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COINAGE IN LATE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN SYRIA:
THE ORONTES VALLEY
(1ST CENTURY BC - 3RD CENTURY AD)

by

Jack Antoine Nurpetlian

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Classics and Ancient History

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ABSTRACT

The thesis studies the coins minted by the cities in the Orontes Valley of Syria during the late Hellenistic and Roman periods: Apamea, Larissa, Raphanea, Emesa and Laodicea ad Libanum. All the various aspects of these coinages are presented and comparisons are drawn between the results hereby obtained with those from the surrounding region.

The research was conducted by recording as many specimens as possible from public and private collections, in addition to published material and those available online. The thesis starts with an introduction to the geography and history of the region followed by a catalogue, which is presented at the beginning of the thesis to introduce the structure of the coinages. This is followed by discussions on production, circulation, metrology, denominations and iconography in detail. Die studies were also conducted to complement the arguments presented in each of the chapters. Plates illustrating the best preserved specimen of each type and their variants are placed at the end.

The discussions of these coinages, based on the compiled data and the proposed structure, have shown that not only were the coinages of each of the cities of the Orontes Valley distinct from those of neighboring regions, they are also different from one another. No compatibility was found between the denominations and currency systems, nor was there any conclusive evidence for the coins of one city circulating in the territory of another.

The mints of northern Syria have been previously studied, in addition to several mints of the Phoenician territories to the south; however, regarding the mints of the Orontes Valley, a gap has remained in the study of Roman provincial coins, as none of the mints under discussion have been published and discussed in full. It is hoped that this research will fill that gap and complement the study of Roman provincial coins in general, and that of Roman Syria in particular.

ABBREVIATIONS

Reference works and periodicals

<i>AJN</i>	<i>American Journal of Numismatics</i>
<i>ANSMN</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society Museum Notes</i>
Baldus	Baldus, H. R. 1971. <i>Uranius Antoninus, Münzprägung und Geschichte</i> . Bonn.
Bellinger	Bellinger, A. R. 1940. <i>The Syrian Tetradrachms of Caracalla and Macrinus</i> . New York.
<i>BMC Alexandria</i>	Poole, R. S. 1892. <i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Alexandria and the Nomes</i> . London.
<i>BMC Arabia</i>	Hill, G. F. 1922. <i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia</i> . London.
<i>BMC Lycia</i>	Hill, G. F. 1897. <i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia</i> . London.
<i>BMC Lydia</i>	Head, B. V. 1901. <i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Lydia</i> . London.
<i>BMC Palestine</i>	Hill, G. F. and Poole, R. S. 1914. <i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Palestine</i> . London.
<i>BMC Parthia</i>	Wroth, W. 1903. <i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Parthia</i> . London.
<i>BMC Phoenicia</i>	Hill, G. F. 1910. <i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Phoenicia</i> . London.
<i>BMC Kings</i>	Gardner, P. 1878. <i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: the Seleucid Kings of Syria</i> . London.
<i>BMC Syria</i>	Wroth, W. 1899. <i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria</i> . London.
<i>BMC Thessaly</i>	Gardner, P. and Poole, R. S. 1883. <i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Thessaly to Aetolia</i> . London.
<i>BMC Thrace</i>	Head, B. V., Poole, R. S. and Gardner, P. 1877. <i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: The Tauric Chersonese, Samartia, Dacia, Moesia, Thrace, etc.</i> London.
<i>BMC Troas</i>	Wroth, W. 1894. <i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Troas, Aeolis and Lesbos</i> . London.

- BMCRE V* Mattingly, H. 1950. *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum. Vol. V, Pertinax to Elagabalus*. London.
- CRE* Sutherland, C. H. V. and Kraay, C. M. 1975. *Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire in the Ashmolean Museum, Part I: Augustus (c. 31 B.C. - A.D. 14)*. Oxford.
- CRS* Butcher, K. E. T. 2004. *Coinage in Roman Syria: Northern Syria, 64 BC - AD 253*. London.
- CSE* Houghton, A. 1983. *Coins of the Seleucid Empire from the Collection of Arthur Houghton*. New York.
- Falghera* Martini, R. 1992. *Monetazione provinciale romana II. Collezione Winsemann Falghera*. Milano.
- GIC* Howgego, C. J. 2005. *Greek Imperial Countermarks: Studies in the Provincial Coinage of the Roman Empire*. London.
- IGCH* Thompson, M., Mørkholm, O. and Kraay, C. M. (eds.). 1973. *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*. New York.
- IGLS* Jalabert, L. and Mouterde, R. 1955-1959. *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie*. Paris (vols. IV and V).
- ILS* Dessau, H. 1892-1916. *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. Berlin.
- JRS* *The Journal of Roman Studies*
- LIMC* *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. 1981-1999. Zürich, München, Düsseldorf.
- Lindgren I* Lindgren, H. C. and Kovacs, F. L. 1985. *Ancient Bronze Coins of Asia Minor and the Levant from the Lindgren Collection*. California.
- Lindgren III* Lindgren, H. C. 1993. *Ancient Greek Bronze Coins from the Lindgren Collection*. Pennsylvania.
- Mabbott* Schulman, H. M. F. 1969. *The Thomas Ollive Mabbott Collection. Part One, Coins of the Greek World*. New York.
- NC* *The Numismatic Chronicle*
- Neuchâtel* Spoerri, M. 1996. *Monnaies provinciales de l'Orient romain: collections du Cabinet de numismatique, Musée d'art et d'histoire Neuchâtel*. Lausanne.
- Prieur* Prieur, M. and Prieur, K. 2000. *The Syro-Phoenician Tetradrachms and their Fractions*. London.

- RIC* Mattingly, H. and Sydenham, E. A. 1936. *The Roman Imperial Coinage. Vol. IV, Pertinax to Uranius Antoninus*. London.
- RN* *Revue Numismatique*
- RPC* Burnett, A., Amandry, M., and Ripollès, P. P. 1992. *Roman Provincial Coinage*. London (Vols. I and II with Supplements).
- RSN* *Revue Suisse de Numismatique*
- SAN* *Journal for the Society of Ancient Numismatists*
- SC I* Houghton, A. and Lorber, C. 2002. *Seleucid Coins, a Comprehensive Catalogue. Part I: Seleucus I through Antiochus III*. New York.
- SC II* Houghton, A., Lorber, C. and Hoover, O. 2008. *Seleucid Coins, a Comprehensive Catalogue. Part II: Seleucus IV through Antiochus XIII*. New York.
- SNG Braunschweig* *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig, Katalog der griechischen Münzen, vol. VII*. Braunschweig, 1998.
- SNG Copenhagen* *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Denmark: The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals. Danish National Museum. Cyprus-Cappadocia, vol. VII*. New Jersey, 1982.
- SNG Copenhagen* *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Denmark: The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals. Danish National Museum. Supplement. Acquisitions 1942-1996*. Copenhagen, 2002.
- SNG Fitzwilliam* *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Great Britain, Vol. IV: Leake and General Collections of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Part VIII, Syria-Nabathaea*. London, 1971.
- SNG Glasgow* *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Great Britain, Vol. XII: The Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow. Part II: Roman Provincial Coins: Cyprus-Egypt*. Oxford, 2004.
- SNG Leipzig* *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Germany: Sammlung der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Vol. 1, Autonome Griechische Münzen*. Munich, 1993.
- SNG Levante* *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Switzerland: The Collection of Edoardo Levante, Cilicia*. Bern, 1986.
- SNG Munich* *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Germany: Staatliche Münzsammlung München, Vol. 28, Syria*. Munich, 2001.

- SNG Poland* *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Poland: The Archaeological and Ethnographical Museum in Łódź, Vol. I, Part 4: Galatia-Zeugitana.* Kraków, 1998.
- SNG Righetti* *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Switzerland: Münzen der Antike, Katalog der Sammlung Jean-Pierre Righetti im Bernischen Historischen Museum.* Stuttgart, 1993.
- SNG Antiquaries* *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Great Britain, Vol. XIII. The Collection of the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle upon Tyne.* Oxford, 2005.
- SNG Sweden* *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Sweden: Sammlung Eric von Post, I.2.* Stockholm, 1995.
- WSM* Newell, E. T. 1977. *The Coinage of the Western Seleucid Mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III.* New York.

Museums and collections

- ANS American Numismatic Society, New York
- Ashmolean Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, The Heberden Coin Room
- Athens Numismatic Museum, Athens
- AUB American University of Beirut, the Archaeological Museum
- Belgium Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Cabinet des Médailles
- Berlin Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Bode Museum, Münzkabinett
- Bern Bernisches Historisches Museum, Münzkabinett
- BM British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals
- BNF Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles
- Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
- Fitzwilliam Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Dept. of Coins and Medals
- Harvard Harvard Art Museums, Massachusetts
- Homs Homs Archaeological Museum, Syria
- Missouri University of Missouri, Museum of Art and Archaeology
- Netherlands Geldmuseum, Utrecht, Netherlands
- Smithsonian Smithsonian Institute, National Numismatic Collection

Vienna	Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
Yale	Yale University Art Gallery, Coins and Medals
PC	private collection (followed by relevant number)

Coin dealers and databases

acsearch	online search engine: www.acsearch.info
Aeqvitas	online search engine: www.aeqvitas.com
Beast Coins	online search engine: www.beastcoins.com
Bowers	Bowers and Merena Auctions
CNG	Classical Numismatic Group, Inc.
Coin Archives	online search engine: www.coinarchives.com
eBay	online auctions: www.ebay.com
Elsen	Jean Elsen & ses Fils s.a., Belgium
Forum	Forvm Ancient Coins: www.forumancientcoins.com
G&M	Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung GmbH, Munich
Helios	Helios Numismatik Auctions
Hirsch	Gerhard Hirsch Nachfolger, Munich
M&M	Münzen & Medaillen GmbH, Germany
MA	Münzauktion GmbH, Germany
RPC online	http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk
Tantalus	online coin registry: www.tantaluscoins.com
VCoins	online coin shops: www.vcoins.com
Wildwinds	online search engine: www.wildwinds.com

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In recent years there has been a growing interest in the Roman Near East. The study of the coinage produced in Roman Syria has progressed due to this interest; however, it has not yet been researched in full. Kevin Butcher's *Coinage in Roman Syria*¹ was the first step in the study of this coinage, but due to the vastness of the subject, it was limited to northern Syria. This study aims to continue and complement the work started in *CRS* by studying the civic coinages produced in the Orontes Valley of Syria. Thus, the thesis will concentrate on five mints: Apamea, Larissa, Raphanea, Emesa and Laodicea ad Libanum (see map: Figure 1). The study will not include the coins of Antioch on the Orontes, as these have been sufficiently covered in *CRS* and McAlee's monograph.² Other cities in the Valley will also be discussed, namely Epiphanea and Arethusa, although these cities did not issue coins at all. Therefore, where mention of the coinages of the 'Orontes Valley' is made in this thesis, it is a reference to the coins produced in Apamea, Larissa, Raphanea, Emesa and Laodicea ad Libanum only (thus, excluding Antioch). It should be emphasised that the cities of the Orontes Valley did not comprise a single or unified cultural or social entity; it is merely a geographical convenience that these cities are studied together.

¹ *Coinage in Roman Syria: Northern Syria, 64 BC-AD 253* (London, 2004). Hereafter *CRS*.

² McAlee 2007.

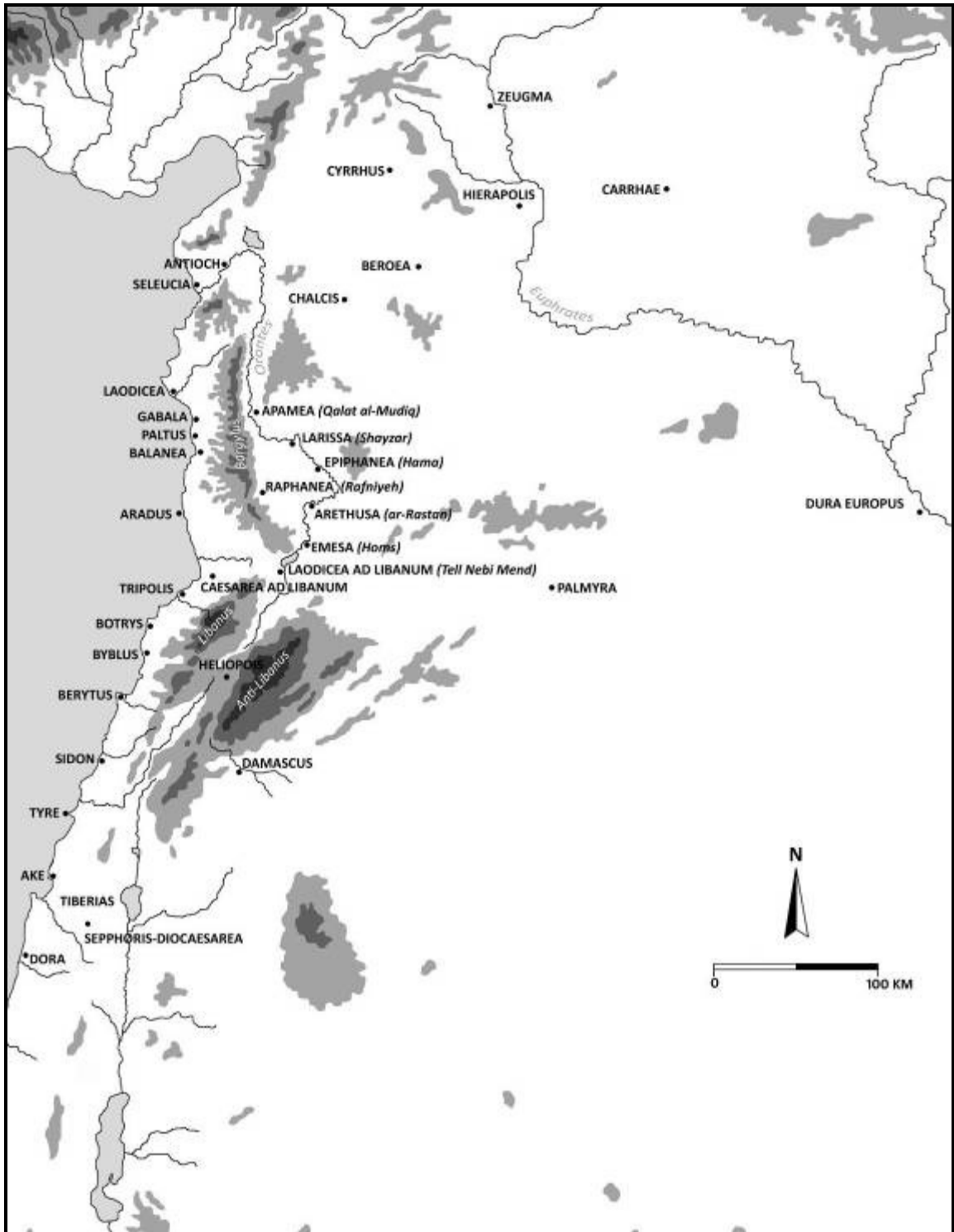


Figure 1: Map of the Syro-Phoenician territories with the ancient cities of the Orontes Valley in the centre.

The study focuses mostly on the first three centuries of Roman rule in the region, commencing with the annexation of Syria by the Roman Empire in 64 BC,³ and spanning until AD 253, when the silver tetradrachms and the Greek style provincial bronzes ceased to be produced in Syria.⁴

The core of the work is formed by a catalogue of the coins issued by the cities mentioned above. The study examines in detail various aspects of these coins, such as denomination, metrology, types and legends. However, the study is not limited to this data list, as coinages of neighbouring regions are also considered, notably when discussing circulation patterns and any parallels in production. As these coins cannot be studied in isolation, the research attempts to determine the interaction and relation between Syrian coinage and that of other regions. Thus, the study on the whole should be considered an insight, through coins, into the economical, political, cultural and religious history of the region during the Roman period, both on a local and regional scale.

A. Numismatic background

During the Hellenistic period the coinage of Syria was regal, but in the reign of Antiochus IV a ‘municipal’ coinage was also introduced. As the Seleucid Empire gradually disintegrated, the cities acquired more autonomy, an aspect which was also reflected in their coinages. These conditions were inherited by the Romans, who do not seem to have desired to change the prevailing currency system in Syria and the

³ In effect, the first civic issues of Apamea predate the arrival of the Romans and therefore the study begins in 77/76 BC.

⁴ The final issues covered in this study are the coins of Uranius Antoninus dating to the year AD 253/254.

region.⁵ This aspect is most noticeable in the silver coinage, where the tetradrachm continued to be the dominant silver denomination, with no apparent attempt by the Romans to introduce the denarius. In fact, during the second half of the first century BC, the Roman governors of Syria continued issuing tetradrachms in Antioch using the portrait of the former Seleucid king Philip Philadelphus.⁶ Augustus' portrait first appeared on tetradrachms of Antioch starting in 5 BC.⁷

Regarding bronze coins, it is also apparent that the cities continued to mint using prevailing local denominations, without any significant attempt to follow the Roman base-metal denominations. In the Roman East we find more variety of denominations for the bronze coinage compared to the relatively standardised denominations used in Rome. Concerning the local coinages of Syria, those of Antioch were the most dominant, with the Antiochene SC coins having a wide area of circulation. Other mints such as Laodicea ad Mare, Seleucia and Apamea were also active, but not quite on the scale of Antioch. Cities such as Beroea, Cyrrhus, Paltus, Emesa, Raphanea and Laodicea ad Libanum were late to mint coins, whereas in the case of certain cities such as Apamea, minting was stopped in the first century AD and never resumed afterwards. Civic coins ceased to be issued in Syria during the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus.⁸

⁵ Augé 2003.

⁶ *CRS*, 51-54. See also Hoover 2004a for a discussion of an anomalous series of posthumous Philip tetradrachms issued by Antioch immediately after receiving autonomy by Pompey in 64 BC.

⁷ *CRS*, 58.

⁸ For further details on the subject of coinage in Roman Syria see Bellinger 1951, Augé 1989 and Burnett 2002.

B. Geographical background

The Orontes Valley is the northern extension of the Great Rift Valley, which extends from Syria to Mozambique. The Valley is separated from the Mediterranean Sea by the Jebel Ansariyeh (Bargylus) mountain range, peaking at more than 1,500 m. To the east lie the vast plains of the Syrian steppe, stretching to the Euphrates River. The Orontes River⁹ flows through the Valley and is 571 km long.¹⁰ Its source is located near Baalbek in the Bekaa Valley of Lebanon. The river flows northward through a marshy area in Syria known as the Ghab, situated between the Jebel Ansariyeh and Jebel Zawiye mountain ranges (Figure 1). Further north it enters Turkey and curves westward towards the Mediterranean Sea, reaching its estuary just south of Suweidieh, near the ancient site of Seleucia Pieria.

With an annual precipitation of 400-800 mm, in addition to numerous springs and tributaries, the Orontes Valley is one of the most fertile regions in the Levant. Settled since Palaeolithic times, it was one of the first regions in the Near East to be cultivated. The Valley has been a major route connecting various regions of the Near East. Through the Amuq plain the valley leads north to Cilicia and east to Mesopotamia. Southward, it becomes the Bekaa Valley, which leads to Palestine. It is connected with the coast through the Homs Gap, which passes through the Ansariyeh and Lebanon mountain ranges.¹¹

⁹ Known by the name of Nahr el-Assi, which means ‘the rebel’ since it flows in a northerly direction for most of its length, whereas others flow south.

¹⁰ For a thorough study of the Orontes River see Weulersse 1940.

¹¹ For the geography of Syria see Wirth 1971.

C. Historical background

A thorough history of Syria is beyond the scope of this study, but a brief history of each city is provided below, using both archaeological data and epigraphic sources. Regarding the archaeological evidence, Apamea is the best preserved and also the most well-published among the sites in the Orontes Valley. Epiphanea, modern-day Hama, follows Apamea in terms of the quantity of publications, which mostly concentrate on the Bronze and Iron Ages. Laodicea ad Libanum has undergone limited and intermittent excavations, and these, too, have mostly focused on the pre-Hellenistic period.¹² The campaigns at Emesa are relatively recent and focus on the Islamic remains. Raphanea and Larissa were excavated most recently, and therefore more time is needed to compose an understanding of the archaeological remains at both sites. Arethusa has not yet been excavated.

1. Apamea (Qalat al-Mudiq)

It is widely believed that Seleucus I founded Apamea and named it after his Persian wife Apama sometime between 301-299 BC.¹³ However, it is more probable that it was first founded by Antigonus I in 315-313 BC and called Pella by its Macedonian settlers.¹⁴ In either case, Apamea seems to have been a refoundation of a previously existing Persian settlement, named Pharnake.¹⁵

Apamea was founded along with Antioch, Laodicea and Seleucia to form the Tetrapolis of Syria. It was the seat of the Apamene Satrapy, one of the four satrapies

¹² A publication is currently in process by Peter Parr.

¹³ Strabo 16.2.4; Appian *Syr.* 57. For the foundation date see Cohen 2006, 95 and Grainger 1990, 49.

¹⁴ Strabo 16.2.10; Malalas 8.203; Diodorus 21.20. It is probable that Antigonus established the city as a garrison fort and settled it with Macedonian soldiers.

¹⁵ Malalas 8.203. See also Balty and Balty 1977, 109-110 and Balty 2003.

of Seleucid Syria.¹⁶ It was the army headquarters and arsenal of the Seleucids, serving as the stable for 30,000 mares, 500 war elephants and 300 stallions.¹⁷ Situated on a peninsula created by the winding Orontes River,¹⁸ the foundation of Apamea seems to have been a tactical move rather than an economic one.¹⁹ It served as a bottleneck, protecting the Seleucid seat of power in Antioch against threats through the Valley from the Ptolemaic south, due to its strategic location between a marshy depression in the west, the Ghab, and the Jebel Zawiye mountain range and the desert steppe to the east. Strabo states that a number of cities around Apamea fell under its sphere of influence, among them Larissa, Arethusa, Seleukobelos, Megara, Kasiana and Apollonia.²⁰

History

From the history of Apamea we know that Demetrius Poliorcetes was held prisoner in the garrison by Seleucus I from 285 BC until his death in 283, and that the city was a refuge for Tryphon during his battles with Demetrius II between 142 and 138 BC.²¹ The citadel was later razed by Pompey the Great.²² From 46 to 44 BC, Q. Caecilius Bassus, a follower of Pompey, held the city against the Caesareans with the help of the neighbouring tribes, including the Emesenoi and Ituraeans.²³ Similarly, L. Decidius Saxa held the city against Quintus Labienus in 41-40 BC. During the reign of Claudius, the city was given the title *Claudia Apamaea*, and in the third century

¹⁶ Jones 1971, 241-242.

