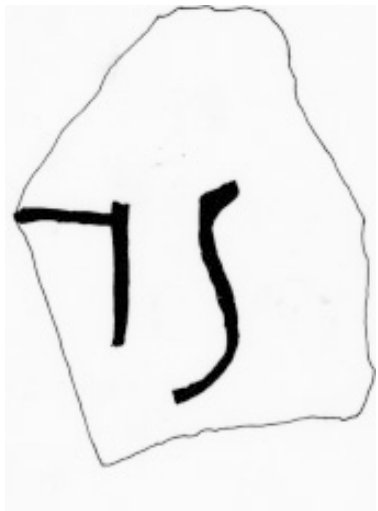


Fig. 10, Inscription 5

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816002041020 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Inscription 6 (Figs. 11–14)

IN 64.53. Width: 54 cm; height: 78 cm; thickness: 24.25 cm. All the edges and faces are finished, but the sides are not smoothed. The stone, unlike Inscriptions 1–5, was not found in the Synagogue. Rather it was recovered from a fill north of the Expedition camp.

The stone is perhaps the base of a funerary stele. On the upper part of the stone there is a rough-picked, oblong cutting (length: 40 cm; width: 20 cm; depth: 9 cm) with clear edges as if to receive the tenon of a stele. Several similar blocks were found in the Artemis Temple precinct. There appears too to have been a secondary use of the block, perhaps as a trough. The edges of the cutting were rounded, and the cutting was widened. One side of the stone (the side farthest from the inscription), adjacent to the original cutting, was further trimmed down (see Fig. 13).[32] The graffito incised along the base of the bottom of the lower part of the stone reads as follows:

אני שמריה בן ליהו
כתבתי

I, Shemaryah son of (E)lijah—
I wrote (this).

The first phrase, which I have translated "I, Shemaryah son of (E)lijah," is in fact a *casus pendens*. While inelegant in English, it is good style in Hebrew, occurring even in poetry. The inscription was engraved in the stone by a fairly skillful writer. While the chiseling of the stone is rather rough, the letter forms are accurate for the most part.

There is one problem of reading in the text. The *lamed* is curiously drawn. It appears at first look that the scribe reversed the lower loop of the *lamed* as if it were being engraved in the reverse on a seal. The loss of the initial *ʾalep* in names beginning with *ʾēl* is familiar from the alternation between *ʾlᶜzr* or *ʾlyᶜzr* and *lzr* or *lyzr*.[33]

[32]I owe the physical description and interpretation of the stone to Andrew Ramage, who reexamined it in August, 1994.

[33]See Naveh, *On Mosaic and Stone*, nos. 13, 74, 81, 85, and 13; *CIJ* II, nos. 930 and 1337 (אלעזר בן לזר). Professor Rabinowitz read here ליחו, which he took to be a transliteration of "Leo," noting that the name ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟC appears several times in the Greek inscriptions from Sardis. Such a transliteration would be unique. We should expect, rather, the transliteration to be לאון (*CIJ* I, nos. 621 and 622). Compare the transliteration of ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟC in Hebrew: ליאנטים or לאונטים (Naveh, *On Mosaic and Stone*, no. 34).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816002041020 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Even more significant for dating is the form of the letter *he*. The form is closed; that is, the left leg has not yet dropped down away from the top horizontal (leaving a space between the top of the left leg and the top horizontal). It also has an upward tick on the left shoulder of the horizontal, but unlike the *bet* of the second century and earlier, has no tick upward (or sometimes downward) on the shoulder of the right leg. The best parallels to this form are found in a dipinto from Beth She^{c}arim, from the second half of the third century C.E.[34]

The *he* of *lyhw* is in type identical with the *he* of *šmryh*. It is closed and the horizontal stroke extends leftward beyond the left vertical and then bends upwards, though not so sharply as the first *he*, almost touching the vertical stroke of *waw*. The form lacks the tick on the right shoulder that we expect of *ḥet* in this period. The form develops in the course of the third century, continuing into the fourth.