¹⁷ Strabo 16.2.10.

¹⁸ Hence the epithet *Cherronesos* given by Strabo (16.2.10).

¹⁹ Grainger 1990, 79, 81.

²⁰ 16.2.10.

²¹ Unless otherwise stated the historical facts in what follows are taken from Cohen 2006, 94-101.

²² Josephus, *JA*, 14.3.2.

²³ Strabo 16.2.10.

AD it was in Apamea that Macrinus proclaimed his son Diadumenian as emperor. In the 250s AD Apamea fell during Shapur's invasion of Syria. Apamea became the capital of *Syria Secunda* in c. AD 400 and in the fifth and sixth centuries it boasted numerous churches. The city then fell to the Islamic conquests in AD 638²⁴ and was abandoned in the twelfth century due to two earthquakes. Later, a fortress was built by Nur ad-Din on the acropolis in the first half of the thirteenth century. Today, only the citadel is inhabited and is known by the name of Qalat al-Mudiq.

In a census conducted in AD 6, Apamea's citizen population was calculated to be 117,000,²⁵ which could amount to an impressive half a million inhabitants if all those not included in the census (the non-citizens) are taken into account.²⁶ Apamea was also famous for its neo-Platonic school, which started in the second half of the second century AD. Apamea was the quarters of the Legio II Parthica in the third century AD, aiding Caracalla, Severus Alexander and Gordian III in their eastern campaigns.²⁷ Throughout its history, the city suffered several earthquakes, most notably in the years 115, 526, 528, 1157 and 1170 of our era.

Excavations

Excavations in Apamea were first conducted between 1930 and 1938 by a Belgian team.²⁸ After an interruption of a few years and some intermittent campaigns, excavations there were resumed in the 1960s. Archaeological work on the site has revealed Palaeolithic, Neolithic and Chalcolithic activity. The Bronze Age is well attested at the site, but less known is the Iron Age. The Hellenistic settlement is

²⁴ *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, s.v. 'Apamea', p. 147.

²⁵ *ILS* 2683.

²⁶ Balty 1988, 96; Balty and Balty 1977, 117-118.

²⁷ Balty 1988, 97-104; Millar 1993, 146.

²⁸ Mayance 1939.

believed to have encompassed an area of 230 hectares.²⁹ Of the Roman period there still remains a monumental colonnaded street measuring nearly 2 km long and 37 m wide on the north-south axis.³⁰ The construction of the colonnaded street, one of the longest and most impressive in the Classical world, was started during the reign of Trajan, following the earthquake which struck the region in AD 115, and continued throughout the second century AD. Also among the architecture at Apamea, a theatre measuring 139m in diameter, the largest in Roman Syria, stands immediately south of the citadel and dates to the joint reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Other structures at the site include a nymphaeum, an *agora* measuring 45 by 150m and several churches. The main temple (presumably) of Zeus Belos stands in the middle of the city next to the *agora*.³¹ This sanctuary was destroyed in AD 384/385 by Bishop Marcellus.³² Although nothing remains of the temple today, we know from ancient sources that there an oracle of Zeus Belos was consulted by Septimius Severus³³ and Macrinus.³⁴ A *Tychaion* is also situated facing the temple of Zeus Belos.³⁵

In 2002, a Belgian team recommenced excavation work at the site concentrating on the *agora* and the north-eastern quarter of the Graeco-Roman settlement.³⁶ Preliminary results have revealed a number of baths and an aqueduct constructed in the reign of Claudius is attested by an inscription.

²⁹ *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, s.v. 'Apamea', p. 146.

³⁰ For what follows regarding the architectural remains see Balty 1969 and 1981.

³¹ Balty 1972, 23. There is no evidence that the temple is dedicated to Zeus (see Millar 1993, 263).

³² Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.* 5.21.

³³ Dio 79.8.

³⁴ Dio 79.40.

³⁵ Balty 1988, 95 and 1972, 24.

³⁶ Viviers and Vokaer 2007.

2. Larissa (Shayzar)

Appian states that Larissa was founded by Seleucus I,³⁷ although this may not necessarily be the case. Grainger proposes a foundation by Alexander the Great, whereas Cohen implies a foundation by one of the successors of Seleucus I, possibly Antiochus I.³⁸ It was probably intended as a military base, as it is located on a high rocky promontory.³⁹ Larissa was settled by colonists from the Larissa in Thessaly and was famous for horse breeding and formed part of the Seleucid cavalry.⁴⁰ Larissa fell under Apamea's sphere of influence,⁴¹ but later a war broke out between the two. The precise date of the battle is unknown, but it most likely took place in the mid second century BC, during the conflict between Demetrius II and Tryphon.⁴² In Medieval times Larissa was known as Shayzar,⁴³ which is thought to be a derivation of its original name Sinzara⁴⁴ or Zinzar.⁴⁵

3. Epiphanea (Hama)

Epiphanea in ancient times was known as Hamath, which was destroyed by the Assyrians in 720 BC and was only partially and intermittently settled until the advent of the Hellenistic period.⁴⁶ It is widely believed that Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who granted autonomy to a number of cities in the region, gave the city its Hellenistic

³⁷ Appian *Syr.* 57.

³⁸ Grainger 1990, 39-40; Cohen 2006, 117.

³⁹ Grainger 1990, 106.

⁴⁰ Diodorus 33.4-5. Grainger (1990, 39) states that it was settled by Alexander's regiment of Thessalian cavalry.

⁴¹ Strabo 16.2.10.

⁴² Cohen 2006, 117.

⁴³ Jones 1971, 231.

⁴⁴ Steph. Byz. *Ethnicorum*, s.v. 'Larisai'.

⁴⁵ As mentioned in the Amarna Letters which date to the fourteenth century BC.

⁴⁶ Grainger 1990, 20.

name of Epiphanea.⁴⁷ The name of the city later reverted to its original name and is now known as Hama.

Excavations were conducted there by a Danish team in the 1930s revealing Palaeolithic, Neolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age remains.⁴⁸ Excavations have shown a proliferation of dwellings and streets during the Hellenistic period and, based on archaeological finds,⁴⁹ it can be surmised that a substantial occupation of the site began during the mid second century BC, implying that the site was indeed a refoundation by Antiochus IV. Occupation of the site continued during the Roman period, but it is poorly represented in the archaeological evidence, with only traces of a third century AD temple existing where the Great Mosque stands today. After a brief occupation during the Byzantine period, the city fell to the Islamic conquests in AD 636. The site was occupied until AD 1401 when it was destroyed by the invading Mongols.

4. Raphanea (Rafniyeh)

Raphanea, one of the sites of the Roman East that has only recently been explored,⁵⁰ was first identified with the modern town of Rafniyeh by Dussaud.⁵¹ Raphanea is generally assumed to be a Hellenistic foundation,⁵² although there is no clear evidence yet to support this. An archaeological tell and a 'pre-Hellenistic' structure can be found in the vicinity of the site, but to date there is no evidence

⁴⁷ Josephus, *JA*, 1.6.2; Grainger 1990, 138. Mørkholm (1966, 117) finds the connection doubtful.

⁴⁸ Ingholt, 1957-1990.

⁴⁹ For what follows see Ploug 1985, 13-15, 39-46.

⁵⁰ With surveys being conducted there starting in 2005. For details see Gschwind *et al.* 2009, information from which is used in what follows.

⁵¹ Dussaud 1927, 95-103.

⁵² Grainger 1990, 131.

showing that Raphanea was a continuation of a pre-existing settlement.⁵³

Additionally, the lack of any significant surface finds dating to the Hellenistic period excludes the probability that it was a considerable settlement of that period. The campaigns conducted in and around the site have so far identified several structures dating only broadly to the Classical period. These include residential areas, necropoleis, a bath, quarries and cisterns, in addition to several column drums, capitals, bases and remnants of a pediment.⁵⁴

Regarding ancient sources, Raphanea is first mentioned in the context of the Jewish wars, where reference is made to it being a legionary base for Legio XII Fulminata. It later became the base for Legio VI Ferrata and III Gallica.⁵⁵ In the Severan period, Raphanea was part of *Syria Phoenice*. It was in this city that Elagabalus was proclaimed emperor by the army in AD 218,⁵⁶ implying that Raphanea was still a legionary camp in the early third century AD. In the *Res Gestae Divi Saporis*,⁵⁷ Raphanea is included in the list of cities conquered by the Sassanians in AD 253. Based on the above facts, it seems very likely that Raphanea as a city developed in the Roman period as a consequence of the encampment of the army there.⁵⁸ The city remained occupied until the Medieval period.

⁵³ Gschwind *et al.* 2009, 243-244, 276.

⁵⁴ Gschwind (2009, 272) states that “several ornate architectural fragments, found in different parts of the study area, show that monumental buildings existed at Raphanea during the middle Empire”.

⁵⁵ Josephus, *BJ*, 7.1.3; Ptolemy, *Geography*, 5.14.12 and also 5.15.16. For the chronology of the legions stationed in Raphanea see Gschwind *et al.* 2009, 276-78. Gschwind proposes that Legio VI Ferrata could have been based there as early as the Augustan period and Legio III Gallica by AD 71.

⁵⁶ Dio 79.31; Herodian 5.3.11.

⁵⁷ Huyse, 1999.

⁵⁸ Gschwind *et al.* 2009, 275; Jones 1971, 267.

5. Arethusa (ar-Rastan)

It is likely that Arethusa was founded in the early Hellenistic period as a military fortress due to its strategic location.⁵⁹ Although Appian states that Arethusa was founded by Seleucus I,⁶⁰ it is more likely that it was refounded on a previously existing local settlement having the name Arastan, 'Arethusa' being a Hellenized form for the name.⁶¹ Historical evidence indicates that Arethusa fell under the sphere of influence of the Emeseni tribe and that it was probably their seat of power rather than Emesa (see below).⁶² It is unclear when this happened precisely, but we know that during the revolt of Q. Caecilius Bassus in 46-44 BC, it was controlled by Samsigeramus, a phylarch of that tribe.⁶³ We also hear of a Samsigeramus who paid tribute to Pompey in 63 BC and therefore continued to reign over his domain, which included Arethusa.⁶⁴ In the 20s BC Arethusa was annexed to the province of Syria.⁶⁵

Archaeological work has not yet been conducted at the site.

6. Emesa (Homs)

History

Although we find mention of Emesa being a Seleucid colony,⁶⁶ there is not yet epigraphic or archaeological evidence for such a foundation.⁶⁷ It is more likely

⁵⁹ Grainger 1990, 106.

⁶⁰ Appian *Syr.* 57.

⁶¹ Cohen 2006, 102.

⁶² Kropp 2010, 214.

⁶³ Strabo 16.2.10-11.

⁶⁴ Cic. *Att.* 16.2.

⁶⁵ Kropp 2010. See also Butcher 2003, 110. For the use of the Actian era in Arethusa, see *IGLS V*, no. 2085.

⁶⁶ *IGLS V*, no. 107.

⁶⁷ Kropp 2010; Millar 1993, 302; Butcher 2003, 91-92; Jones 1971, 262; Abdulkarim 2001, 51. Cohen (2006) does not include Emesa in his study of Hellenistic settlements.

that the general region was under the influence of the Emesenoï tribe led by a sequence of chieftains (*phylarchoi*) having the name Samsigeramus and Iamblichus. This tribe seems to have taken control of the region as a result of the disintegration of the Seleucid Empire in the early first century BC,⁶⁸ for we know that Arethusa was the stronghold of the Emesenoï in the mid first century BC.⁶⁹ It should be noted that Strabo does not mention a city with the name Emesa but rather a tribe of the Emesenoï. It is also significant that Pliny, in his *Historia Naturalis*, written in the Flavian period, does not include Emesa in the list of cities of Syria, but includes the Emesenoï in his list of tribes.⁷⁰ Taking these into account, it cannot be determined exactly when Emesa was established as a city, but it is probable that Emesa first came into existence as a city during the first century BC, most probably after the battle of Actium, and that the city was named after the local tribe and not vice-versa.⁷¹ Not much is known of the history of Emesa during the early Roman period, but it is assumed to have been annexed by Rome during the Flavian period.⁷² The local dynasty is last mentioned in AD 72 when it supplied Vespasian with troops for the campaign against Commagene.⁷³

Emesa came to prominence in the late second century AD when Septimius Severus married Julia Domna, the daughter of the high priest of the city. It was also during the Severan period that it became the capital of *Syria Phoenice* and was granted the status of colony by Caracalla.⁷⁴ During the Sassanian invasion in AD 253,

⁶⁸ Shahîd 1984, 4. See Sullivan 1977 for the history of the dynasty and the prominent role they played as client kings of Rome.

⁶⁹ Strabo 16.2.10-11.

⁷⁰ *HN* 5.81.

⁷¹ Retsö 2003, 408-409; Kropp 2010.

⁷² Kropp 2010, 216; Millar 1993, 84; Shahîd 1984, 18-19.

⁷³ Josephus, *BJ*, 7.7.1. See also Millar 1993, 300-305 for the history of Emesa.

⁷⁴ Ulpian, *Digest* 50.15.1.4.

Emesa is not listed among the cities conquered by Shapur. Malalas records a local by the name of Samsigeramus, who mustered forces in Emesa and repelled the Persian forces.⁷⁵ We know from coins that Uranius Antoninus ruled in Emesa during this time period and although it is uncertain if this emperor is the Samsigeramus mentioned by Malalas, he is the most probable candidate.⁷⁶ It was also at Emesa that Aurelian defeated the Palmyrene forces led by Zenobia.⁷⁷ In the fourth century AD Emesa fell into decline, perhaps due to the fading of Palmyra and the trade route between the two cities.⁷⁸ In the Ayyubid period a citadel was built on the tell of Homs, which was used through Ottoman times but destroyed in the mid nineteenth century. During the French mandate the tell was partly levelled and used as a military base for French soldiers. Today only remnants of the Islamic fortifications remain.

Excavations

Excavations on the tell were conducted during the French mandate, the results of which are unpublished. During the 1970s a Syrian team continued excavations there, but this too remains unpublished. Work was resumed by a joint Syrian and British team in 1994, concentrating on the Islamic fortifications of the citadel.⁷⁹ The results show that the tell was occupied at least from the third millennium BC. Archaeological evidence from the Hellenistic period is lacking and the Roman period is scantily represented. This is mostly due to the fact that the Roman city is buried under the modern city of Homs, coupled with the fact that excavations on the tell have not yet reached Roman levels. A necropolis was located

⁷⁵ Malalas *Chronicle* 12. 296-297. See also the *XIIIth Sibylline Oracle*, 150-154.

⁷⁶ See Potter 1990, 323-328, for a detailed analysis.

⁷⁷ Zosimus 1.25-27.

⁷⁸ Millar 1993, 301 (quoting Libanius).

⁷⁹ King 2002.

to the west of the city, including a pyramid-roofed mausoleum dedicated to a certain Samsigeramus and dated to AD 78/79.⁸⁰ This monument was destroyed in 1911 by modern construction work. The remainder of the necropolis was excavated in 1936 and it too was later overbuilt with modern structures. The grave goods collected from the tombs date to the first century BC and first century AD.⁸¹

To date, the remains of the great temple of the Emesene sun-god, where the black stone of Elagabal was worshiped,⁸² have not been unearthed. Scholars are divided in placing the location of the temple either where the Nuri Mosque stands today or on the archaeological tell of Homs.⁸³ It has also been suggested that the temple never stood in Emesa, but that it was the same as the great temple of Jupiter in Baalbek,⁸⁴ though this seems improbable (see discussion in Types and Legends chapter).

7. Laodicea ad Libanum (Tell Nebi Mend)

History

It is uncertain by whom this city was founded, but it is likely to have been Seleucus I, since it is stated that he founded five cities and called them Laodicea in honor of his mother.⁸⁵ The city is the site of ancient Qadesh where the great battle between the Egyptians and Hittites was fought in the early thirteenth century BC. The

⁸⁰ Watzinger 1923. The inscriptions on the monument do not mention the title of king. For an illustration of the tomb see King 2002, 44, Fig. 6.

⁸¹ Seyrig 1952 and 1953.

⁸² Herodian 5.3.5.

⁸³ Ball 2000, 37-47; King 2002, 44-45; Chad 1972, 123; *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, s.v. 'Emesa', p. 89.

⁸⁴ Ball 2000, 39-42. See Young 2003 for a rebuttal of Ball's hypothesis.

⁸⁵ Appian *Syr.* 57; Grainger (1990, 139-140) finds this attribution "very unlikely" due to the small size of the site.

archaeological tell is located at a fork between the Orontes River and its tributary, the Mukadiyeh. The two rivers seem to have been connected by an artificial canal situated south of the tell, thus protecting the site from all sides, though the date for this ditch remains uncertain.⁸⁶ In the Classical period it was known as Laodicea ad Libanum⁸⁷ and Laodicea Skabiosa,⁸⁸ but in the early Islamic period it was once again known as Kadis.⁸⁹ Today the site is known by the name Tell Nebi Mend.

Excavations

Tell Nebi Mend was excavated in the early 1920s by the French.⁹⁰ Excavation work was renewed by the British in 1975.⁹¹ Results thus far have revealed occupation during the Neolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age, and the Graeco-Roman and Byzantine periods. The Persian period is hardly represented at the site; it seems more likely that the settlement was abandoned before then.⁹² The Hellenistic period is represented by some remains of domestic architecture on the tell and a ‘fortification wall’, possibly dating to this period, found in the north-eastern part of the mound. The Roman settlement is located at the southern foot of the ancient tell, but because that area has only been partially excavated, the Roman period is poorly represented in the archaeological record. The city seems to have been abandoned before the Islamic invasions and not resettled until modern times.⁹³

⁸⁶ Parr 1983, 101 and 1990-1991, 81. On the Egyptian reliefs of the 19th Dynasty battle the site is also depicted surrounded by water.

⁸⁷ Pliny *NH* 5.82; Strabo 16.2.18.

⁸⁸ Ptolemy 5.14.16. The name has negative connotations of scabbiness or of being diseased, perhaps an indication of malarial conditions in the river valley.

⁸⁹ Jones 1971, 231.

⁹⁰ Pézard 1922 and 1931.

⁹¹ Parr 1983 and 1990-1991.

⁹² Grainger 1990, 139.

⁹³ Parr 1990-1991, 81; *Real Encyclopadie*, s.v. ‘Laodikeia’, 718-720.

CHAPTER II

CATALOGUE

To date, no complete coin catalogue for the cities of the Orontes Valley exists. *BMC Syria*, although it has not outlived its usefulness, is a hundred years old now and much has been added to our knowledge since. With the exception of Apamea, covered in *RPC I*, none of the mints under study have yet been discussed in detail. Hence, the following pages may be considered a systematic treatment and a complete corpus of these coinages.

Commentary on the coin types is avoided in the catalogue, as this will be thoroughly discussed in the relevant sections to follow. Regarding the legends, the most common varieties are listed; special cases or blundered legends are discussed in the main text. The cities are listed in geographical order from north to south, and the coins in chronological order followed by their denominational structure.

An attempt was made to document as many coins as possible from both public and private collections, as well as printed material and online sources. The collections visited in person were that of the Ashmolean Museum, the AUB Museum, the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, the British Museum, the Fitzwilliam Museum, Tübingen University, and the Homs Museum. The institutions from which the data was acquired by correspondence or online were the American Numismatic Society, the Athens Numismatic Museum, the Bernisches Historisches Museum, the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, the Geldmuseum Utrecht, the Harvard Art Museums, the Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, the Museum of Art and Archaeology Missouri, the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, the Smithsonian Institute and the Yale University Art Gallery. Published material was mostly acquired

from *SNGs*, in addition to various catalogues. The data was also complemented by studying site finds and hoards from published and unpublished material from the region. Online auction databases were helpful for acquiring more recent material. Six private collections were also documented. Only rarely was access not granted by certain dealers or collectors. A few public collections were not seen due to protracted delays by the administration in granting access to the material.

In total, 1366 coins were documented: Apamea 461, Larissa 21, Raphanea 108, Emesa 694 and Laodicea ad Libanum 82. No coins were added to the database after June 2012. Weights (in grams) and sizes (in millimeters) are listed according to how they are provided in publications, thus some are listed to the tenths and others the hundredths. Where known, the date of each issue is listed in the inventory following each catalogue entry; the chronology of issues lacking dates is discussed in the Production chapter. An image of the best preserved coin of each type is depicted in the plates at the end and is marked with a star (*) in the inventory list under each type.

A. Apamea

1. Civic issues

a. Group 1

No. 1) Zeus/elephant (*BMC Syria*, 3)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Laureate head of Zeus right. Dotted border.

Reverse: Elephant right. Above and below ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ. In field various Greek letters/dates.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks
1	PC2	8.54	23	12	ζΛΣ=236=77/76 BC	indistinct
2	<i>BMC Syria</i> 3	7.61	21.5	12	ΖΛΣ=237=76/75 BC	ΣΕ
3	<i>SNG Munich</i> -793	7.16	-	1	ΖΛΣ=237=76/75 BC	indistinct
4	MA-Münzhandlung Ritter 28945	-	-	-	ΖΛΣ=237=76/75 BC	worn
5	Vienna-GR 21653	9.02	21.1	12	ΖΛΣ=237=76/75 BC	ΣΕ
6	BNF-927	8.23	21	12	ΖΛΣ=237=76/75 BC	uncertain
7	BNF-927b	8.97	23.5	12	ΖΛΣ=237=76/75 BC	indistinct
8	PC3	8.17	21.75	-	ΖΛΣ=237=76/75 BC	ΣΕ

9	Ashmolean-Christ Church 2056	6.86	21.5	11	ZΛΣ?=237=76/75 BC	none
10	BNF-928	7.38	21.5	12	MΣ=240=73/72 BC	AN
11*	CNG-729552	8.63	22	-	BMΣ=242=71/70 BC	ΔI
12	Berlin-C.R.Fox 1873	8.01	23.5	12	BMΣ=242=71/70 BC	ΔI
13	BNF-929	7.65	21.5	12	BMΣ=242=71/70 BC	indistinct
14	ANS-1944.100.66123	7.78	21	12	BMΣ=242=71/70 BC	ΔI
15	<i>BMC Syria 5</i>	7.74	21	1	ΓMΣ=243=70/69 BC	MNA (NA ligatured)
16	Berlin-Imhoof Blumer 1900	8.58	21	1	ΓMΣ=243=70/69 BC	MNA
17	<i>SNG Munich-792</i>	8.51	-	1	ΓMΣ=243=70/69 BC	worn
18	Wildwinds-27.62307	8.1	21	-	ΓMΣ=243=70/69 BC	MNA
19	Vienna-GR 21654	9.69	21.1	12	ΓMΣ=243=70/69 BC	MNA
20	ANS-1971.193.36	9.37	20	12	ΓMΣ=243=70/69 BC	MH
21	Berlin-v. Rauch	7.28	20	1	EMΣ=245=68/67 BC	MNA
22	Berlin-Graf Prokesch-Osten	7	21	1	EMΣ=245=68/67 BC	MA
23	CNG-228.135	8.62	21	12	Z=7=60/59 BC (Z retrograde)	ΔI
24	PC3	8.15	22	-	Z=7=60/59 BC	ΔI
25	eBay	-	-	-	Z=7=60/59 BC	worn
26	<i>SNG Leipzig-1316</i>	8.54	20.5	12	Z=7=60/59 BC	MH
27	PC4	6.7	21	-	Z=7=60/59 BC	worn
28	Forum-11603	7.36	21.4	12	Z=7=60/59 BC	ΔI?
29	ANS-1944.100.66125	8.24	20	12	Z=7=60/59 BC	M(?)
30	ANS-1947.97.536	7.65	19	12	Z=7=60/59 BC	worn
31	ANS-1961.154.61	8.67	20	12	Z=7=60/59 BC	ΔI
32	Yale-2001.87.11102	8.15	20.2	12	Z?=7=60/59 BC	off flan
33	<i>SNG Fitzwilliam-5948</i>	7.96	21.2	1	H=8=59/58 BC	KA?
34	Fitzwilliam-no number	8.24	21.2	12	H=8=59/58 BC	indistinct
35	Fitzwilliam-no number	6.37	21.1	1	H=8=59/58 BC	M(?)
36	<i>BMC Syria 14</i>	8.68	21.5	1	H=8=59/58 BC	KA
37	PC1	8.29	22	1	H=8=59/58 BC	MH

38	eBay	7.3	22	-	H=8=59/58 BC	uncertain
39	Berlin-M: V 224, 577, 5049	6.49	21.5	12	H=8=59/58 BC	(?)A
40	Berlin-Löbbecke 1906	7.66	22.5	1	H=8=59/58 BC	MH(?)
41	Berlin-Löbbecke 1906	7.83	21.5	1	H=8=59/58 BC	KA
42	BNF-Louis de Clercq 281	8.28	22	12	H=8=59/58 BC	MH
43	BNF-930	8.29	21.5	12	H=8=59/58 BC	KA
44	BNF-931	8.27	21.5	1	H=8=59/58 BC	MH
45	BNF-932	7.86	23.5	12	H=8=59/58 BC	KA
46	PC2	9.14	21.4	12	H=8=59/58 BC	MH
47	PC2	7.52	20.6	12	H=8=59/58 BC	KA
48	eBay	-	22	-	H=8=59/58 BC	MH
49	VCoins-Holyland Numismatics 5167	8.76	23.5		H=8=59/58 BC	KA
50	<i>Lindgren I-2036</i>	7.16	21.5	-	H=8=59/58 BC	off flan
51	c/m BAS on elephant	7.6	22	-	H=8=59/58 BC	worn
52	<i>SNG Munich-794</i>	7.81	-	12	H=8=59/58 BC	KA
53	<i>SNG Poland-62</i>	7.11	-	-	H=8=59/58 BC	worn
54	PC4	7	22	-	H=8=59/58 BC	A?
55	Belgium-463	8.22	21	-	H=8=59/58 BC	worn
56	Forum-GB38866	8.24	22.5	12	H=8=59/58 BC	worn
57	Forum-16389	6.9	21.2	12	H=8=59/58 BC	uncertain
58	Forum-GB38711	5.22	19.5	12	H=8=59/58 BC	off flan
59	Tantalus-37994	7.57	22	-	H=8=59/58 BC	MH
60	Wildwinds-eBay 1246216504	8.99	22	-	H=8=59/58 BC	KA?
61	AUB-198	7.5	21	1	H=8=59/58 BC	ΔI?
62	Netherlands-7873	7.3	21.4	11	H=8=59/58 BC	worn
63	Bern-G 1858	8.55	20.9	12	H=8=59/58 BC	KA
64	Vienna-GR 21652	8.14	22.5	12	H=8=59/58 BC	MH
65	Vienna-GR 35692	7.42	21.4	1	H=8=59/58 BC	KA
66	ANS-1940.77.158	7.55	21	12	H=8=59/58 BC	worn

67	ANS-1944.100.66126	8.23	22	1	H=8=59/58 BC	M(?)
68	ANS-1944.100.66127	8.17	20	12	H=8=59/58 BC	worn
69	ANS-1948.19.2033	7.92	21	12	H=8=59/58 BC	worn
70	Harvard-1980.85.194	9.1	-	-	H=8=59/58 BC	worn
71	Yale-2001.87.11103	9.11	20.1	1	H=8=59/58 BC	KA?
72	Athens-Empedoklis Collection	-	-	-	H=8=59/58 BC	worn
73	Tübingen	6.81	22.7	12	H=8=59/58 BC	KA
74	Berlin-Löbbecke 1906	8.07	21	12	I(?)(?)	KA
75	PC2	7.19	20	12	I(?)(?)	worn
76	BM-R. P. Knight p. 169 no. 5	8.6	20.5	1	indistinct	indistinct
77	PC1	7.18	21	12	worn	worn
78	Tantalus-31764	7.5	23	-	worn	worn
79	ANS-1944.100.66124	6.45	22	12	worn	worn
80	Yale-2001.87.11104	7.09	21.6	1	worn	worn
81	Fitzwilliam-CM 2388.1977	9.04	20	12	worn	worn

No. 2) Tyche/Nike (*SNG Fitzwilliam, 5949*)

Denomination: AE, medium

Obverse: Turreted and veiled bust of Tyche right. Dotted border.

Reverse: Nike advancing left holding wreath and palm. To right and left downwards ΑΠΙΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ, in field

various Greek letters/dates.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks
1	<i>SNG Fitzwilliam-5949</i>	8.08	23	12	ZΛΣ=237=76/75 BC (date engraved twice)	none
2	Netherlands-2584	8.25	21.9	11	ZΛΣ=237=76/75 BC	worn
3	PC2	6.47	19	12	ΓΜΣ=243=70/69 or ΕΜΣ=245=68/67 BC	worn
4	PC1	6.3	17	11	ϷI=16=51/50 BC	none
5	PC1	5.02	17	12	ϷI=16=51/50 BC	AN
6	BNF-960a	5.9	18	11	ϷI=16=51/50 BC	AN
7	BNF-961	6.17	18	11	ϷI=16=51/50 BC	AN
8	PC3	5.05	17.35	-	ϷI=16=51/50 BC	off flan
9	<i>Lindgren I-2034</i>	5.12	16	-	ϷI=16=51/50 BC	AN?
10	<i>SNG Munich-803</i>	4.38	-	11	ϷI=16=51/50 BC	AN
11	<i>SNG Munich-804</i>	6.76	-	12	ϷI=16=51/50 BC	AN
12	<i>SNG Munich-805</i>	5.18	-	11	ϷI=16=51/50 BC	AN?
13*	Wildwinds-27.62309	5.73	17	-	ϷI=16=51/50 BC	AN
14	ANS-1967.274.2	6.17	17	10	ϷI=16=51/50 BC	off flan
15	ANS-1967.274.3	5.5	17	10	ϷI=16=51/50 BC	off flan
16	Yale-1938.6000.1304	4.48	17.2	11	ϷI=16=51/50 BC	off flan
17	Yale-2001.87.11105	5.19	18.7	10	ϷI=16=51/50 BC	AN
18	Ashmolean-Bouchier 1930	4.63	18	10	ϷI?=16=51/50 BC	off flan
19	Ashmolean-Christ Church 2060	6.04	18	11	ϷI?=16=51/50 BC	worn
20	BNF-960	5.11	20	12	uncertain	worn
21	PC2	6.78	20.1	12	worn	AN?
22	<i>SNG Braunschweig-1368</i>	5.14	17	12	worn	worn

No. 3) Demeter/corn ear (*BMC Syria*, 4)

Denomination: AE, small 1

Obverse: Draped and veiled bust of Demeter right wearing corn wreath. Dotted border.

Reverse: Corn ear with two sprouting buds. To right and left downwards ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ, in field various

Greek letters/dates.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks
1	<i>BMC Syria</i> 4	4.15	17	11	ΘΛ(Σ)=239=74/73 BC	ΣΕ
2*	Wildwinds-27.62306	5.03	18	-	ΘΛΣ=239=74/73 BC	ΣΕ?
3	PC3	3.45	15.9	-	ΒΜΣ?=242=71/70 BC	indistinct
4	Ashmolean-Bouchier 1930	3.66	15.5	12	ΒΜΣ=242=71/70 BC	none
5	Berlin-66/1885	4.31	16	12	ΒΜΣ=242=71/70 BC	ΚΑ? in exergue
6	BNF-941	4.21	16.5	12	ΓΜΣ=243=70/69 BC	ΑΝ in outer left field
7	Ashmolean-Milne 1923	4.16	17	12	Η=8=59/58 BC	ΜΝ or ΜΗ in outer left field
8	PC1	3.24	17	12	Η=8=59/58 BC	none
9	BNF-965b	3.18	17.5	12	Η=8=59/58 BC	ΚΑ? in outer left field
10	BNF-1973.218	3.24	17	12	Η=8=59/58 BC	ΜΗ and (?) in outer left field
11	<i>Lindgren I</i> -2030	3.35	17	-	Η=8=59/58 BC	worn
12	MA-Münzhandlung Ritter 29279	-	-	-	Η?=8=59/58 BC	uncertain
13	<i>SNG Munich</i> -810	2.75	-	12	worn	worn
14	Forum-13132	3.84	17.5	12	worn	worn

No. 4) Dionysus/Grapes (*Lindgren III*, 1175)

Denomination: AE, small 2

Obverse: Bust of Dionysus right wearing ivy wreath. Dotted border.

Reverse: Bunch of grapes. To right and left downwards ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ, in field various Greek letters/dates.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks
1*	<i>Lindgren III-1175</i>	2.29	14	-	ZΛΣ=237=76/75 BC	ΣΓ?
2	PC4	-	-	-	ΘΛΣ=239=74/73 BC	ΣΓ
3	<i>SNG Winterthur-5155</i>	2.84	14	12	ΘΛΣ=239=74/73 BC	ΣΡ or ΣΕ
4	PC4	2.7	15	-	ΘΛΣ=239=74/73 BC	worn
5	<i>Lindgren I-2035</i>	1.66	13.5	-	ΘΛΣ?=239=74/73 BC	Σ(?)
6	MA-M&M 5583	2.5	-	-	ΒΜΣ?=242=71/70 BC	worn
7	ANS-1961.154.56	2.05	13	12	ΒΜΣ?=242=71/70 BC	uncertain
8	VCoins-Ancient Imports 19222	2.1	15.37	-	indistinct	indistinct

b. Group 2

No. 5) Dionysus/thyrsus (*RPC I*, 4347-4352)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Bust of Dionysus right wearing ivy wreath. Dotted border.

Reverse: Thyrsus tied with ribbon. To right and left downwards ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ, in field various Greek letters/dates.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks
1	<i>BMC Syria 9</i>	9.61	22	12	ΓΠΣ=283=30/29 BC	AN
2	PC1	9.25	21.5	1	ΓΠΣ=283=30/29 BC	worn
3	Berlin-no ticket (c/m Tyche head)	7.81	22.5	1	ΓΠΣ=283=30/29 BC	EI?
4	BNF-945	8.52	22	2	ΓΠΣ=283=30/29 BC	off flan
5	BNF-945a	9.33	21.5	12	ΓΠΣ=283=30/29 BC	MH or MA
6	Vienna-GR 21660	8.69	22.2	12	ΓΠΣ=283=30/29 BC	off flan
7	Berlin-v.Rauch (c/m Tyche head)	8.42	23	11	ΓΠΣ?=283=30/29 BC	worn
8	BNF-Y23879.241	10.07	23	1	ΓΠΣ?=283=30/29 BC	AN
9	PC1	8.47	21	1	ΔΠΣ=284=29/28 BC	N(?)
10	Berlin-Fox 1873	8.66	21	12	ΔΠΣ=284=29/28 BC	off flan
11	PC5	8.9	23	1	ΔΠΣ=284=29/28 BC	off flan
12	Ashmolean-CRE 1465	9.89	22	1	ΕΠΣ=285=28/27 BC	none
13	Berlin-Fox 1873	9.79	21	1	ΕΠΣ=285=28/27 BC	none
14	<i>SNG Glasgow-3140</i>	10.05	22.5	12	ΕΠΣ=285=28/27 BC	AN
15	Belgium-893	8.38	21	-	ΕΠΣ=285=28/27 BC	MH
16*	MA-Münzhandlung Ritter 29280	8.93	-	-	ΕΠΣ=285=28/27 BC	AN
17	ANS-1944.100.66118	10.98	21	12	ΕΠΣ=285=28/27 BC	off flan
18	Forum-10940	8.51	21.8	12	ΕΠΣ?=285=28/27 BC	worn
19	Fitzwilliam-Leake 9429	9.2	22.2	12	Β9Σ=292=21/20 BC	EI
20	Ashmolean-CRE 1467	8.46	22	12	Β9Σ=292=21/20 BC	EI
21	PC1	8.46	23	1	Β9Σ=292=21/20 BC	Θ and E
22	Berlin	8.45	23	11	Β9Σ=292=21/20 BC	NOY
23	Berlin-Löbbecke 1906	9.66	23.5	12	Β9Σ=292=21/20 BC	NOY
24	BNF-945b	7.96	22.5	11	Β9Σ=292=21/20 BC	indistinct

25	CNG-214.208	11.33	21	1	$\Gamma 9\Sigma=293=20/19$ BC	Δ I
26	CNG-255.127	9.05	20	12	$\Gamma 9\Sigma=293=20/19$ BC	XP
27	Berlin-Löbbecke 1906	8.61	20.5	12	$\Gamma 9\Sigma=293=20/19$ BC	P
28	BNF-945d	8.56	23.5	1	$\Gamma 9\Sigma=293=20/19$ BC	EI
29	BNF-952	9.22	21.5	1	$\Gamma 9\Sigma=293=20/19$ BC	NOY
30	<i>SNG Glasgow-3141</i>	8.81	24	12	$\Gamma 9\Sigma=293=20/19$ BC	EI
31	<i>SNG Winterthur-5156</i>	7.79	22.2	1	$\Gamma 9\Sigma=293=20/19$ BC	uncertain
32	Berlin-Fox 1873	9.36	23	1	$E 9\Sigma=295=18/17$ BC	NOY
33	Berlin-Löbbecke 1906	8.63	23.5	12	$E 9\Sigma=295=18/17$ BC	Θ and E
34	BNF-945c (c/m Tyche head)	9.88	21	1	$E 9\Sigma=295=18/17$ BC	worn
35	<i>SNG Glasgow-3142</i>	8.74	22	12	$E 9\Sigma=295=18/17$ BC	EI
36	<i>SNG Glasgow-3143 (c/m Tyche head)</i>	8.01	23	12	$E 9\Sigma=295=18/17$ BC	EI
37	ANS-1944.100.66119	10.22	19	12	$E 9\Sigma=295=18/17$ BC	NOY
38	Fitzwilliam-Leake 2397	6.1	20.5	1	$\Delta(?) (?)$	off flan
39	Ashmolean-CRE 1471A (c/m Tyche head)	8.17	23.5	12	uncertain	worn
40	eBay	8.61	22	-	uncertain	uncertain
41	<i>Lindgren III-1176 (c/m Tyche head)</i>	9.49	23	-	uncertain	worn
42	PC2	8.6	24.7	12	worn	worn
43	PC2	8.3	21.6	12	worn	worn
44	eBay	-	25	-	worn	worn
45	Vcoins-909012603	8.3	23	-	worn	EI
46	<i>SNG Munich-809</i>	7.64	-	12	worn	worn
47	<i>SNG Righetti-2072</i>	6.14	20.2	12	worn	worn
48	<i>SNG Righetti-2073</i>	6.63	20.2	12	worn	worn
49	eBay	-	20	-	worn	worn
50	Forum-12156	9.28	22.9	12	worn	worn
51	Vienna-GR 32469 (c/m Tyche head)	8.2	21.4	12	worn	worn
52	ANS-1944.100.66117	10.19	22	1	worn	worn
53	Harvard-1980.85.196	5.94	-	-	worn	worn

54	Harvard-1980.85.197 (c/m Tyche head)	9.24	-	-	worn	worn
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No. 6) Athena/Nike (RPC I, 4333-4346)

Denomination: AE, medium

Obverse: Helmeted bust of Athena right. Dotted border.

Reverse: Nike advancing left holding wreath and palm. To right and left downwards ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ or

ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ, in field various Greek letters/dates.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks	Legend variety
1	BMC Syria 15	8.23	22	1	ΔΚ=24 PE=43/42 BC	AN	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
2	Ashmolean-Christ Church 2059	11.53	22	11	ΔΚ=24 PE=43/42 BC	none	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
3	PC1	8.01	22	11	ΔΚ=24 PE=43/42 BC	AN	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
4	eBay	-	-	-	ΔΚ=24 PE=43/42 BC	EI? in exergue	uncertain
5	Berlin-Knobelsdorf	8.95	22	1	ΔΚ=24 PE=43/42 BC	EI in exergue	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
6	BNF-963	7.87	21	12	ΔΚ=24 PE=43/42 BC	AN?	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ?
7	PC3	10.16	21.45	-	ΔΚ=24 PE=43/42 BC	AN	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
8	SNG Glasgow-3128	9.27	21	12	ΔΚ=24 PE=43/42 BC	AN	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
9	MA-Sesam-58206.100	-	22	-	ΔΚ=24 PE=43/42 BC	none?	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
10	SNG Munich-798	8.92	-	12	ΔΚ?=24 PE=43/42 BC	uncertain	uncertain
11	BMC Syria 6	8.48	22	12	ΒΟΣ=272=41/40 BC	none	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
12	Berlin-Fox 1873	8.98	20.5	12	ΒΟΣ=272=41/40 BC	off flan	off flan
13	BNF-933	6.7	22	12	ΒΟΣ=272=41/40 BC	MH	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
14	BNF-Luynes 3457	8.05	20.5	12	ΒΟΣ=272=41/40 BC	off flan	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
15	PC2	6.79	21	12	ΒΟΣ=272=41/40 BC	off flan	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ

16	<i>SNG Glasgow-3129</i>	7.35	20	12	ΒΟΣ=272=41/40 BC	AN	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
17	<i>SNG Munich-799</i>	7.6	-	12	ΒΟΣ=272=41/40 BC	off flan	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
18	ANS-1998.18.147	8.81	20	1	ΒΟΣ=272=41/40 BC	off flan	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
19*	CNG-162074	7.74	21	12	B=2=40/39 BC	off flan	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
20	BNF-932b (traces of undertype(?) on obverse)	6.7	21.5	12	B=2=40/39 BC	MH	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
21	BNF-932d	8.36	21.5	1	B=2=40/39 BC	EI in exergue	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
22	PC3	6.47	21.05	-	B=2=40/39 BC	off flan	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
23	acsearch-Lanz 125.486	7.76	21	12	B=2=40/39 BC	off flan	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
24	PC5	8	21.5	12	B=2=40/39 BC	MH	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
25	Ashmolean-Milne 1923	6.82	20.5	12	B=2=40/39 BC	none	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
26	PC1	7.1	20.5	12	Γ=3=39/38 BC	EI	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
27	BNF-935	7.23	22	1	Γ=3=39/38 BC	EI? in exergue	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
28	BM-R. P. Knight p. 169 no. 3	6.66	21	12	ΕΟΣ=275=38/37 BC	indistinct	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ?
29	PC1	6.91	21	1	ΕΟΣ=275=38/37 BC	AN	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
30	CNG-223.219	7.41	20	12	ΕΟΣ=275=38/37 BC	M and ?	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
31	BNF-Y28342.2	8.32	21	12	ΕΟΣ=275=38/37 BC	EI in exergue	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
32	BNF-932c	8.85	21.5	1	ΕΟΣ=275=38/37 BC	MH	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
33	BNF-936	8.36	21.5	11	ΕΟΣ=275=38/37 BC	off flan	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
34	PC3	6.55	20.5	-	ΕΟΣ=275=38/37 BC	MH	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
35	VCoins-Sphinx 845FG8	6.88	20	-	ΕΟΣ=275=38/37 BC	MH	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
36	<i>SNG Copenhagen-298</i>	7.15	20	12	ΕΟΣ=275=38/37 BC	AN?	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
37	<i>SNG Glasgow-3130</i>	6.92	19.5	12	ΕΟΣ=275=38/37 BC	AN	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
38	eBay	8	20	-	ΕΟΣ=275=38/37 BC	worn	worn
39	Netherlands-7874	7.68	21.5	12	ΕΟΣ=275=38/37 BC	off flan	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
40	Vienna-GR 21655	7.59	20.5	12	ΕΟΣ=275=38/37 BC	off flan	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
41	ANS-1944.100.66112	6.77	20	12	ΕΟΣ=275=38/37 BC	MH	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
42	BNF-938	6.96	20	12	ζΟΣ=276=37/36 BC	AN?	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
43	<i>BMC Syria 7</i>	7.42	20	1	ζΟΣ=276=37/36 BC	indistinct	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
44	PC1	7.43	21	12	ζΟΣ=276=37/36 BC	MH	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ

45	BNF-938a	7.12	20	12	ζΟΣ=276=37/36 BC	off flan	AYTONOMOY
46	PC2	6.68	20.6	12	ζΟΣ=276=37/36 BC	worn	worn
47	SNG Glasgow-3131	6.01	19	12	ζΟΣ=276=37/36 BC	off flan	AYTONOMOY
48	Lindgren I-2031	7.71	20.5	-	ζΟΣ=276=37/36 BC	off flan	AYTONOMOY
49	Wildwinds-1211654584	6.74	21	-	ζΟΣ=276=37/36 BC	AN	AYTONOMOY
50	MA-Münzhandlung Ritter 29240	8.27	-	-	ζΟΣ=276=37/36 BC	off flan	AYTONOMOY
51	PC2	7.4	22	12	ζΟΣ?=276=37/36 BC	off flan	AYTONOMOY
52	PC1	7.92	21.5	12	ZOΣ=277=36/35 BC	MH	AYTONOMOY
53	Ashmolean-Christ Church 2057	7.13	21.5	1	ΒΠΣ=282=31/30 BC	H in exergue	AYTONOMOY
54	BNF-1952.12	7.69	20.5	12	ΒΠΣ=282=31/30 BC	indistinct	AYTONOMOY
55	BNF-932a	5.9	20.5	1	ΒΠΣ=282=31/30 BC	EI in exergue	AYTONOMOY
56	BNF-940	6.94	20.5	12	ΒΠΣ=282=31/30 BC	indistinct	AYTONOMOY
57	SNG Glasgow-3132	6.3	21	12	ΒΠΣ=282=31/30 BC	worn	AYTONOMOY
58	SNG Munich-795	6.38	-	12	ΒΠΣ=282=31/30 BC	worn	AYTONOMOY
59	Belgium-461	7.18	20	-	ΒΠΣ=282=31/30 BC	worn	AYTONOMOY?
60	ANS-1944.100.66113	-	-	-	ΒΠΣ=282=31/30 BC	AN	AYTONOMOY
61	Fitzwilliam-Leake 9428	7.75	20.8	1	ΓΠΣ=283=30/29 BC	indistinct	AYTONOMOY
62	BMC Syria 8	7.23	19	12	ΓΠΣ=283=30/29 BC	none	AYTONOMOY
63	Ashmolean-CRE 1464	6.55	19.5	12	ΓΠΣ=283=30/29 BC	off flan	AYTONOMOY
64	PC2	9.26	22	12	ΓΠΣ=283=30/29 BC	MH	AYTONOMOY
65	PC2	6.52	19.8	12	ΓΠΣ=283=30/29 BC	off flan	off flan
66	PC2	8.01	19.9	12	ΓΠΣ=283=30/29 BC	off flan	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
67	SNG Munich-796	6.68	-	11	ΓΠΣ=283=30/29 BC	worn	AYTONOMOY
68	Belgium-462 (possible forgery)	7.31	21	-	ΓΠΣ=283=30/29 BC	off flan	AYTONOMOY
69	Forum-GB41472	6.66	20.4	12	ΓΠΣ=283=30/29 BC	off flan	worn
70	AUB-203	9	13	1	ΓΠΣ=283=30/29 BC	off flan	AYTONOMOY
71	Vienna-GR 21656	7.06	20.1	12	ΓΠΣ=283=30/29 BC	AN	AYTONOMOY
72	BNF-943	7.56	19.5	1	ΓΠΣ?=283=30/29 BC	off flan	off flan
73	SNG Munich-797	6.58	-	12	ΓΠΣ?=283=30/29 BC	worn	AYTONOMOY

74	ANS-1971.193.33	5.49	20	12	ΓΠΣ?=283=30/29 BC	off flan	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ?
75	BNF-932f	7.27	19.5	12	ζΠΣ=286=27/26 BC	indistinct	off flan
76	BNF-947	7.27	21.5	12	ζΠΣ=286=27/26 BC	off flan	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
77	<i>SNG Copenhagen-299</i>	7.32	18.5	12	ζΠΣ=286=27/26 BC	AN?	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
78	<i>SNG Glasgow-3133</i>	6.87	19	12	ζΠΣ=286=27/26 BC	worn	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
79	Vienna-GR 21657	7.77	19.7	12	ζΠΣ=286=27/26 BC	off flan	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
80	BNF-948	6.17	20.5	12	ZΠΣ=287=26/25 BC	off flan	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
81	<i>SNG Glasgow-3134</i>	7.93	20	12	ZΠΣ=287=26/25 BC	off flan	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
82	<i>SNG Righetti-2070</i>	7.47	20.1	12	ZΠΣ=287=26/25 BC	off flan	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ?
83	Vienna-GR 21658	7.68	20.4	12	ZΠΣ=287=26/25 BC	off flan	worn
84	BNF-949	7.53	21	12	B9Σ=292=21/20 BC	off flan	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
85	<i>SNG Glasgow-3135</i>	6.42	19.5	12	B9Σ=292=21/20 BC	NOY	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
86	<i>SNG Fitzwilliam-5950</i>	6.57	21	12	Γ9Σ=293=20/19 BC	ΔΙ	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
87	<i>Ashmolean-CRE 1468</i>	5.77	20.5	1	Γ9Σ=293=20/19 BC	ΔΙ?	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
88	CNG-214.207	7.52	20	12	Γ9Σ=293=20/19 BC	N O (or Θ)	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
89	BNF-Y23879.242	7.42	21	12	Γ9Σ=293=20/19 BC	ΔΙ	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
90	BNF-951 (countermark on obverse)	7.31	22	12	Γ9Σ=293=20/19 BC	ΔΙ?	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
91	<i>SNG Glasgow-3136</i>	7.18	20	12	Γ9Σ=293=20/19 BC	XP?	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
92	<i>SNG Glasgow-3137 (fragment)</i>	6.06	21	12	Γ9Σ=293=20/19 BC	off flan	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
93	<i>SNG Munich-801</i>	7.17	-	12	Γ9Σ=293=20/19 BC	worn	worn
94	<i>SNG Winterthur-5157</i>	7.79	22.2	1	Γ9Σ=293=20/19 BC	worn	off flan
95	PC4	5.8	21	-	Γ9Σ=293=20/19 BC	off flan	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
96	PC4	8.4	19	-	Γ9Σ=293=20/19 BC	off flan	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
97	PC5	8.4	21	1	Γ9Σ=293=20/19 BC	off flan	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
98	AUB-199	7.45	21	12	Γ9Σ=293=20/19 BC	off flan	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
99	Netherlands-RE##	7.53	2.6	12	Γ9Σ=293=20/19 BC	off flan	off flan
100	ANS-1944.100.66114	8.18	22	1	Γ9Σ=293=20/19 BC	off flan	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
101	AUB-204	7.3	19	1	Γ9Σ?=293=20/19 BC	worn	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
102	<i>BMC Syria 10</i>	6.35	20.5	12	E9Σ=295=18/17 BC	none	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ

103	Berlin-Imhoof Blumer 1900	7.74	22.5	12	E9Σ=295=18/17 BC	none	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
104	Berlin-Fox 1873	6.11	19	12	E9Σ=295=18/17 BC	none	off flan
105	<i>SNG Glasgow</i> -3138	6.56	20	12	E9Σ=295=18/17 BC	XP	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
106	<i>SNG Glasgow</i> -3139	7.91	21	12	E9Σ=295=18/17 BC	off flan	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
107	<i>SNG Munich</i> -802	7.03	-	12	E9Σ=295=18/17 BC	NOY	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
108	ANS-1961.154.57	8.53	20	12	E9Σ=295=18/17 BC	off flan	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
109	AUB-200	7.23	21	12	E9Σ?=295=18/17 BC	off flan	off flan
110	PC1	6.76	21.5	12	indistinct	AN?	indistinct
111	Ashmolean-Griffith 1921	6.52	20.5	1	indistinct	worn	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ?
112	Belgium-894	8.08	22	-	uncertain	worn	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
113	Tantalus-32623	7.4	20	-	uncertain	worn	worn
114	PC2	7.9	20.6	1	uncertain	off flan	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
115	Fitzwilliam-Leake 1227	7.65	21	1	worn	worn	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
116	PC2	7.62	20	12	worn	off flan	off flan
117	PC2	6.87	21.6	12	worn	MH	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
118	PC2	5.34	21.4	12	worn	off flan	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
119	eBay	6.9	21	-	worn	indistinct	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
120	eBay	7.4	19	-	worn	worn	worn
121	<i>SNG Munich</i> -800	6.85	-	12	worn	worn	worn
122	<i>SNG Antiquaries</i> -775	6.79	22	-	worn	worn	worn
123	PC4	8.8	22.5	-	worn	worn	worn
124	PC4	8.1	20	-	worn	worn	worn
125	PC5	6.6	22	11	worn	worn	indistinct
126	Tantalus-24974	7.09	20	-	worn	worn	worn
127	Harvard-1980.85.195	7.23	-	-	worn	worn	worn

No. 7) Demeter/three corn ears (RPC I, 4355-4360)

Denomination: AE, small 1

Obverse: Bust of Demeter right wearing corn wreath. Dotted border.

Reverse: Three corn ears. To right and left downwards ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ or ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ, in field various Greek letters/dates.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks	Legend variety
1	BNF-937	5.48	19.5	1	ΕΟΣ=275=38/37 BC	off flan	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
2	<i>SNG Copenhagen-297</i>	6.29	16.5	12	ΕΟΣ=275=38/37 BC	AN in exergue	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
3	MA-M&M 4715	6.57	-	-	ΕΟΣ=275=38/37 BC	ϷI	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
4	PC1	6.44	19	1	ΖΟΣ=277=36/35 BC	AN? in exergue	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
5	BNF-932e	7.24	18	1	ΒΠΣ=282=31/30 BC	AN in exergue	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
6	Ashmolean-Godwyn Bodleian 1108	6.36	19.5	12	ΓΠΣ=283=30/29 BC	AN? in exergue	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
7	Berlin-C.R.Fox 1973	5.17	19	1	ΓΠΣ=283=30/29 BC	uncertain	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
8	PC3	6.14	19.1	-	ΓΠΣ=283=30/29 BC	off flan	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
9*	CNG-750609	7.16	20	12	Β9Σ=292=21/20 BC	ΔI	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
10	CNG-262.143	5.04	19	11	Β9Σ=292=21/20 BC	ΔI	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
11	ANS-1944.100.66122	5.27	19	11	Β9Σ=292=21/20 BC	indistinct	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
12	BM-1978.6.9.2	6.43	19	1	worn	worn	worn
13	VCoins-Zurqieh 8714	9.19	22	-	worn	worn	worn
14	ANS-1961.154.60	7.31	20	12	worn	worn	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
15	Harvard-1980.85.198	6.52	-	-	worn	worn	worn

No. 8) Tyche/Athena standing (RPC I, 4361-4369)

Denomination: AE, small 2

Obverse: Turreted and veiled bust of Tyche right. Dotted border.

Reverse: Athena standing left holding Nike in right hand and spear in left; at feet shield. To right and left downwards ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ

ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ or ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ, in field various Greek letters/dates.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks	Legend variety
1	Ashmolean-Christ Church 2054	9.19	22.5	11	ΓΚ=23=44/43 BC	AN in exergue	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
2	PC1	8.11	20.5	12	ΓΚ=23=44/43 BC	AI?	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
3	Berlin-Löbbecke 1906	7.76	22	12	ΓΚ=23=44/43 BC	EI	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
4	BNF-Y23879, 240	8.97	22	11	ΓΚ=23=44/43 BC	MH	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
5	BNF-962a	8.82	22	11	ΓΚ=23=44/43 BC	EI	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
6	PC2	7.52	21.65	12	ΓΚ=23=44/43 BC	AN	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
7	PC4	8.3	21.5	-	ΓΚ=23=44/43 BC	EI?	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
8	ANS-1948.19.2030	7.21	23	12	ΓΚ=23=44/43 BC	EI	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
9	BNF-934	4.53	19	12	ςΟΣ=276=37/36 BC	AN?	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
10	BNF-939	4.74	19.5	12	ΖΟΣ=277=36/35 BC	EI	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
11	PC2	5.03	17.6	12	ΖΟΣ=277=36/35 BC	worn	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
12	VCoins-Sphinx 727FG8	4.5	17	-	ΖΟΣ=277=36/35 BC	MH	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
13	<i>Lindgren I-2033</i>	5.13	19	-	ΖΟΣ=277=36/35 BC	AN	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
14	Tantalus-5471	4	18	-	ΖΟΣ=277=36/35 BC	worn	worn
15	AUB-202	5.84	17	12	ΖΟΣ=277=36/35 BC	worn	worn
16	AUB-201	4.65	17	12	ΖΟΣ=277=36/35 BC	AN	worn
17	ANS-1971.193.34	5.35	17	12	ΖΟΣ=277=36/35 BC	MH	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
18	BNF-942	4.56	17	12	ΒΠΣ=282=31/30 BC	MH?	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ

19*	Wildwinds-27.62310	4.77	17	-	ΒΠΣ=282=31/30 BC	AN	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
20	BNF-944	4.74	18	12	ΓΠΣ=283=30/29 BC	off flan	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
21	ANS-1961.154.58	5.13	18	12	ΓΠΣ=283=30/29 BC	EI	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
22	PC1	5.53	18	12	ζΠΣ=286=27/26 BC	MH	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
23	SNG Glasgow-3147	4.61	16.5	12	ζΠΣ=286=27/26 BC	AN	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
24	Ashmolean-Godwyn Bodleian 1110	4.45	17.5	1	ζΠΣ=286=27/26 BC	AN? in exergue	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
25	BM-1980.6.21.7	4.26	17	11	Β9Σ?=292=21/20 BC	?	?
26	BNF-950	4.93	17	11	Β9Σ=292=21/20 BC	none	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
27	acsearch-CGB 25.113	4.81	17	12	Β9Σ=292=21/20 BC	EI	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
28	PC2	4.52	17.6	12	Ε9Σ=295=18/17 BC	off flan	off flan
29	SNG Glasgow-3148	4.28	17	12	Ε9Σ=295=18/17 BC	QE	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
30	PC1	5.1	18	1	uncertain	AN	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
31	PC1	9.53	22	11	worn	worn	worn
32	BNF-962	7.6	21.5	11	worn	off flan	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
33	SNG Munich-806	7.21	-	11	worn	worn	worn
34	Forum-GB48999	4.31	16.4	12	worn	worn	worn
35	Vienna-GR 21659	8.23	21.4	11	worn	worn	worn

c. Group 3

No. 9) Dionysus/thyrsus (RPC I, 4353)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Bust of Dionysus right wearing ivy wreath. At times ligatured ME behind head. Dotted border.

Reverse: Thyrsus tied with ribbon. To right and left downwards ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ, in field various Greek letters/dates.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks
1	<i>BMC Syria 12</i>	6.79	19	1	ΔT=304=9/8 BC	none
2	<i>BMC Syria 13</i>	7.83	20	1	ΔT=304=9/8 BC	MA
3	Ashmolean-CRE 1471	6.87	21.5	12	ΔT=304=9/8 BC	off flan
4	CNG-214.209 (ligatured ME behind head)	7.28	20	12	ΔT=304=9/8 BC	M(?)
5	Berlin-28321	7.97	19	1	ΔT=304=9/8 BC	NOY
6	Berlin-Fox 1873	7.53	22	12	ΔT=304=9/8 BC	MA
7	BNF-945e	6.83	20.5	2	ΔT=304=9/8 BC	NOY
8	BNF-956	7.54	21.5	12	ΔT=304=9/8 BC	MA
9	BNF-957	6.52	21.5	1	ΔT=304=9/8 BC	worn
10	PC2	6.54	20.6	12	ΔT=304=9/8 BC	off flan
11	PC2	6.33	21	12	ΔT=304=9/8 BC	off flan
12	PC3 (ligatured ME)	7.47	22.1	-	ΔT=304=9/8 BC	off flan
13	PC3	6.52	21.6	-	ΔT=304=9/8 BC	off flan
14	<i>SNG Copenhagen-301</i>	7.15	20	12	ΔT=304=9/8 BC	MA
15	<i>SNG Glasgow-3144</i>	6.78	20.5	12	ΔT=304=9/8 BC	MA
16	<i>Lindgren I-2032</i>	6.08	19.5	-	ΔT=304=9/8 BC	worn
17	<i>SNG Munich-807</i>	6.4	-	2	ΔT=304=9/8 BC	worn
18	<i>SNG Munich-808</i>	6.06	-	2	ΔT=304=9/8 BC	worn
19	<i>SNG Righetti-2071</i>	5.73	22.8	1	ΔT=304=9/8 BC	off flan
20	<i>SNG Antiquaries-776</i>	5.95	21	-	ΔT=304=9/8 BC	worn
21	Belgium-895 (ligatured ME)	7.64	19	-	ΔT=304=9/8 BC	off flan
22	Forum-9640 (ligatured ME)	6.83	20	12	ΔT=304=9/8 BC	off flan
23	Wildwinds-Sear 5870	-	22	-	ΔT=304=9/8 BC	NOY
24	AUB-205	8	21	12	ΔT=304=9/8 BC	MA

25	AUB-206	6.91	19	1	$\Delta T=304=9/8$ BC	worn
26	Netherlands-7875	6.67	20.5	12	$\Delta T=304=9/8$ BC	NOY
27*	MA-Münzhandlung Ritter 29374 (ligatured ME)	7.51	-	-	$\Delta T=304=9/8$ BC	off flan
28	MA-Münzhandlung Ritter 33056 (ligatured ME)	6.83	-	-	$\Delta T=304=9/8$ BC	worn
29	Vienna-GR 21661 (ligatured ME)	6.29	20.9	12	$\Delta T=304=9/8$ BC	MA
30	ANS-1944.100.66120 (ligatured ME)	7.03	19	2	$\Delta T=304=9/8$ BC	off flan
31	ANS-1944.100.66121 (ligatured ME)	7.19	20	12	$\Delta T=304=9/8$ BC	off flan
32	ANS-1961.154.59	7.05	20	12	$\Delta T=304=9/8$ BC	off flan
33	ANS-1971.193.35 (ligatured ME)	4.89	18	12	$\Delta T=304=9/8$ BC	MA
34	Athens-6134e (ligatured ME)	-	-	-	$\Delta T=304=9/8$ BC	off flan
35	PC1	5.96	21	12	$\Delta T?=304=9/8$ BC	MA?
36	BNF-946	8.75	23	1	$\Delta T?=304=9/8$ BC	off flan
37	PC2	7.86	20.2	12	$\Delta T?=304=9/8$ BC	NOY
38	BM-R. P. Knight p. 169, no. 2 (ligatured ME)	6.59	20	12	worn	worn

No. 10) Dionysus/Demeter (*RPC I*, 4370)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Bust of Dionysus right wearing ivy wreath. Dotted border.

Reverse: Demeter standing left holding long torch. To right and left downwards ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ¹ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ, in field various Greek letters/dates.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks
1	Ashmolean-Laud Bodleian 1109	6.43	20.5	12	T?=300=13/12 BC	AN in exergue
2	PC2	7.53	22.5	12	T?=300=13/12 BC	nothing in exergue
3	BNF-958	6.87	20.5	12	HT=308=5/4 BC	exergue off flan
4	BNF-958a	6.88	20.5	12	HT=308=5/4 BC	exergue off flan
5	<i>SNG Copenhagen-302</i>	8.57	19.5	12	HT=308=5/4 BC	ME?
6	<i>Lindgren III-1177</i>	7.48	20.5	-	HT=308=5/4 BC	uncertain
7	AUB-207	7.22	19	12	HT=308=5/4 BC	exergue off flan
8	AUB-208	7	12?	12	HT=308=5/4 BC	MA?
9*	MA-M&M 5584	6.88	-	-	HT=308=5/4 BC	ME
10	ANS-1944.100.66115	8.09	22	12	HT=308=5/4 BC	ME
11	ANS-1948.19.2031	8.49	20	12	HT=308=5/4 BC	worn
12	Vienna-GR 21662	5.45	22.1	12	HT?=308=5/4 BC	worn
13	PC2	6.14	21.5	12	worn	exergue off flan
14	Tantalus-32379	7.2	21	-	worn	worn

No. 11) Dionysus/cornucopia (RPC I, 4354)

Denomination: AE, large

¹ At times spelt ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ.

Obverse: Bust of Dionysus right wearing ivy wreath.

Reverse: Cornucopia. To right and left downwards ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ, in field various Greek letters/dates.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks
1	<i>BMC Syria</i> 11	8.31	21	1	ΓΤ=303=10/9 BC	MA
2	Ashmolean-Godwyn, Bodleian 1107	7.34	22.5	1	ΓΤ=303=10/9 BC	MA?
3	PC1 (c/m Tyche head on obverse)	7.17	22.5	1	ΓΤ=303=10/9 BC	Τ?
4	Berlin-Imhoof Blumer 1900	3.99	20.5	12	ΓΤ=303=10/9 BC	worn
5	Berlin-Löbbecke 1906	7.1	21	1	ΓΤ=303=10/9 BC	ΔΙ
6	BNF-954	7.06	22.5	1	ΓΤ=303=10/9 BC	MA
7	BNF-955	7.59	22	12	ΓΤ=303=10/9 BC	A
8*	BNF-Luynes 3458	8.45	22	12	ΓΤ=303=10/9 BC	ΔΙ
9	PC2	5.76	20	12	ΓΤ=303=10/9 BC	MA
10	PC3	5.77	21.55	-	ΓΤ=303=10/9 BC	MA
11	<i>SNG Braunschweig</i> -1369	5.66	25	12	ΓΤ=303=10/9 BC	MA
12	<i>SNG Copenhagen</i> -300	6.68	20	12	ΓΤ=303=10/9 BC	MA
13	<i>SNG Glasgow</i> -3145	8.44	20	12	ΓΤ=303=10/9 BC	ΔΙ
14	<i>SNG Glasgow</i> -3146	7.73	21.5	12	ΓΤ=303=10/9 BC	ΔΙ
15	<i>Lindgren III</i> -1175b	7.34	-	-	ΓΤ=303=10/9 BC	MA
16	ANS-1948.19.2032	7.12	21	12	ΓΤ=303=10/9 BC	ΔΙ?
17	PC2	7.09	20	12	ΓΤ?=303=10/9 BC	worn

No. 12) Zeus/Tyche seated (RPC I, 4371)

Denomination: AE, small

Obverse: Laureate bust of Zeus right. Dotted border.