The other letter forms in the graffito fit easily into the period, third into the early fourth century C.E. The *taw* is particularly useful at this time. Through the second century C.E. the left leg begins above the horizontal. Then in the third century it drops down even with the horizontal as in the two exemplars in our graffito.

In our palaeographical examination of the six inscriptions published here, we have found that the group is more or less homogeneous in date. They belong to the second half of the third century or to the fourth century C.E.

[34]See Birnbaum, *Hebrew Scripts*, no. 106. Compare also the *he*s of Naveh, *On Mosaic and Stone*, nos. 18 (Chorazain, third century C.E.), and 26 and 27 (Hammath-Tiberias, early fourth century C.E.).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816002041020 Published online by Cambridge University Press



Fig. 11, Inscription 6

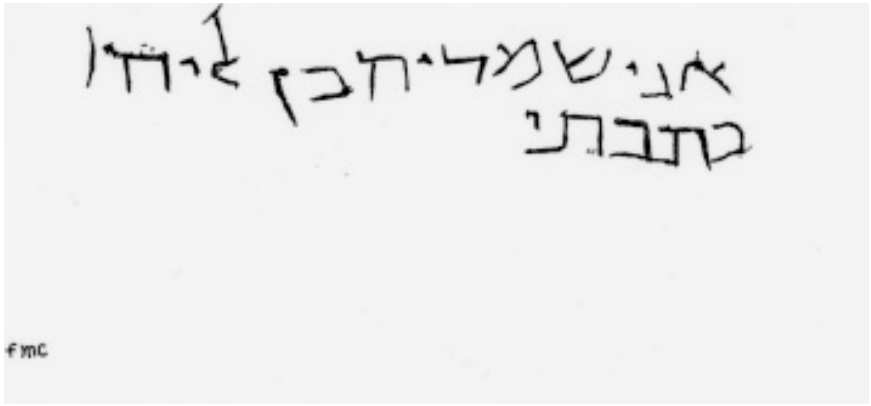


Fig. 12, Inscription 6

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816002041020 Published online by Cambridge University Press

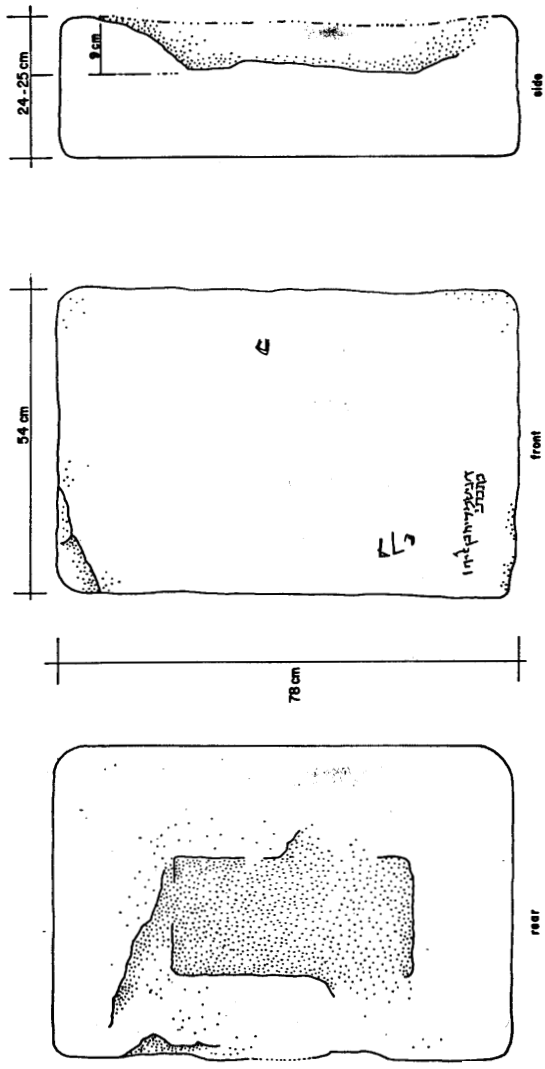


Fig. 13, Inscription 6
Rear, front, and side views (from left to right)

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816002041020 Published online by Cambridge University Press



Fig. 14, Inscription 6

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816002041020 Published online by Cambridge University Press