Reverse: Tyche seated left holding corn ears(?).

To right and left downwards ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ, in field various Greek letters/dates.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks
1	BNF-959	5.08	17	1	HT=308=5/4 BC	ME in exergue
2*	Vcoins-Incitus Coins	6	17	-	uncertain	AN? in exergue
3	PC6	5.5	19	12	HT=308=5/4 BC	MϚ or MΣ in exergue

2. Augustus

No. 13) Augustus/Nike (*RPC I*, 4372)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Laureate bust right. Dotted border.

Reverse: Nike advancing left holding wreath and palm. To right and left downwards ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ, in field various Greek letters/dates.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks
1	CNG-78.1449	9.84	22	12	HK?=28=4/3 BC	worn
2	PC1	10.15	24	12	HK=28=4/3 BC	worn
3*	<i>SNG Glasgow</i> -3150 (fragmented)	10.49	-	12	HK=28=4/3 BC	ΔH in exergue

No. 14) Augustus/Tyche (RPC I, 4373)

Denomination: AE, small

Obverse: Laureate bust right. Dotted border.

Reverse: Turreted and veiled bust of Tyche right. To right and left downwards ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ, in field various Greek letters/dates.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks
1	Ashmolean-Martin 1975	7.09	21	12	HK=28=4/3 BC	ΔH in exergue
2	Berlin-Imhoof Blumer 1900	8.29	21	1	HK=28=4/3 BC	
3	Berlin-Cassel 1925	6.34	21	12	HK=28=4/3 BC	
4*	BNF-1968.115	6.91	21.5	12	HK=28=4/3 BC	
5	PC2	6.89	21.2	12	HK=28=4/3 BC	AH? below Tyche's bust
6	<i>SNG Glasgow</i> -3151	7.02	-	12	HK=28=4/3 BC	ΔH?
7	<i>Lindgren I</i> -2039	6.41	21	-	HK?=28=4/3 BC	
8	PC1	7.35	19.5	1	HK?=28=4/3 BC	
9	PC2	7.95	21.9	12	HK?=28=4/3 BC	
10	PC1	7.08	20.5	1	worn	
11	PC1 (c/m Tyche head on obv.)	5.82	21	12	worn	
12	CNG-181.241	6.43	20	12	worn	

3. Tiberius

No. 15a) Tiberius/Nike left (*RPC I*, 4374)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Bare bust right.

Reverse: Nike standing left holding wreath and palm. To right and left downwards ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ, in field various Greek letters/dates.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks
1*	BM-1986.4.34.16	10.21	23.5	12	ϸKT=326=14/15 AD	none
2	PC1	8.83	21.5	12	ϸKT=326=14/15 AD	none

No. 15b) Tiberius/Nike right (*RPC I*, 4375)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Bare bust right. Dotted border.

Reverse: Nike advancing right holding wreath and palm. To left and right upwards ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ, in field various Greek letters/dates.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Die Axis	Date	Field Marks
1	BNF-964	9.28	25	1	ςKT=326=14/15 AD	none
2	<i>SNG Glasgow-3152</i>	10.38	-	12	ςKT=326=14/15 AD	none
3*	Belgium-896	10.63	23	-	ςKT=326=14/15 AD	none

No. 16) Tyche/Athena advancing (*Lindgren III*, 1178)

Denomination: AE, small

Obverse: Turreted and veiled bust of Tyche right. Dotted border.

Reverse: Athena advancing left holding shield and spear. To right and left downwards ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ, in field various Greek letters/dates.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks
1	<i>SNG Glasgow-3149</i>	7.59	21	12	ςKT=326=14/15 AD	off flan
2*	<i>Lindgren III-1178</i>	7.68	21.5	-	ςKT=326=14/15 AD	none
3	AUB-209	8.95	22	12	ςKT=326=14/15 AD	none
4	PC1 (c/m Tyche head on obv.)	6.42	-	-	worn	worn

4. Claudius

No. 17) Claudius/seated Tyche (*RPC I*, 4377)

Denomination: AR, tetradrachm

Obverse: Laureate bust right. Around clockwise ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ. Fillet border.

Reverse: Tyche seated left holding corn ears in outstretched right hand and sceptre in left; at side shield engraved with scorpion; at feet river god swimming left. Around clockwise ΚΛΑΥΔΙΕΩΝ ΑΠΙΜΕΩΝ, in field ΕΛ and ΕΤ Β. Dotted border.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Die Axis	Date	Field Marks
1*	BNF-1973.1.352	13.69	26.5	1	ET B	ΕΛ
2	Imhoof-Blumer 1913, p. 108, no. 292a	15	-	-	-	-

No. 18) Zeus/Nike (*RPC I*, 4377)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Laureate bust of Zeus right. Dotted border.

Reverse: Nike advancing left holding wreath and palm. To right and left downwards ΚΛΑΥΔΙΕΩΝ ΑΠΙΜΕΩΝ, in left field ΕΤΟ Α.
Dotted border.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks
1	BNF-965a	5.56	19	12	ETO A	none
2*	Wildwinds-27.62350	5.37	18	-	ETO A	none
3	AUB-210	5.45	17	1	ETO A	none

No. 19) Zeus/seated Tyche (RPC I, 4378)

Denomination: AE, small (?)

Obverse: Laureate bust of Zeus right. Dotted border.

Reverse: Tyche seated left holding corn ears; at side shield; at feet river god swimming left. Clockwise around ΚΛΑΥΔΙΕΩΝ

ΑΠΙΜΕΩΝ, in left field ETO B. Dotted border.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks
1	Berlin-286.1911	6.35	18.5	12	ETO B	none
2*	BNF-965	6.11	19	1	ETO B	none
3	<i>SNG Glasgow</i> -3153	6.1	-	12	ETO B	none
4	Netherlands-GR 1949.68	7.28	20.6	1	ETO B	none

B. Larissa













1. Civic issues




No. 20) Zeus/throne (*BMC Syria*, 1)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Laureate head of Zeus right. Dotted border.

Reverse: Throne. To right and left downwards ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ, in centre monogram  over M, in exergue ZKΣ.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks
1	Ashmolean-Godwyn Bodleian 1117	8.78	19	11	ZKΣ=227=86/85 BC	monogram  over M
2	PC1	8.26	20.5	12	ZKΣ=227=86/85 BC	monogram  over M
3	BM-1872.07.09.333	-	17.5	11	ZKΣ=227=86/85 BC	monogram  over M
4	CNG-Triton V.530	5.89	19	-	ZKΣ=227=86/85 BC	monogram  over M
5*	CNG-201.130	9.77	20	11	ZKΣ=227=86/85 BC	monogram  over M
6	CNG-203.186	6.99	19	12	ZKΣ=227=86/85 BC	monogram  over M
7	PC3	7.17	20.8	-	ZKΣ=227=86/85 BC	monogram  over M
8	<i>SNG Braunschweig</i> -1386	6.88	19	12	ZKΣ=227=86/85 BC	monogram  over M
9	<i>Lindgren I</i> -2109	7.18	20	-	ZKΣ=227=86/85 BC	monogram  over M
10	CNG-57.869	7.65	21	-	ZKΣ=227=86/85 BC	monogram  over M
11	Smithsonian	8.49	-	6	ZKΣ=227=86/85 BC	monogram  over M
12	<i>SNG Munich</i> -953	7.64	-	11	indistinct	monogram  over M






13	BNF-1288	6.7	20	12	off flan	monogram  over M
14	MA-Münzhandlung Ritter 29384	7.8	-	-	off flan	monogram  over M
15	PC1	8.02	22	12	worn	monogram  over M
16	PC5	6.7	19	12	worn	worn

No. 21) Tyche/horse (BNF, 1289)

Denomination: AE, small

Obverse: Turreted and veiled bust of Tyche right. Dotted border.

Reverse: Horse prancing left. Above and below ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ, above horse monogram  and M, below date ΖΚΣ.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks
1*	Elsen-Dec. 2007, 860	3.59	16	-	ZKΣ=227=86/85 BC	monogram  over M
2	BNF-1289	3.15	17	12	ZKΣ=227=86/85 BC	monogram  over M
3	PC2	3.32	15.9	12	ZKΣ=227=86/85 BC	monogram  over M
4	Vienna-GR 21792	4.28	15.5	12	ZKΣ=227=86/85 BC	monogram  over M
5	PC2	4.04	16.6	12	worn	monogram  over M

C. Epiphanea

No coins have been minted in Epiphanea of Syria.

D. Raphanea

1. Elagabalus

No. 22) Elagabalus/seated genius (*BMC Syria*, 7)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Radiate or laureate bust right, at times draped. Around clockwise AVT K M AVP ANTΩNEINOC.

Reverse: Genius seated left holding patera in right hand and flanked by two eagles; at feet bull; in right field cornucopia. Around clockwise PEΦANEΩTΩN.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Legend variety
1	<i>BMC Syria</i> 1 (erroneously listed under Caracalla)	10.63	24	12?	-	PEΦANEΩTΩN
2	BM-1975.4.11.175	6.9	23	6?	-	PEΦANEΩTΩN
3	Vcoins-Kovacs 4538	10.47	23	-	-	PEΦANEΩTΩN
4	BNF-1301	9.45	24	1	-	PEΦANEΩTΩN
5	BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1747	9.08	23.5	6	-	PEΦANEΩTΩN
6	acsearch-CGB 115623	8.07	22	12	-	PEΦANEΩTΩN
7*	Aeqvitas	-	23	-	-	PEΦANEΩTΩN
8	Homs-94	-	23	-	-	worn

No. 23) Elagabalus/standing genius (*BMC Syria*, 6)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Radiate or laureate bust right, at times draped. Around clockwise AVT K M A ANTΩNINOC; AVT K M AVP
ANTΩNINOC; AVT K M A ANTΩNEINOC; AV K ANTΩNINOC.

Reverse: Genius standing left holding patera in right hand and flanked by two eagles; at feet bull; in right field cornucopia. Around
clockwise PEΦANEΩN; PEΦANEΩTΩN, at times date in exergue.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Legend variety
1	<i>BMC Syria</i> 2 (erroneously listed under Caracalla)	6.98	24	6?		PEΦANEΩN
2	Berlin-Löbbecke 1906	6.47	22.5	7		PEΦANEΩN
3	BNF-1299	6.02	24	12		PEΦANEΩN
4	BNF-1300	9.08	22.5	1		PEΦANEΩN
5	PC2	6.01	23.2	6	indistinct date	PEΦANEΩN
6	<i>Lindgren I-2115</i>	9.2	24	-	symbol in exergue	PEΦANEΩN
7	acsearch-M&M 14.684	9.44	-	-		PEΦANEΩN
8	Forum-17555	9.59	23.7	12		PEΦANEΩN
9	ANS-1944.100.66531	8.4	22	6		PEΦANEΩN
10	ANS-1961.154.104	6.83	22	6		PEΦANEΩN
11	Yale-2001.87.12452	6.49	23	6		PEΦANEΩN
12	BNF-1302	7.47	21.5	12		PEΦANEΩN?
13	BNF-1303	8.31	24	7		PEΦANEΩN?
14	Berlin-Löbbecke 1906	8.4	22.5	12		PEΦANEΩTΩN
15	Berlin-Imhoof Blumer 1900	6.75	22.5	12		PEΦANEΩTΩN
16	Berlin-86/1871	5.61	24	1	ΒΛΦ=532=220/221 AD	PEΦANEΩTΩN

17	BNF-1301a	9.47	22.5	6		PEΦANEΩTΩN
18	BNF-1301b	10.09	26	1		PEΦANEΩTΩN
19	PC2	7.48	23	12		PEΦANEΩTΩN
20	PC2	7.82	24.05	12		PEΦANEΩTΩN
21	PC2	7	23.4	12		PEΦANEΩTΩN
22	PC2	7.74	22.4	12		PEΦANEΩTΩN
23	PC2	6.82	22.35	12		PEΦANEΩTΩN
24	PC2	6.88	22.65	12	ΒΛΦ=532=220/221 AD	PEΦANEΩTΩN
25*	PC3	8.66	23.45	-		PEΦANEΩTΩN
26	<i>SNG Glasgow-3175</i>	8.94	24	12		PEΦANEΩTΩN
27	<i>Lindgren I-2116</i>	9.84	24.5	-		PEΦANEΩTΩN
28	<i>SNG Munich-959</i>	8.23	-	6		PEΦANEΩTΩN
29	<i>SNG Munich-961</i>	5.43	-	6		PEΦANEΩTΩN
30	<i>SNG Munich-962</i>	7.81	-	6		PEΦANEΩTΩN
31	<i>SNG Righetti-2129</i> (erroneously listed under Caracalla)	8.4	23.2	11		PEΦANEΩTΩN
32	PC5	7.9	24	6		PEΦANEΩTΩN
33	acsearch-M&M 14.683	7.71	-	-		PEΦANEΩTΩN
34	acsearch-M&M 20.751	8.3	25	-		PEΦANEΩTΩN
35	Forum-13195	6.71	23	6		PEΦANEΩTΩN
36	ANS-1944.100.66530	6.33	22	6		PEΦANEΩTΩN
37	ANS-1944.100.66532	9.67	24	12		PEΦANEΩTΩN
38	ANS-1948.19.2089	7.44	22	6		PEΦANEΩTΩN
39	Smithsonian	5.49	-	12		PEΦANEΩTΩN
40	PC1	5.75	23	11		PEΦANEΩTΩN?
41	BNF-Y23879.237	7.14	24	7		PEΦANEΩT (<i>sic</i>)
42	acsearch-M&M 20.750 (erroneously listed under Caracalla)	9.17	23	-		indistinct
43	acsearch-Künker 97.1696	11.17	-	-		indistinct
44	acsearch-Rauch 786 (2007)	6.57	-	-		indistinct
45	Vienna-GR 21806	9.92	23.5	6		indistinct

46	Vienna-GR 29310	11.68	22.9	6		indistinct
47	PC2	8.08	22.3	5		off flan
48	<i>SNG Copenhagen-385</i>	8.1	22	6		off flan
49	PC5	7.5	24	1		off flan
50	PC5	8.8	24	12	ΒΛΦ=532=220/221 AD	off flan
51	Aeqvitas	10.62	26	-	ΒΛΦ=532=220/221 AD	off flan
52	Aeqvitas	-	23	-		off flan
53	<i>BMC Syria 3</i>	7.48	23.5	12		uncertain
54	PC1	7.97	22	6		uncertain
55	PC1	6.75	24	1	ΒΛΦ=532=220/221 AD	uncertain
56	PC1	11.21	23	1	ΒΛΦ=532=220/221 AD	uncertain
57	PC2	9.21	23.5	6	indistinct date	uncertain
58	PC2	5.02	21.55	6		uncertain
59	PC2	9.29	23.1	12		uncertain
60	PC2	7.92	24.4	6		uncertain
61	PC2	5.81	23.4	6		uncertain
62	PC3	9.5	22.55	-		uncertain
63	Berlin-Löbbecke 1906	6.25	22	1		worn
64	Berlin-28323	8.4	22	6		worn
65	BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1748	8.7	23.5	1		worn
66	BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1749	6.66	22	5		worn
67	BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1750	6.7	22	6		worn
68	VCoins-Connors bg256	-	20	-		worn
69	<i>SNG Munich-960</i>	6.16	-	6		worn
70	<i>SNG Righetti-2130 (erroneously listed under Caracalla)</i>	7.96	23.2	11		worn
71	PC5	6.8	26	6		worn
72	Tantalus-7883	6.95	22	6		worn
73	Vienna-GR 21805	5.89	23.2	11		worn
74	Harvard-1980.85.215	7.73	-	-		worn

No. 24) Severus Alexander/standing genius (*BMC Syria*, 4)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Draped bust of Severus Alexander right, head bare. Around clockwise M AVP AΛEΞANΔPOC.

Reverse: Genius standing left holding patera in right hand and flanked by two eagles; at feet bull; in right field cornucopia. Around clockwise PEΦANEΩTΩN; PEΦANEΩN, at times date in exergue.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Legend variety
1	eBay	-	23	-		PEΦANEΩN
2	PC2	6.19	23.45	12		PEΦANEΩN
3	PC2	8.62	24.2	6		PEΦANEΩN
4*	<i>BMC Syria</i> 4	7.06	23	12?		PEΦANEΩTΩN
5	BNF-1305	9.03	22.5	5		PEΦANEΩTΩN
6	BNF-1304	6.85	24	12	indistinct date	PEΦANEΩTΩN
7	PC2	5.98	23.2	6		PEΦANEΩTΩN
8	AUB-242	8.44	23	12		PEΦANEΩTΩN
9	PC1	7.08	22.5	1		indistinct
10	Berlin-Löbbecke 1906	7.47	23	6		indistinct
11	BNF-1303a	7.26	23	6	possible letter below obverse bust	indistinct
12	PC1	5.77	24.5	12		off flan
13	BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1751	7.08	23	6		off flan
14	PC1	7.07	23	12		uncertain
15	PC1	9.86	23.5	12		uncertain
16	BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1752	8.57	24	6		uncertain

17	BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1752a	5.32	22.5	6		uncertain
18	PC2	6.9	24.02	12		uncertain
19	PC2	6.18	22.1	6		uncertain
20	<i>Lindgren III-1210</i>	6.35	24.5	-	symbol in exergue	uncertain
21	acsearch-M&M 14.685	13.47	-	-		uncertain
22	BNF-Y23879.238	9.07	22.5	6		worn
23	PC2	10.96	24.75	6		worn
24	ANS-1944.100.66533	7.18	24	6		worn

No. 25) Elagabalus/bull (NC 2011, 78)

Denomination: AE, small

Obverse: Radiate bust right. Around clockwise ...ANTΩNINO....

Reverse: Humped bull right. Around clockwise ΠΕΦΑ...N.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Legend
1*	NC 2011, 78	2.5	14	12	-	ΠΕΦΑ...N

E. Arethusa

No coins have been minted in Arethusa.

F. Emesa

1. Antoninus Pius

No. 26a) Perched eagle right (*BMC Syria*, 1-4, 6-7)²

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Laureate bust right, at times draped. Around clockwise AVT KAI TI AIA AΔPIAN ANTΩNEINOC CEB EVCE.

Reverse: Eagle standing right on ovoid stone; head turned left with wreath in beak. Around clockwise EMICHNWN,³ in right field: A;

B; Γ; Δ; E; ζ; Z.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Field Mark
1	<i>BMC Syria</i> 1	9.14	21.5	12	A
2	PC1	7.92	23	12	A
3	Berlin-12620	8.14	22.5	12	A
4	BNF-976	8.78	24	12	A
5	BNF-977	9.74	23.5	12	A
6	PC3	11.45	24.45	-	A

² See also the RPC IV online database for Emesene issues of this emperor (<http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk>).

³ Very rarely spelt EMICHNΩN.

7	<i>SNG Copenhagen-307</i>	10.39	20.5	11	A
8	<i>SNG Glasgow-3154</i>	13.29	24	12	A
9	<i>Lindgren I-2040</i>	9.73	25	-	A
10	AUB-223	8.95	22	11	A
11	ANS-1961.154.67	8.52	21	5	A
12	Homs-1328	-	23.5	12	A
13	Smithsonian	7.75	-	12	A
14	PC1 (star and crescent on stone)	8.86	21.5	12	B
15	PC1	8.33	23	12	B
16	PC1	-	22	12	B
17	CNG-185.227	9.67	24	12	B
18	PC5	10.3	22.5	12	B
19	Berlin-C. R. Fox 1873(star and crescent on stone)	11.24	23.5	11	B
20	Berlin-Löbbecke 1906	8.1	24	12	B
21	Berlin-5136	11.21	24.5	11	B
22*	BNF-Vogue 251	10.66	22.5	11	B
23	PC3	9.04	24.3	-	B
24	Vcoins-Sayles & Lavender 15924	8.01	22	12	B
25	<i>SNG Glasgow-3155</i>	8.79	22	12	B
26	<i>SNG Antiquaries-777</i>	8.83	23	12	B
27	Winterthur-G 5158	9.37	22.9	12	B
28	acsearch-CNG 57.863	11.82	25	-	B
29	Aeqvitas	-	23	-	B
30	wildwinds-eBay 3934618118	10.86	23	-	B
31	ANS-1944.100.66174	10.88	25	12	B
32	Vienna-GR 21664	9.58	23.2	11	B
33	Vienna-GR 21665 (forgery?)	8.78	22.5	11	B
34	Yale-1938.6000.1275	0.89	24	12	B
35	<i>BMC Syria 2</i>	12.36	23.5	12	Γ

36	<i>BMC Syria 3</i>	6.66	22.5	12	Γ
37	<i>BMC Syria 4</i>	10.6	23.5	12	Γ
38	Ashmolean-Christ Church 2060	8.04	23.5	12	Γ
39	Berlin-C. R. Fox 1873	9.28	24	11	Γ
40	BNF-978	9.36	22.5	1	Γ
41	BNF-979 (unusual feature on top of stone)	8.95	22.5	12	Γ
42	<i>SNG Copenhagen-309</i>	9.89	22.5	12	Γ
43	Vienna-GR 21666	7.57	23.2	12	Γ
44	Harvard-1980.85.199	8.34	-	-	Γ
45	Ashmolean-Douce	7.98	22.5	12	Δ
46	CNG-213.317	9.69	23	6	Δ
47	CNG-191.101	10.63	-	12	Δ
48	BNF-1520	9.2	21.5	12	Δ
49	BNF-980	9.19	23	12	Δ
50	BNF-Y23879.243	10.06	24	1	Δ
51	PC3	9.35	23.65	-	Δ
52	Vcoins-Sayles & Lavender 16137	10.08	22	12	Δ
53	<i>SNG Glasgow-3156</i>	10.13	22	12	Δ
54	<i>SNG Glasgow-3157</i>	8.99	22	6	Δ
55	<i>SNG Righetti-2076</i>	9.02	22.1	12	Δ
56	wildwinds-vauctions 62725	8.5	23	-	Δ
57	AUB-225	10.14	21	1	Δ
58	Falghera-964	8.78	22	1	Δ
59	Yale-2004.6.3674	9.84	22	12	Δ
60	<i>BMC Syria 6 (star on stone)</i>	11.55	23.5	12	E
61	<i>BMC Syria 7</i>	10.28	22	12	E
62	PC1	8.42	23	12	E
63	CNG-72.1244	10.65	23	12	E
64	CNG-112.158	9.53	21	-	E

65	Berlin-Imhoof Blumer 1900	10.47	22.5	11	E
66	BNF-981	7.73	22	12	E
67	BNF-982	11.03	23	12	E
68	<i>SNG Glasgow</i> -3158	10.04	22.5	12	E
69	<i>SNG Munich</i> -811	9.51	-	12	E
70	Falghera-965	8.47	22.5	11	E
71	ANS-1944.100.66175	9.73	24	12	E
72	Homs-2116	7.2	-	-	E
73	Yale-2009.110.33	10.49	24.2	11	E
74	BNF-983	10.48	22.5	6	ς
75	<i>SNG Munich</i> -812	10.04	-	12	ς
76	AUB-224	9.73	22	12	ς
77	tantalus-27667	9.6	22	-	ς?
78	CNG-203.389	9.58	24	6	Z
79	wildwinds-eBay 205778600	-	22	-	worn

No. 26b) Perched eagle left (*BMC Syria*, 5)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Laureate bust right. Around clockwise AVT KAI TI AIA AΔPIAN ANTΩNEINOC CEB EVCE.

Reverse: Eagle standing left on ovoid stone; head turned left with wreath in beak. Around clockwise EMICHNWN, in left field: Γ.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Field Mark
1*	<i>BMC Syria</i> 5	11.79	23	12	Γ
2	BNF-1521	8.44	23	5	worn

No. 27) Sun god (*BMC Syria*, 8)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Laureate bust right, at times draped. Around clockwise AVTOKPATO KAI TI AIA AΔPIAN ANTΩNEIN...

Reverse: Radiate bust of sun god right. Around clockwise EMICHNWN; EMICHNΩN, in field: A; B; Γ.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Field Mark
1	BNF-973	8.72	24	6	A
2	BM-1980.6.21.5	8.39	23.5	12	B
3	BNF-974	7.83	22	12	B
4	PC3	9.74	22.5	-	B
5	<i>SNG Copenhagen</i> -308	9.79	21	12	B
6	Wildwinds-64783	11.8	24	-	B
7	<i>SNG Glasgow</i> -3159	9.79	22	6	B?
8*	ANS-1974.276.10	9.04	22	12	B?
9	Ashmolean-Jesus College	7.08	22.5	4	Γ
10	BNF-975	9.01	23.5	12	Γ
11	<i>BMC Syria</i> 8	10.74	23	11	Z (Γ converted to Z)
12	<i>Lindgren I</i> -2041	8.98	21	-	unidentifiable
13	Tantalus-30634	9.7	23	7	unidentifiable

No. 28a) Tyche seated front (*Lindgren I*, 2042)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Laureate bust right, at times draped. Around clockwise AVT KAI TI AIA AΔP ANTΩNEINOC CEB EY.

Reverse: Tyche seated facing; at feet river god swimming right.

Around clockwise EMICHNWN, in field E.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Field Mark
1*	Berlin-C. R. Fox 1873	10.73	24.5	12	E
2	CNG-250.464	-	23	-	E
3	PC3	8.33	22	-	E?
4	<i>Lindgren I-2042</i>	10.35	23	-	uncertain
5	<i>SNG Munich-813</i>	7.74	-	2	uncertain

No. 28b) Tyche seated right (BNF-Y28359.1960)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Laureate bust right. Around clockwise ...

Reverse: Tyche seated right holding stalks of wheat; at feet river god swimming right. Around clockwise ...M...NWN.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Field Mark
1*	BNF-Y28359 1960	10.23	21.5	12	-

No. 28c) Tyche seated left (Berlin-Löbbecke 1906)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Laureate bust right. Around clockwise AVT KAI TI...A...

Reverse: Tyche seated left holding stalks of wheat; at feet river god swimming left. Around clockwise EMI...N...N, in right field below

Tyche: Δ.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Field Mark
1*	Berlin-Löbbecke 1906	9.02	22	12	Δ

2. Caracalla

No. 29) Caracalla (Bellinger, 184-198)

Denomination: AR, tetradrachm

Obverse: Laureate bust right. Around clockwise AYT K M ANTΩNEINOC CEB; AYT K M A ANTΩNEINOC CEB.⁴ Dotted border.

Reverse: Eagle standing facing with spread wings; head turned left with wreath in beak; between legs radiate and draped bust of sun

god left.⁵ Around clockwise ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΥΠΑ ΤΟ Δ; ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΥΠΑ Τ Δ; ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΞ ΥΠΑΤΟΣ

⁴ The Ω is at times inscribed ω.

⁵ A single specimen depicts the bust of the sun god facing (*BMC Syria*, 10).

TO Δ; ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΕ ΥΠΙΑΤΟC T Δ; ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΕ ΥΠΙΑΤΟ T Δ, in field A;⁶ H; o; pellet (single or double); crescent (left, right or upward); and at times no symbol. Dotted border.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Die Axis	Date	Field Marks
1	BM-1853.10.6.10	11.6	25.5	7	TO Δ	A
2	BM-1897.1.4.2	11.66	28.5	12	TO Δ	A
3	BM-BMC Syria 8	11.68	24.5	1	TO Δ	o
4	BM-BMC Syria 10 (sun god facing forward)	11.69	24.5	12	worn	worn
5	Ashmolean-Walker	11.48	29.5	12	TO Δ	crescent up
6	Ashmolean-Amedioz 1897	11.59	25.5	12	off flan	crescent up
7	Ashmolean-Amedioz	11.71	25	1	TO Δ	A
8	Ashmolean-Bodlean	13.45	25	6	TO Δ	crescent up
9	Ashmolean-Bodlean	12.45	24.5	12	off flan	o
10	CNG-210.129	13.72	26	1	TO Δ	crescent up
11	CNG-94.118	13.36	25	-	TO Δ	crescent up
12	CNG-67.1143	9.44	-	-	TO Δ	no field mark
13	CNG-Triton XI.511	13.1	-	6	TO Δ	H
14	CNG-205.310	12.34	24	12	TO Δ	H
15	CNG-194.160	14.44	26	1	TO Δ	A
16	CNG-146.152	11.38	26	-	TO Δ	A
17*	CNG-Triton V.1766	13.99	-	-	TO Δ	o
18	CNG-232.142	10.78	25	12	TO Δ	crescent up
19	CNG-240.333	13.11	26	12	TO Δ	o

⁶ At times engraved as Λ or Δ.

20	CNG-240.332	13.54	26	12	TO Δ	o
21	CNG- 85.643	14.36	27	12	TO Δ	A
22	CNG-238.272	13.14	25	12	TO Δ	H
23	Berlin-11628	12.83	25.5	12	TO Δ	H
24	BNF-Y19566	13.74	25.9	11	TO Δ	pellet behind head and below wreath
25	BNF-Y19567	14.09	26.9	1	TO Δ	A
26	BNF-1989.341	13.21	26.3	12	TO Δ	-
27	BNF-Y19564	11.75	25.2	6	T Δ	o
28	BNF-Y19565	13.34	28.6	1	TO Δ	crescent up
29	BNF-990	15.39	25.8	7	TO Δ	A
30	BNF-Y19562	11.48	27.3	1	TO Δ	crescent right
31	BNF-Y19561	12.57	26.3	1	TO Δ	crescent up
32	BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1906	13.43	26	1	TOC III	A
33	PC3	11.92	29.3	-	TO Δ (?)	A
34	<i>SNG Glasgow-3163</i>	12.4	26	6	TO Δ	o (?)
35	<i>SNG Glasgow-3164</i>	13.9	24.5	6	TO Δ	H
36	<i>SNG Righetti-2080</i>	11.73	26.4	12	TO Δ	H
37	<i>SNG Righetti-2081</i>	14.17	25.5	12	TO Δ	H
38	Neuchâtel-73	12.85	24.9	12	TO Δ	uncertain
39	<i>SNG Sweden-634</i>	13.6	26	12	TO Δ	H
40	acsearch-Auctiones AG 29.812	15.13	-	-	TO Δ	H
41	acsearch-CGB 173709	12.73	24	1	TO Δ	o
42	acsearch-CGB 173692	13.49	25	12	TO Δ	A
43	acsearch-CGB 173697	13.01	27	12	TO Δ	no field mark
44	acsearch-CGB 173703	12.91	25	12	TO Δ	H
45	acsearch-CGB 173704	13.95	25	1	TO Δ	H
46	acsearch-Lanz 132.425	-	25	-	off flan	A
47	acsearch-CGB 173710	13.01	26	6	worn	worn

48	acsearch-CGB 173714	13.5	24	1	TO Δ	crescent behind eagle
49	acsearch-CGB 173718	12.88	24	12	TO Δ	pellet behind head and below wreath
50	acsearch-CGB 173719	10	25	12	worn	double crescent?
51	acsearch-Künker 97.1629	13.51	-	-	TO Δ	o
52	Forum-10736	14.85	25.9	12	TO Δ	o
53	Forum-32990	10.84	24.5	12	worn	worn
54	Wildwinds-HJB ancient coins	13.24	-	-	TO Δ	A
55	Netherlands-7724	11.31	27.4	1	TO Δ	o
56	Boston-1998.525	13.16	27.5	7	TO Δ	A
57	Yale-2005.6.54	13.37	25	6	TO Δ	crescent up
58	Yale-2009.110.131	14.58	25.7	12	TO Δ	H
59	Yale-1938.6000.1011	11.24	25.5	12	TO Δ	crescent up
60	Yale-1938.6000.1012	15.02	25	12	TO Δ	see note
61	Yale-1938.6000.1013	10.97	25.5	12	off flan	crescent left
62	Yale-1938.6000.1024	10.78	25.5	6	worn	o
63	Yale-2001.87.11108	10.66	25.3	1	off flan	A

No. 30) Julia Domna (Bellinger, 178-183)

Denomination: AR, tetradrachm

Obverse: Draped bust right. Around clockwise IOYΛΙΑ AYTOYCTA. Dotted border.

Reverse: Eagle standing facing with spread wings; head turned left with wreath in beak; between legs radiate and draped bust of sun god left. Around clockwise ΔHMAPX EEOYCIAC, in field A; Γ; H; o; crescent (left or upward). Dotted border.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Die Axis	Date	Field Marks
1	BM-1853.10-6-1	14.31	26	11		o
2	Ashmolean-Walker	14.15	26	12		o
3	CNG-216.362	12.3	27	5		o
4	CNG-82.861	12.27	-	11		o
5	CNG-210.128	13.77	26	11		o
6	CNG-60.1368	11.63	-	-		o
7	CNG-81.816	13.66	-	12		o
8	CNG-79.650	11.93	-	1	TO Δ	A
9	CNG-137.111	13.13	25	-		A
10*	CNG-60.1367	11.98	-	-		o
11	Berlin-Loebbecke 1906	15.98	27	12		no symbol
12	Berlin-Imhoof Blumer 1900	11.67	25.5	12		H
13	Berlin-Loebbecke 1906	13.39	27	6		o
14	Berlin-11779 (pierced)	11.84	27.5	11		o
15	BNF-984	11.21	26.3	11		o
16	BNF-Y19566	13.21	25.1	11		H
17	BNF-Y19567	13.2	26.9	1		A
18	BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1907	12.64	21.5	6		H
19	<i>SNG Copenhagen-311</i>	12.65	26	12		H
20	<i>SNG Righetti-2078</i>	13.56	27	11		o
21	acsearch-Spink 6026.182	-	-	-		o
22	acsearch-CGB 173702	13.26	24	6		H
23	acsearch-CGB 173708	12.61	25	11		o
24	Forum 17601	11	25.2	12		unusual symbol
25	acsearch-Künker 94.1990	10.1	-	-		o
26	acsearch-Numismatica Ars Classica 2048	14.7	26	-		crescent
27	Bern-G 2815	12.17	26.2	12		H

28	Boston-1971.391	14.8	29	6		Γ
29	Yale-2001.87.2812	12.87	26.5	11		ο

No. 31) Temple façade (*BMC Syria*, 15)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Laureate and draped bust right. Around clockwise AVT K M AVP ANTΩNEINOC CEB.

Reverse: Hexastyle temple façade with ovoid stone in centre placed between religious standards; in front of stone eagle standing facing

with wreath in beak; at times crescent, circle or square in pediment. Around clockwise EMICΩN KOΛΩN; EMICΩN

KOΛΩNI; EMECΩN KOΛΩN, in exergue or in field left and right: ZKΦ; HKΦ.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Symbol on temple
1*	<i>BMC Syria</i> 15	25.22	30.5	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	rectangle in pediment
2	Ashmolean-Christ Church 2060B	22.43	30.5	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	crescent in pediment
3	CNG-73.739	21.99	29	1	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	circle in pediment
4	CNG-79.651	22.86	30	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	nothing in pediment
5	BNF-Y23879.246	21.13	29	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	circle in pediment
6	BNF-992	22.4	31	1	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	crescent in pediment
7	<i>SNG Glasgow</i> -3165	25.22	29.5	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	square in pediment
8	Homs-922	22.1	31	-	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	crescent in pediment
9	Ashmolean-Bouchier 1930	21.89	30.5	12	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	crescent in pediment
10	PC1	21.45	29.5	1	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	-
11	CNG-205.311	21.22	28	1	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	crescent in pediment
12	CNG-235.365	25.35	30	11	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	crescent in pediment

13	CNG-244.345	20.87	28	12	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	-
14	Berlin-Imhoof Blumer 1900	21.53	30.5	12	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	crescent in pediment
15	BNF-Y23879.247	24.91	31.5	1	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	crescent in pediment
16	PC3	20.79	28.9	-	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	-
17	Beast Coins	18.13	32	-	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	crescent in pediment
18	ANS-1944.100.66184	23.15	29	12	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	crescent in pediment
19	ANS-1944.100.66185	24.72	29	12	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	crescent in pediment
20	ANS-1948.19.2040	22.59	29	12	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	worn
21	ANS-1961.154.68	21.98	28	12	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	-
22	Bern-G 1952	27.52	29.5	12	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	-
23	Vienna-GR 21669	21.68	30.9	1	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	crescent in pediment
24	acsearch-Baldwin's 59-60.761	29.69	30	-	HKΦ?=528=216/217 AD	crescent in pediment
25	BM-1946.10.4.624	29.91	29.5	12	uncertain	-
26	BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1522	24.23	29	12	off flan	crescent in pediment
27	SNG Munich-817	20.34	-	12	off flan	square in pediment
28	acsearch-Gemini VI.638	21.36	29	-	off flan	square in pediment
29	Aeqvitas	-	30	-	off flan	crescent in pediment
30	Yale-2009.110.132	21.35	29.6	12	off flan	square in pediment
31	PC1	21.75	29	12	worn	square in pediment
32	BNF-1002	25.51	29	12	worn	square in pediment
33	acsearch-Elsen 94.852	19.87	-	-	worn	worn
34	Forum-9080	21.9	31.1	12	worn	square in pediment
35	Aeqvitas	-	28	-	worn	square in pediment
36	ANS-1944.100.66186 (pierced)	22.45	28	12	worn	square in pediment
37	ANS-1944.100.66187	20.85	29	12	worn	crescent in pediment
38	Vienna-GR 21668 (pierced)	21.17	29.9	12	worn	crescent in pediment
39	Vienna-GR 21670	19.45	28.6	1	worn	crescent in pediment
40	Homs-717	-	29.5	6	worn	worn
41	Yale-2001.87.11109	18.83	29	12	worn	crescent in pediment

No. 32a) Temple right (BM-1946.10.4.624)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Laureate and draped bust right. Around clockwise AVT K M AVP ANTΩNEINOC CEB.

Reverse: Temple seen from front and side. Around clockwise EMICΩN KOΛΩNIAC; EMECΩN KOΛΩNIAC, in exergue: ZKΦ;

HKΦ.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date
1	<i>BMC Syria</i> 16	16.54	32	11	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
2	Ashmolean-Bouchier 1930	17.48	31	1	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
3	PC1	21.64	29.5	1	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
4	CNG-115.299	23.13	30	-	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
5*	CNG-73.740	22.3	30	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
6	CNG-150730	23.13	30	-	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
7	BNF-991	22.9	29.5	6	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
8	Vcoins-T. Cederlind RI1493	24.16	29	-	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
9	BNF-Y28045, 990a	21.63	29	1	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD
10	<i>Mabbott-2565</i>	-	-	-	HKΦ?=528=216/217 AD
11	acsearch-M&M 11.150	22.78	-	-	worn

No. 32b) Temple left (*SNG Munich*, 818-819)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Laureate and draped bust right. Around clockwise AVT K M AVP ANTΩNEINOC CEB.

Reverse: Temple seen from front and side. Around clockwise EMICΩN KOΛΩNIAC; EMECΩN KOΛΩNIAC, in exergue: ZKΦ;

HKΦ.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date
1	CNG-168.171	25.01	30	-	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
2*	SNG Munich-818	22.77	-	1	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
3	Yale-1938.6000.1701	24.88	32.1	6	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
4	SNG Munich-819	19.94	-	7	worn

No. 33) Julia Domna/altar (*BMC Syria*, 9-12)

Denomination: AE, medium

Obverse: Draped bust right of Julia Domna. Around clockwise IOVΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ; IOVΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ AVΓ; IOVΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ CEB;

IOVΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ AVΓOY.

Reverse: Altar with two rows of statues in niches. At times the altar is lighted.⁷ Around clockwise EMICΩN KOΛΩN; EMICΩN

KOΛΩNI; EMICΩN KOΛΩNIAC, in exergue: ZKΦ; HKΦ.

⁷ At times a crescent is also placed next to the flame.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Notes
1	<i>BMC Syria 9</i>	13.44	27	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
2	<i>BMC Syria 10</i>	12.58	24	6	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
3	<i>BMC Syria 11</i>	15.15	27	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
4	CNG-213.318	10.33	24	6	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
5	CNG-115.298	15.66	25	-	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
6	CNG-75.842	15.2	25	6	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
7	CNG-181.248	12.47	25	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
8	CNG-191.102	13.46	25	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
9	CNG-243.269	10.49	30	6	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
10	Berlin-C.R.Fox 1873	11.99	25	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
11	Berlin-Imhoof Blumer 1900	15.64	27	6	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
12	Berlin-Löbbecke 1906	10.72	24	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
13	Berlin-Knobelsdorf	9.44	24	6	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
14	Berlin-Löbbecke 1906	13.67	25.5	6	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
15	BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1528	13.01	25	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
16	BNF-986	11.4	24	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	double arches on top of altar instead of flames
17	BNF-Y23879.244	13.93	25.5	6	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
18*	BNF-Y23879.245	14	24.5	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
19	BNF-987	7.33	26	6	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
20	BNF-988	14.48	25	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
21	<i>SNG Braunschweig-1370</i>	13.75	24	6	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
22	<i>SNG Glasgow-3160</i>	14.57	25	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
23	<i>SNG Glasgow-3161</i>	11.1	24.5	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	double arches on top of altar instead of flames
24	<i>SNG Glasgow-3162</i>	10.77	23.5	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
25	<i>Lindgren I-2043</i>	10.36	26	-	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	upside-down M in legend
26	<i>SNG Munich-814</i>	10.97	-	6	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
27	Winterthur-G 5159	12.18	25.3	6	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
28	acsearch-M&M 20.626	8.72	25	-	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	obverse entirely blank

29	Aeqvitas	-	24	-	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
30	<i>Falghera-1629</i>	13.47	25	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
31	ANS-1944.100.66178	10.73	24	6	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
32	ANS-1944.100.66179	11.01	24	6	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
33	ANS-1948.19.2039	11.92	24	6	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	date engraved retrograde
34	Yale-2001.87.11111	16.12	26.7	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
35	Missouri-91.309	13.2	24	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
36	<i>Mabbott-2564</i>	-	-	-	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
37	BNF-Y28045, 989a	4.95	24	6	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	cut marks on reverse
38	<i>SNG Fitzwilliam -5951</i>	13.42	24.5	6	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
39	<i>SNG Fitzwilliam-5951</i>	14.22	24.5	6	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD	
40	Forum-RP45906	11.9	25	6	ZKΦ?=527=215/216 AD	
41	CNG-64.723	13.04	25	-	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	
42	BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1527	12.31	26	12	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	
43	BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1529	11.51	24	1	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	
44	BNF-989	10.24	24	11	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	
45	PC3	15.42	25.05	-	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	
46	<i>SNG Munich-815</i>	13.32	-	1	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	
47	<i>SNG Righetti-2079</i>	9.33	24.2	11	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	
48	acsearch-M&M 11.151	13.33	-	-	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	
49	Beast Coins	12.81	26	-	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	
50	AUB-228	6.86	24	12	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	cut marks on reverse
51	<i>BMC Syria 12</i>	15.45	26	12	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	
52	eBay	7.2	25	-	indistinct	cut marks on reverse
53	PC3	8.94	24.3	-	indistinct	cut marks on reverse
54	Ashmolean-Malcolm Clark 1892	11.92	24.5	1	off flan	
55	CNG-265.272	10.35	23	6	off flan	
56	VCoins-S&L 15915	6.31	24	6	off flan	
57	Yale-1938.6000.1302	14.18	27	12	off flan	crescent on altar next to flame

58	Yale-1938.6000.1303	5.75	24.1	6	off flan	
59	CNG-182.152	10.53	24	-	off flan	
60	VCoins-Forum RP45906	11.89	25	6	uncertain	
61	<i>SNG Munich-816</i>	9.07	-	1	uncertain	
62	acsearch-Stack's 306 (Apr. 2010)	13.3	24	-	worn	
63	wildwinds-vauctions 61309	7.5	24	-	worn	
64	Bern-G 1860	10.01	22.8	12	worn	
65	Yale-1938.6000.1301	12.34	25.8	12	worn	
66	Vienna-GR 21667	10.49	26.1	12	Worn	cut marks on reverse

No. 34) Caracalla/Julia Domna (ANS-1944.100.66180)

Denomination: AE, medium

Obverse: Laureate bust right of Caracalla, at times draped. Around clockwise AVT K ANTΩNINOC CEB; AVT K M AVP

ANTΩNINOC CEB.

Reverse: Draped bust of Julia Domna right. Around clockwise IOVΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ; IOVΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ AVΓ; ...AVΓOY, in field left

and right: ΗΚΦ.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date
1	CNG-191.104	10.1	20	1	ΗΚΦ=528=216/217 AD
2*	acsearch-M&M 20.628	10.12	24	-	ΗΚΦ=528=216/217 AD
3	Wildwinds-64785	10.62	23	-	ΗΚΦ=528=216/217 AD
4	Hirsch-158.474	-	23	12?	ΗΚΦ=528=216/217 AD
5	ANS-1944.100.66180	11.15	22	1	ΗΚΦ=528=216/217 AD

6	acsearch-Forum 9623	10.11	23	12	HKΦ?=528=216/217 AD
7	Tantalus-14582	8	20	-	HKΦ?=528=216/217 AD

No. 35) Perched eagle (*BMC Syria*, 13)

Denomination: AE, small

Obverse: Radiate or laureate bust right. Around clockwise AVT K M AVP ANTΩNINOC CEB; AVT K ANTΩNINOC CEB.

Reverse: Eagle standing left on ovoid stone; head turned left with wreath in beak.⁸ Around clockwise EMECΩN KOΛONIAC;

EMICΩN KOΛONIAC, in field left and right: ZKΦ; HKΦ.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date
1	<i>BMC Syria</i> 13	8.74	21.5	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
2	PC1	8.78	21.5	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
3	CNG-170.180	7.94	22	-	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
4	CNG-213.319	7.17	22	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
5	CNG-191.103	8.29	20	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
6*	CNG-271.350	5.97	18	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
7	Berlin-Imhoof Bloomer 1900	7.77	22.5	8	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
8	BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1523	7.23	21.5	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
9	BNF-Y28455, 104	7.56	21.5	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
10	BNF-996	8.57	22.5	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD

⁸ Two specimens depict the eagle perched with wings open (ANS-1944.100.66183 and BNF-996).

11	PC3	10.33	21.8	-	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
12	SNG Copenhagen-310	8.72	20.5	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
13	Lindgren I-2044	7.9	21	-	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
14	Lindgren III-1180	10.02	22	-	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
15	SNG Munich-820	7.99	-	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
16	acsearch-M&M 20.627	6.98	22	-	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
17	acsearch-M&M 14.665	8.87	-	-	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
18	PC5	6	19	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
19	Aeqvitas	-	22	-	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
20	wildwinds-WCNC	8	20.8	-	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
21	PC1	7.15	21	1	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD
22	BNF-997	8.3	20.5	12	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD
23	SNG Braunschweig-1371	9.23	21	12	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD
24	SNG Glasgow-3166	7.11	21	12	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD
25	PC1	7.56	19	1	uncertain
26	ANS-1944.100.66183	10.14	22	7	worn
27	Yale-2001.87.11107	6.15	20	12	worn

No. 36a) Tyche seated front (BMC Syria, 14)

Denomination: AE, small

Obverse: Radiate bust right. Around clockwise AVT K M AVP ANTΩNINOC CEB.

Reverse: Tyche seated facing on throne; at feet river god swimming front. Around clockwise EMICΩN KOΛONIAK, in field left and right: ZKΦ.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date
1	<i>BMC Syria 14</i>	6.7	21	6	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
2	BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1524	8.26	23.5	6	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
3	BNF-1008	6.71	21	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
4	<i>Lindgren III-1179</i>	7.8	21	-	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
5*	Wildwinds-64784	7.82	21	-	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
6	AUB-227	8.56	20	6	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD

No. 36b) Tyche seated left (BNF-994)

Denomination: AE, small

Obverse: Laureate bust right. Around clockwise AVT K ANTΩNINOC CEB.

Reverse: Tyche seated left; at feet river god swimming. Around clockwise EMICΩN KOΛONIAK, in field left and right: ZKΦ.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date
1	BNF-994	8.2	22	12	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD
2*	acsearch-M&M 14.666	8.07	-	-	ZKΦ=527=215/216 AD

3. Macrinus

No. 37) Macrinus (Bellinger, 199-210)

Denomination: AR, tetradrachm

Obverse: Laureate bust right, at time draped.⁹ Around clockwise ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΟΠΙ CE ΜΑΚΡΙΝΟC CEΒ;

ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΟΠΙ CE ΜΑΚΡΙΝΟC CE. Dotted border.

Reverse: Eagle standing facing with spread wings; head turned left with wreath in beak; between legs radiate and draped bust of sun

god left. Around clockwise ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΞ ΥΠΑΤΟC ΠΙ; ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΞ ΥΠΑΤΟC Π ΠΙ;¹⁰ ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΞ ΥΠΑΤΟC ΤΟ Β,¹¹ in

field Α;¹² Η; ο; crescent (left, upward); and at times no symbol. Dotted border.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Die Axis	Date	Field Marks
1	BM-1909.7.12.4	13.86	25.5	6		H
2	BM-1922.6.2	12.45	25	1		H
3	BM-1913.5.16.1	10.93	26	1		ο
4	Ashmolean-Walker	13.05	26.5	1		ο
5	Ashmolean-Godwyn	10.51	24.5	11		H
6	Ashmolean-Keble College	12.99	24	11		A
7	PC1	12.3	26	12		A
8	PC1	12.47	25.5	6		H
9	CNG-115.300	12.73	25	-		H
10	CNG-69.1214	12.52	-	12		ο
11	CNG-81.817	13.54	-	12		no field mark

⁹ In rare cases the head faces left (Prieur 1006).

¹⁰ The ΠΠΙ is ligatured.

¹¹ Prieur 1017a.

¹² At times engraved as Λ or Δ.

12	CNG-Triton XI.512	15.92	-	12		crescent up
13	CNG-156.133	14.21	28	-		H
14	CNG-81.66	12.95	24	-		H
15	CNG-219.370	15.92	27	2		crescent left
16	CNG-197.78	13.73	23	12		o
17	CNG-205.312	12.17	26	12		o
18	CNG-194.163	13.76	27	6		H
19	CNG-194.162	13.21	25	1		uncertain
20	CNG-194.161	13.6	24	6		no field mark
21	CNG-182.155	12.87	25	-		o
22	CNG-182.154	11.27	24	-		H
23	CNG-182.153	11.06	25	-		no field mark
24	CNG-170.181	12.58	23	-		Δ
25	CNG-139.202	13.49	26	-		o
26	CNG-145.218	10.48	23	-		no field mark
27	CNG-147.108	13.3	27	-		crescent left
28	CNG-139.201	13.59	25	-		no field mark
29	CNG-94.120	14.46	25	-		H
30	CNG-94.119	12.38	26	-		no field mark
31	CNG-225.288	12.15	24	1		Δ
32	CNG-238.273	10.48	25	6		A
33	CNG-240.334	11.73	23	12		A
34	CNG-240.335	11.45	25	12		A
35	CNG-248.300	13.51	-	12		o
36	CNG-254.205	10.5	24	12		o
37	CNG-238.275	11.94	24	12		H
38*	CNG-238.274	12.83	25	12		no field mark
39	Bowers-13250.8122	14.58	-	-		H

40	eBay	13.51	-	-		no field mark
41	Berlin-Lobbecke 1906	12.42	25.5	6		A
42	Berlin-1170.1931	13.89	25.5	12		H
43	Berlin-v. Rauch	12.19	25	2		crescent left
44	Berlin-Lobbecke 1906	13.23	26	12		o
45	Berlin-Imhoof Blumer 1928	13.79	26	6		H
46	BNF-Y19579	11.84	25.6	12		o
47	BNF-Y19576	12.72	29.5	2		crescent left
48	BNF-Y19577	13.6	25.9	6		H
49	BNF-Y19578	13.08	26.3	6		no field mark
50	BNF-Y19580	11.97	25.6	12		o
51	BNF-Y19581	11.3	24.9	12		A
52	BNF-Y19582	13.33	25.6	1		o
53	BNF-Y19583	14.61	25.6	1		o
54	BNF-Y19584	13.24	27.6	1		crescent left
55	BNF-Y19585	12.82	25.5	1		o
56	BNF-Y19586	13.45	26.5	1		crescent
57	BNF-Y19587	10.52	26.2	1		crescent left
58	BNF-Y19588	13.17	25.8	6		A
59	BNF-Y19590	14.25	26	12		A
60	BNF-Y19569	11.21	24.8	6		A
61	BNF-Y19570	11.72	26	12		o
62	BNF-1007	11.46	27.3	7		A
63	BNF-Y19572	11.88	26.6	12		o
64	BNF-Y19571	11.95	26	1		A
65	BNF-Y19573	11.62	25.8	1		no field mark
66	BNF-Y19574	11.31	24.9	12		o
67	BNF-Y19575	11.95	26.5	6		no field mark

68	BNF-Y19589	13.11	24	12		H
69	BNF-Chandon de Brialles 1908	12.89	26.5	6		o
70	eBay	12.4	26	-		H
71	eBay	12.4	24	-		o
72	eBay	13.41	16	-		no field mark
73	VCoins-Sayles and Lavender 13160	10.68	23	12		o
74	VCoins-Amphora V12055	14.58	26	-		H
75	<i>SNG Copenhagen-312</i>	11.2	23	12		H
76	<i>SNG Glasgow-3167</i>	11.83	25.5	12		o
77	<i>SNG Munich-62</i>	12.09	-	5		A
78	<i>SNG Munich-63</i>	12.43	-	1		no field mark (?)
79	<i>SNG Righetti-2082</i>	12.451	25.6	11		A
80	<i>SNG Righetti-2083</i>	14.03	25.9	11		B
81	<i>SNG Righetti-2084</i>	11.87	26	11		o
82	<i>SNG Righetti-2085</i>	13.16	26.3	1		no field mark
83	<i>SNG Righetti-2086</i>	13.75	24.9	1		no field mark
84	acsearch-CGB 173693	11.07	24	1		worn
85	acsearch-CGB 173694	9.65	25	12		A
86	acsearch-CGB 173695	10.52	22	6		A
87	acsearch-CGB 173696	11.33	26	7		A
88	acsearch-CGB 173698	13.38	25	6		no symbol
89	acsearch-CGB 173699	11.88	23	1		no symbol
90	acsearch-CGB 173700	11.83	23	6		no symbol
91	acsearch-CGB 173701	11.88	24	6		no symbol
92	acsearch-CGB 173705	14.02	26	6		H
93	acsearch-CGB 173706	13.14	25	12		H
94	acsearch-CGB 173707	14.16	27	12		H

95	acsearch-CGB 173711	11.1	23	12		o
96	acsearch-CGB 173712	11.96	26	12		o
97	acsearch-CGB 173713	12.81	25	12		crescent up
98	acsearch-CGB 173715	11.42	24	7		crescent left
99	acsearch-Hess 307.1399	12.72	24	-		A
100	acsearch-Elsen 103.499	12.44	-	-		o
101	acsearch-Heidelberger 50.112	12.76	-	-		o
102	acsearch-Heritage 3000.50077	14.41	26	12		no symbol
103	acsearch-Ponterio 151.8122	14.58	-	-		H
104	acsearch-Künker 67.862	12.27	-	-		o (?)
105	acsearch-Künker 71.1103	13.24	-	-		A
106	acsearch-Künker 115.643	13.77	-	-		o
107	acsearch-Künker 124.9317	14.31	-	-		no symbol
108	Forum-8009	12.73	24.7	12		o
109	Forum-278	12.4	28	12		H
110	Forum-9032 (forgery?)	12.8	24.5	2		crescent up
111	Beast Coins-1	-	-	-		H
112	Beast Coins-2	-	-	-		o
113	wildwinds-ORC99209	12.43	-	-		A
114	wildwinds-no reference	13.6	-	-		A
115	Netherlands-7737	12.55	29.1	12		o
116	Netherlands-7738	12.69	26.3	5		H
117	Boston-63.1622	13.44	25	12		A
118	Boston-1973.190	14.45	27.5	12		?
119	Boston-1974.517	13.22	26.5	12		A
120	Yale-1938.6000.60	10.64	25.5	6		indistinct
121	Yale-1938.6000.61	14.08	26	6		A

122	Yale-1938.6000.63	14.02	24.5	12		H?
123	Yale-1938.6000.64	13.03	25	2		crescent left
124	Yale-1938.6000.66	13.77	25	12		crescent up
125	Yale-1938.6000.67	12.17	26	6		o
126	Yale-1938.6000.68	9.37	25	12		none?
127	Yale-1938.6000.69	13.59	25	4		none?
128	Yale-2005.6.26	11.38	26	6		A?

No. 38) Diadumenian (Priour 967-968, 994, 1019-1020)

Denomination: AR, tetradrachm

Obverse: Laureate and draped bust right. Around clockwise MA OΠ ANTWNEINOC K; MAP OΠ ANTWNEINOC K;

MAP OΠ ANTWNINOC K. Dotted border.

Reverse: Eagle standing facing with spread wings; head turned left with wreath in beak; between legs radiate and draped bust of sun

god left. Around clockwise ΔHMAPX EE YΠIATOC, in field A; H; crescent (left). Dotted border.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Die Axis	Date	Field Marks
1	BM-1973.1.12.1	10.57	26.5	12		A
2*	CNG-139.203	14.39	27	-		crescent left
3	CNG-223.361	11.94	25	1		crescent left
4	BNF-1985.44	11.6	25.2	1		crescent left
5	<i>SNG Righetti</i> -2088	11.68	25.9	12		H
6	Winterthur-G 6786	12.16	27.6	6		uncertain

7	acsearch-CGB 173716	13.81	24	6		worn
8	acsearch-CGB 173717	13.81	24	6		crescent left

No. 39) Temple façade (*SNG Righetti*, 2087)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Laureate and draped bust right. Around clockwise AVT K M OII CE MAKPEINOC CEB.

Reverse: Hexastyle temple façade with ovoid stone in centre placed between religious standards; in front of stone eagle standing facing with wreath in beak. Around clockwise EMICΩN KOΛΩN..., in exergue: HKΦ.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Symbol on temple
1	BNF-Y23879.248	24.85	30	6	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	indistinct shape in pediment
2	BNF-Y25048.1012a	20.42	30.5	7	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	indistinct shape in pediment
3	<i>SNG Righetti</i> -2087	26.17	30.6	1	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	-
4*	Yale-2009.110.152	24.98	30.2	1	HKΦ=528=216/217 AD	crescent in pediment
5	Netherlands-GR 1978.385	23.05	28.9	1	off flan	crescent in pediment
6	CNG-239.366	20.39	30	12	worn	crescent in pediment

No. 40) Temple right (CNG-79.652)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Laureate and draped bust right. Around clockwise AYT K M OII CE MAKPINOC CEB.

Reverse: Temple seen from front and side. Crescent in right field. Around clockwise ΕΜΙCΩΝ ΚΟΛΩΝCΙΑC (*sic*), in exergue: ΗΚΦ.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Notes
1*	CNG-79.652	26.08	29	6	ΗΚΦ?=528=216/217 AD	blundered reverse legend

4. Elagabalus

No. 41) Temple façade (*BMC Syria*, 17)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Laureate bust right. Around clockwise AVT K M AVP ANTWNEINOC; AVT K M AVP ANTΩNNEINOC.

Reverse: Hexastyle temple façade with ovoid stone in centre placed between religious standards; in front of stone eagle standing facing;

at times square in pediment. Around clockwise...ΚΟΛ....., in exergue: ΦΛ?

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Notes
1	<i>BMC Syria</i> 17	10.84	25	7	ΦΛ?	retrograde reverse inscription
2	BNF-1004	11.49	23	1	ΦΛ?	
3	BNF-1000	10.5	23	7	(?)Λ	
4	<i>Lindgren I-2045</i>	13	25	-	worn	
5	acsearch-M&M 20.629	7.27	20	-	off flan	
6*	CNG-262.241	13.73	24	12	uncertain letters	retrograde reverse inscription

No. 42) Wreath (private collection)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Laureate bust right. Around clockwise AVT K M AVP ANTWNEINOC.¹³

Reverse: Inscription HΛΙΑ (*sic*) flanked by two laurel branches, all placed within wreath. Around clockwise ΛΟ...MHTP...

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Notes
1*	PC1	12.64	26.5	12		retrograde N in obverse legend

No. 43) Prize-crown (*BMC Syria*, 21)

Denomination: AE, medium

Obverse: Radiate bust right. Around clockwise AVT K M A ANTΩNINOC; IM C M ANTONINVS; IM C M A ANTONINVS.

Reverse: Prize-crown between two laurel branches. Around clockwise MHTPO EMIC; MHTPK EMICΩN; MHTPOKOA EMICΩN;

MHTPOKO EMI...; MHTPOK EMICΩN, above and below crown HΛΙΑ ΠΙΘΙΑ,¹⁴ at times in field or in exergue letter E.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Mark	Obv/Rev legend	Notes
1	CNG-195.179	8.45	23	12		E?	Greek/Greek	
2	Berlin-Imhoof Blumer 1900	9.38	24	12		E	Greek/Greek	incomplete reverse legend

¹³ The reading is based on a die link with temple façade type.

¹⁴ On some specimens: above and below crown ΠΙΘΙΑ HΛΙΑ, also: below crown HΛΙΑ ΠΙΘΙΑ.

3	Berlin-Löbbecke 1906	8.23	22.5	6		none	Greek/Greek	
4	acsearch-M&M 14.667	8.72	-	-		E (retrograde)	Greek/Greek	
5	Tantalus-6664	8.6	22	-		E	Greek/Greek	
6	ANS-1961.164.2	8.92	24	11		E (retrograde)	Greek/Greek	
7	ANS-1971.193.11	7.76	22	12		E	Greek/Greek	
8	Vienna-GR 21672	4.711	23.6	1		E	Greek/Greek	
9	Yale-2004.6.3628	7.23	23	12		E	Greek/Greek	
10	SNG Glasgow-3168	9.7	22.5	12		-	Greek/Greek	retrograde N
11	SNG Glasgow-3169	8.46	21.5	6		-	Greek/Greek	ΠΙΥΘΙΑ above; ΗΛΙΑ below
12	Falghera-1800	7.41	23	2		E	Greek/Greek?	
13	BMC Syria 21	9.63	23.5	12		uncertain	Latin/Greek	
14	PC1	6.92	23.5	11		E?	Latin/Greek	crown not flanked by branches
15*	CNG-174.151	6.36	23	-		E	Latin/Greek	
16	CNG-191.105	7.64	20	12		E	Latin/Greek	reverse legend retrograde
17	PC5	6.3	21	7		none	Latin/Greek	
18	BNF-993	7.84	23	12		worn	Latin/Greek	
19	BNF-1001	9.29	24	6		E?	Latin/Greek	
20	VCoins-Sayles & Lavender 15967	5.97	21	12		indistinct	Latin/Greek	
21	SNG Glasgow-3170	7.59	21.5	6		E	Latin/Greek	
22	SNG Glasgow-3171	7.03	22	12		E (retrograde)	Latin/Greek	
23	Lindgren I-2047	7.07	23	-		E	Latin/Greek	
24	acsearch-M&M 20.633	6.15	23	-		E	Latin/Greek	
25	acsearch-M&M 20.630	6.07	22	-		off flan	Latin/Greek	
26	eBay	3.9	23	-		worn	Latin/Greek	
27	Aeqvitas	-	22	-		E	Latin/Greek	
28	Aeqvitas	-	22	-		none	Latin/Greek	blundered legend; cut marks on reverse
29	Wildwinds-VAuctions 30563	-	22	-		none	Latin/Greek	
30	Vienna-GR 21671	7.261	24.2	12		worn	Latin/Greek	
31	acsearch-M&M 20.631	7.44	23	-		E and E in field	Latin/Greek?	

32	<i>Lindgren I-2048</i>	5.9	18	-		worn	off flan	possible overstrike
33	PC1	6.88	21.5	7		uncertain	uncertain	
34	<i>SNG Braunschweig-1372</i>	9.71	20.5	6		indistinct	uncertain	
35	<i>SNG Munich-822</i>	7.84	-	7		uncertain	uncertain	
36	<i>SNG Munich-823</i>	8.63	-	12		uncertain	uncertain	
37	<i>SNG Munich-824</i>	6.09	-	6		uncertain	uncertain	
38	<i>SNG Munich-825</i>	6.48	-	6		uncertain	uncertain	
39	<i>SNG Righetti -2091</i>	3.37	21.1	11		E	uncertain	
40	eBay	5.9	22	-		none	uncertain	blundered inscription
41	AUB-229	7.16	23	12		worn	uncertain	
42	<i>Mabbott-2566</i>	-	-	-		uncertain	uncertain	
43	CNG-195.178	8.6	22	12		worn	worn	
44	Berlin-no reference	7.16	21.5	6		worn	worn	
45	BNF-1526A	6.2	20	12		worn	worn	
46	BNF-995	6.29	21.5	6		none	worn	
47	BNF-1003	7.79	23.5	1		indistinct	worn	
48	VCoins-Time Machine 910080309	7.7	22	-		worn	worn	
49	<i>SNG Righetti -2090</i>	8.69	23.3	6		worn	worn	
50	AUB-230	8	21	1		worn	worn	
51	ANS-1944.100.66209	5.69	25	12		off flan	worn	

No. 44) Tyche seated left (*Lindgren I*, 2049)

Denomination: AE, medium

Obverse: Radiate bust right. Around clockwise IM C M A ANTONINVS; IM C M A ANTONINOS.

Reverse: Tyche seated left; at feet river god swimming left. Around clockwise MHTPO EMICΩN; MHTPOKOA EM..., in field letter

E.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Mark	Obv/Rev legend
1	PC1	6.7	22	1		E	Latin/Greek
2	BNF-Y23879.250	9.61	27	7		E	Latin/Greek
3*	<i>Lindgren I-2049</i>	8.14	24	-		E	Latin/Greek
4	ANS-1944.100.51967	6.96	21	12		-	Latin/Greek?

No. 45) Altar (*Lindgren III*, 1182)

Denomination: AE, small

Obverse: Laureate bust right. Around clockwise AVT K M A...

Reverse: Altar with two rows of statues in niches. Around clockwise MH...EMI..., possible date in exergue.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Mark
1	<i>Lindgren III-1182</i>	5.53	18.5	-	traces of a date in exergue	none
2*	Aeqvitas	-	20	-		none

No. 46) Eagle standing facing (*BMC Syria*, 18-19)

Denomination: AE, small

Obverse: Laureate or radiate bust right. Around clockwise AVT K ANTΩNINOC; AVT K M ANTΩNINOC.

Reverse: Eagle standing facing with open wings, head turned left with wreath in beak. Around clockwise ΜΗΤΡΟΚΟΛ ΕΜΙCΩΝ;

ΜΗΤΡΟΚ ΕΜΙCΩΝ, in field or between legs E.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Mark	Notes
1	<i>BMC Syria</i> 18	6.2	20	6		E	
2	<i>BMC Syria</i> 19	5.56	19.5	7		?	
3	Ashmolean-Bouchier 1930	5.42	18.5	1		indistinguishable	blundered legends
4	Ashmolean-Bodleian	5.62	18	6		E	
5	PC1	4.23	20	6		E	
6	PC1	6.74	19	6		E?	
7	PC1	9.15	21	6		E	
8	PC1	4.71	17	12		E	
9*	PC1	5.37?	17.5	12		E (retrograde)	
10	CNG-203.390	2.98	17	8		worn	
11	Berlin-Löbbecke 1906	4.53	18	12		worn	
12	BNF-Luynes de Briailles 1526	3.44	17	12		none	
13	BNF-Y23879.249	3.66	17.5	7		none	
14	BNF-998	3.72	18	1		E	
15	BNF-999	3.81	17	12		E in exergue	
16	VCoins-S&L 16548	4.74	18	12		E	
17	VCoins-S&L 16549	3.2	18	6		E	
18	VCoins-S&L 16550	5.08	16	6		worn	
19	VCoins-S&L 16551	5.12	18	7		worn	
20	<i>SNG Glasgow</i> -3173	5.48	17	2		E	
21	<i>Lindgren I</i> -2046	4.54	19.5	-		E (retrograde)	blundered legend
22	<i>SNG Munich</i> -821	5.14	-	7		uncertain	
23	<i>SNG Righetti</i> -2089	5.61	19.8	6		E?	
24	Aeqvitas	-	19	-		E retrograde	

25	Tantalus-25709	5.06	18	-		E	
26	Tantalus-25708	3.36	17	-		E	
27	Wildwinds-1242236736	4.21	17	-		worn	crude inscriptions
28	Wildwinds-1289949567	4.57	20	-		E retrograde	
29	ANS-1944.100.66207	5.23	19	6		E in exergue	retrograde N in legend
30	ANS-1944.100.66208	4.79	19	7		E	
31	eBay	-	17	-		E	

No. 47a) Perched eagle facing (*SNG Glasgow*, 3172)

Denomination: AE, small

Obverse: Laureate bust right. Around clockwise AVT K M A ANT...

Reverse: Eagle standing facing on ovoid stone; head turned left with wreath in beak. Around clockwise ...KOA EMI...,¹⁵ at times in exergue ΛΦ.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Notes
1	<i>SNG Glasgow-3172</i>	4.57	18	12	ΛΦ=530=218/219 AD	retrograde N
2*	PC1	2.42	19	7	Λ? (traces of possible date)	blundered legend
3	Wildwinds-2202676742	5.27	19.5	-	exergue off flan	

¹⁵ Often blundered legend.

No. 47b) Perched eagle left (*BMC Syria*, 20)

Denomination: AE, small

Obverse: Laureate bust right. Around clockwise ...M...OC.

Reverse: Eagle standing left on ovoid stone; head turned right with wreath in beak. Around clockwise MKOΛ EMI...

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis
1*	<i>BMC Syria</i> 20	4.04	17.5	12

No. 48) Sun god (*Lindgren III*, 1181)

Denomination: AE, small

Obverse: Laureate or radiate bust right. Around clockwise AVT K M ANTΩNINOC.

Reverse: Radiate bust of sun god right. Around clockwise MHTPOK EMICΩN; MHTKOΛ EMICΩN.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis
1	CNG-138.170	2.56	15	-
2	CNG-253.268	2.46	13	6
3*	Helios-5.1122	3.44	-	-
4	BNF-1005	6.74	19	12
5	BNF-1006	3.48	15	6
6	<i>Lindgren III</i> -1181	3.15	18	-
7	acsearch-M&M 20.632	3.98	16	-
8	Wildwinds-1242236400	3.15	17	-

9	ANS-2002.21.1	3.44	17	12
10	MA-Arminius 135	3.12	15	-
11	MA-M&M5374	4.02	-	-

5. Uranius Antoninus

No. 49) Eagle standing facing (Baldus, 1-26)

Denomination: AR, tetradrachm (pre-reform)¹⁶

Obverse: Laureate or radiate draped bust right or left. Around clockwise ΑΥΤΟΚ ΚΟΥΛΠ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΚ ΚΕΒ;

ΑΥΤΟΚ ΚΟΥΛΠ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΚ; ΑΥΤΟΚ Κ ΚΟΥΛΠ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΚ ΚΕΒ. Dotted border.

Reverse: Eagle standing facing with spread wings; head turned left or right with wreath in beak. Around clockwise ΔΗΜΑΡΧ

ΕΕΟΥΚΙΑΚ; ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΕΟΥΚΙΑΚ ΥΠΙΑ ΤΟ Β, in field SC, in exergue EMICA.¹⁷ Dotted border.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks	obv. portrait
1	BM-1860.3-27-210	12.92	27.5	12	none	in field S C, in exergue EMICA	facing right
2	BM-1897.4-5-12	12.91	26	12	worn	in field S C, in exergue EMICA	facing right

¹⁶ The aurei and denarii of Uranius Antoninus are not included herein; for a study of these see Baldus 1971, 1977, 1983 and 1990. See also *RIC IV*, 205-206.

¹⁷ For the full range of inscription varieties and the position of the field marks see Baldus 1971, p. 24-25, 47-48.

3	BM-1861.11-1-9	10.46	24	6	off flan	in exergue S C (?)	facing right
4	PC1	11.46	26	6	uncertain	in exergue S C	facing right
5	CNG-82.862	12.03	-	12	B	in exergue S C	facing right
6	CNG-76.3139	11.32	-	12	indistinct	in field S C, in exergue EMICA	facing right
7	CNG-233.289	10.93	26	6	none	in exergue S C	facing right
8	CNG-60.1369	12.76	-	-	none	in field S C, in exergue EMICA	facing right
9	CNG-116.168	10.3	26	12	worn	in field S C, in exergue EMICA	facing right
10	CNG-82.39	12.35	25	-	B (?)	in exergue S C	facing right
11*	CNG-87.882	11.83	26	6	B	BSC	facing right
12	G&M-1704	11.1	-	-	B	in field S C, nothing in exergue	facing right
13	BNF-1008.1	10.48	26.5	6	uncertain	in exergue S C	facing right
14	BNF-1008.2	12.95	24	6	uncertain	exergue off flan	facing right
15	BNF-1008.4	10.34	26	12	B	in field S C, nothing in exergue	facing right
16	BNF-1011	10.12	26.5	6	worn	worn	facing right
17	BNF-1973.1.369	9.65	25	6	uncertain	uncertain	facing right
18	BNF-1973.1.370	12.22	26.5	12	nothing	in field S C, nothing in exergue	facing right
19	BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1532	11.51	26	6	-	in field S C, in exergue EMICA	facing right
20	<i>SNG Copenhagen-313</i>	10.35	24	6	off flan	between legs S C, in exergue EMICA	facing right
21	<i>SNG Righetti-2092</i>	11.56	24.9	6	B	in field S C, nothing in exergue	facing right
22	acsearch-Lanz 149.515	12.38	-	-	nothing	in field S C, in exergue EMICA	facing right
23	acsearch-Künker 136.1192	10.67	-	-	nothing	in field S C, in exergue EMICA	facing right
24	acsearch-UBS Gold & Numismatics 78.1872	10.99	-	-	nothing	between legs S C, in exergue EMICA	facing right
25	acsearch-Lanz 100.332	10.21	26	-	indistinct	in exergue S C	facing right
26	acsearch-Numismatica Ars Classica 38.160	12.28	26	-	nothing	between legs S C, in exergue EMICA	facing right
27	wildwinds-Antioch Associates 49.47	-	-	-	indistinct	in field S C, in exergue EMICA	facing right
28	wildwinds-eBay 211130173	7.52	-	-	indistinct	in field S C, in exergue EMICA	facing right
29	wildwinds-eBay 272772918	10.55	-	-	indistinct	nothing in field, in exergue EMICA	facing right

30	Bern-G 1861	10.79	26	12	worn	worn	facing right
31	BNF-1008c	11.6	26	12	worn	in field: S C. Exergue is off flan	facing right, supported by eagle
32	BNF-1010	9.25	26	12	uncertain	in field S C, exergue off flan	facing left
33	BNF-1987/246	11.69	25	12	none	in field S C, in exergue EMICA	facing left holding spear
34	Fitzwilliam-CM 47.1994	10.25	26	6	worn	worn	facing left hand raised
35	CNG-64.724	11.68	-	-	none	in field S C, in exergue EMICA	facing left hand raised
36	BNF-1009	11.21	24.5	6	none	in field S C, in exergue EMICA	facing left hand raised
37	acsearch-CGB ID337479	11.71	23	12	none	nothing in field, exergue off flan	facing left hand raised

No. 50) Radiate deity (Prieur, 1062)

Denomination: AR, tetradrachm (post-reform)

Obverse: Laureate and draped bust right. Around clockwise ΑΥΤΟ Κ ΚΟΥΛΠΙ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC CE. Dotted border.

Reverse: Radiate bust of deity right supported on crescent.

Around clockwise ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΕΟΥCΙΑC. Dotted border.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks
1*	BM-1975.9-30-1 (reverse double struck)	8.4	30	6	ΥΠ ΑΒ	none

No. 51) Fortuna standing (Prieur, 1063-1070)

Denomination: AR, tetradrachm (post-reform)

Obverse: Radiate and draped bust right. Around clockwise ΑΥΤΟ Κ ΚΟΥΛΠ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC ΚΕΒ; ΑΥΤΟ Κ ΚΟΥΛ ΚΕΟΥΗΡΟC
ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC ΚΕΒ. Dotted border.

Reverse: Fortuna standing left holding rudder and cornucopia. Around clockwise ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΕΟΥΚΙΑC ΥΠ Β; ΔΗΜΑΡΧ
ΕΕΟΥΚΙΑC ΥΠΙΑ Β, in field SC.¹⁸ Dotted border.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks
1	BM-1940.6-5-11	9.32	26.5	5	none	none
2	CNG-Triton VIII.791	8.29	-	5	off flan	S C
3	BNF-1973.1.455	8.26	25.5	6	ΥΠ Β	S C
4	<i>SNG Copenhagen</i> -Supp. 1188	9.26	28	11	ΥΠ Β	S C
5	<i>SNG Copenhagen</i> -Supp. 1190	9.09	26	11	ΥΠ Β	S C
6	<i>SNG Munich</i> -106	8.04	-	5	ΥΠ Β	S C
7	acsearch-Numismatica Ars Classica 29.622	7.82	24	-	ΥΠ Β	S C
8	acsearch-Künker 100.75	8.3	-	-	off flan	S C
9*	acsearch-Numismatica Ars Classica 42.168	7.91	28	-	off flan	S C

No. 52) Victory (Prieur, 1071)

Denomination: AR, tetradrachm (post-reform)

¹⁸ A variety lacks the field mark SC (Prieur 1068).

Obverse: Radiate and draped bust right. Around clockwise ΑΥΤΟ Κ ΚΟΥΛΠ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC ΚΕΒ. Dotted border.

Reverse: Victory standing left holding wreath and palm branch. Around clockwise ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΞΟΥCΙΑC ΥΠΙΑ Β, in field SC. Dotted border.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks
1*	Baldus 1975, Plate 45, no. 4	8.97	-	-	ΥΠ Β	S C

No. 53) Moneta standing (Prieur, 1072-1077)

Denomination: AR, tetradrachm (post-reform)

Obverse: Radiate and draped bust right. Around clockwise ΑΥΤΟ Κ ΚΟΥ ΚΕΟΥΗΡΟC ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC C;

ΑΥΤΟ Κ ΚΟΥΑ ΚΕΟΥΗΡΟC ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC ΚΕ. Dotted border.

Reverse: Moneta standing left holding scales and cornucopia. Around clockwise ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΞΟΥCΙΑC ΥΠΙΑ Β, in field SC. Dotted border.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks
1	BM-1972.2-13-2	7.85	25	12	ΥΠ Β	S C
2	CNG-82.860	9.17	-	12	off flan	S C
3*	BNF-1973.1.457	8.07	27.5	1	ΥΠ Α	S C
4	acsearch-Forum 28906	7.92	28.1	12	ΥΠ Β	S C
5	acsearch-Hess 307.1685	7.96	25	-	ΥΠ Β	S C

6	Boston-1971.387	8.27	25.5	11	YII B	S C
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No. 54) Fortuna seated (Prieur, 1078-1080)

Denomination: AR, tetradrachm (post-reform)

Obverse: Radiate and draped bust right. Around clockwise ΑΥΤΟ Κ ΚΟΥΛΠ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC CE; ΑΥΤΟ Κ ΚΟΥΛ ΚΕΟΥΗΡΟC ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC. Dotted border.

Reverse: Fortuna seated left holding rudder and cornucopia. Around clockwise ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΕΟΥΚΙΑC ΥΠ Β, in field SC. Dotted border.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks
1*	BNF-1973.1.456	8.25	27	6	ΥΠ Β	S C
2	<i>SNG Copenhagen-Supp.</i> 1189	7.79	27	5	ΥΠ Β	S C
3	BM-1972.2-13-1	8.69	27.5	12	ΥΠ Β	S C

No. 55) Minerva seated (Prieur, 1081)

Denomination: AR, tetradrachm (post-reform)

Obverse: Radiate and draped bust right. Around clockwise ΑΥΤΟ Κ ΚΟΥ ΚΕΟΥΗΡΟC ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC. Dotted border.

Reverse: Minerva seated left with spear and shield. Around clockwise ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΕΟΥΚΙΑC ΥΠ Β, in field SC. Dotted border.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks
1*	<i>SNG Copenhagen-Supp. 1191</i>	8.51	28	12	YII B	S C

No. 56) Dromedary (Prieur, 1082-1086)

Denomination: AR, tetradrachm (post-reform)

Obverse: Radiate and draped bust right. Around clockwise AYTΟ K COY CEOYHPOC ANTWNINOC CE;

AYTΟ K COYΑ CEOYHPOC ANTWNINOC CE. Dotted border.

Reverse: Dromedary right with saddle and reins. Around clockwise ΔHMAPX EEOYCIAC YII B, in field SC. Dotted border.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date	Field Marks
1	BM-1972.2-13-3	8.33	28	12	YII B	S C
2*	BNF-1973.1.454	8.29	27	12	YII B	S C
3	<i>SNG Copenhagen-Supp. 1192</i>	8.72	26.5	12	worn	S C
4	<i>SNG Munich-107</i>	7.84	-	12	YII B	S C
5	acsearch-Numismatica Ars Classica 39.157	8.42	25	-	YII B	S C
6	Boston-1973.292	8.96	26.5	12	YII B	S C

No. 57) Temple façade (*BMC Syria*, 24)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Laureate and draped bust right. Around clockwise AVTΟ K COVΛII ANTWNINOC CE.

Reverse: Hexastyle temple façade with ovoid stone in centre placed between religious standards; in front of stone eagle standing facing with wreath in beak; crescent in pediment. Around clockwise EMICWN KOΛΩN, in exergue EΞΦ.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date
1*	CNG-Triton V.1767	21.42	32	-	EΞΦ=565=253/254 AD
2	CNG-Triton IX.1561	29.34	30	12	EΞΦ=565=253/254 AD
3	CNG-85.644	26.47	33	12	EΞΦ=565=253/254 AD
4	BNF-Y23879.251	28.72	31	6	EΞΦ=565=253/254 AD
5	acsearch-M&M 20.634	23.03	32	-	EΞΦ=565=253/254 AD
6	AUB-232	28.44	32	12	EΞΦ=565=253/254 AD
7	Harvard	26.96	32.5	12	EΞΦ=565=253/254 AD
8	BNF-1012	23.12	32	12	EΞΦ?=565=253/254 AD
9	BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1530	21.55	31.5	6	indistinct
10	<i>BMC Syria</i> 24	28.52	31.5	12	worn
11	CNG-76.3140	17.94	32	12	worn
12	<i>SNG Copenhagen Supp</i> -1193	25.55	32	12	worn
13	<i>SNG Glasgow</i> -3174	25.34	30.5	6	worn
14	acsearch-NY Sale IX.143	22.8	35	-	worn
15	AUB-231	14.69	31	12	worn

No. 58) Temple left (BM-1946.10.4.625)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Laureate and draped bust right. Around clockwise AVTO K COVAΠ ANTWNINOC CE.

Reverse: Temple seen from front and side. Around clockwise EMICΩN KOΛΩ...., in exergue EΞΦ.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Date
1*	BM-1946.10.4.625	20.09	32	7	ΕΞΦ=565=253/254 AD
2	BNF-Y28359.20	23.1	32	6	ΕΞΦ=565=253/254 AD
3	Berlin-5434	26.88	34.5	12	ΕΞΦ?=565=253/254 AD
4	BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1531	18.43	31	6	ΕΞΦ?=565=253/254 AD

G. Laodicea ad Libanum

1. Septimius Severus

No. 59) Septimius Severus/Mên (*SNG Glasgow*, 3445)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Laureate and draped bust right. Around clockwise AVT K Λ CEITIMIOC...

Reverse: Mên standing in front of horse holding reign in right and sceptre in left. Around clockwise [ΛΑΟΔΙΚ] ΠΡΟC ΛΙΒΑΝΩ, in exergue MHN.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis
1	BM-1909.5-4.55	12.06	28	12?
2	PC1	11.83	28.5	12
3	BNF-201	11.89	28	11

4	BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1739	7.98	26	12
5	BNF-200	10.45	27	11
6	SNG Braunschweig-1400	7.96	23	12
7	SNG Glasgow-3445	11.72	28.5	1
8*	acsearch-M&M 20.698	11.8	27	-
9	ANS-1944.100.83968	16.24	30	12

No. 60) Caracalla/Seated Tyche (*Lindgren III*, 1286-1287)

Denomination: AE, medium

Obverse: Laureate or radiate bust right, at times draped. Around clockwise M AYP CE ANTWNINOC CEB.

Reverse: Tyche seated left being crowned by Nike from behind; at feet two swimming river gods. Around clockwise TVXH

ΛΑΟ...ΠΡΟΣ ΛΙΒΑ...; TVXH ΛΑΟΔΙΚ ΠΡΟΣ ΛΙΒΑΝ...; ΛΑΟΔ ΠΡΟΣ ΛΙΒΑ...; ...ΟΔΙΚΙΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΛΙΒ...

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis
1	BM-1977.3.4.7	9.86	25	12
2	PC1	6.75	26	12
3	PC1	8.64	27.5	6
4	PC1	7.2	23.5	7
5	Helios-3.738	7.58	-	-
6	BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1742	6.87	24	12
7	BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1743	8.03	24	12
8	PC3	8.7	22.7	-
9	PC3	5.8	24.05	-
10	PC3	6.9	24.1	-

11	<i>Lindgren III-1286</i>	7.55	26	-
12	<i>Lindgren III-1287</i>	7.68	26	-
13	<i>Lindgren III-1289</i>	6.1	23	-
14	<i>SNG Munich-1046</i>	9.87	-	6
15	<i>SNG Righetti-2171</i>	8.36	25.9	12
16	acsearch-M&M 20.701	6.85	23	-
17*	Forum-9258	8.39	23.6	6
18	Forum-8735	6.05	23.7	12
19	Wildwinds-726758	9.87	24	-
20	Wildwinds-7119	7.05	25	-
21	ANS-1944.100.83973	7.84	21	6
22	ANS-1944.100.83975	7.1	23	6
23	ANS-1948.19.2519	8.12	24	1
24	Harvard-1980.85.230	7.1	-	-

No. 61) Julia Domna/Tyche (*Lindgren I*, 2174)

Denomination: AE, small

Obverse: Draped bust right of Julia Domna with bun behind head. Around clockwise IOYΛΙΑ AYTOYCTA.

Reverse: Turreted and veiled bust of Tyche right. Around clockwise ...ΠΙΡΟC ΛΙΒΑΝ...

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis
1*	CNG-194.193	5.54	21	12
2	CNG-181.308	7.57	24	1
3	<i>Lindgren I-2174</i>	5.37	20	-
4	Wildwinds-7603	6.96	23	-

No. 62) Geta/Tyche (BNF-Y28464)

Denomination: AE, small

Obverse: Draped bust of Geta right, head bare. Around clockwise ΓΕΤΑ ΚΑΙCΑΠΙ.

Reverse: Turreted and veiled bust of Tyche right. Around clockwise ...ΔΙΚ ΠΡΟC...; ΤΥΧΗ ΛΑΟΔ ΠΡΟC ΛΙΒΑΝ.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis
1	Berlin-325/1909	5.43	21.5	12
2*	BNF-Y28464	6.68	22	12
3	PC3	4.1	20.25	-
4	AUB-1617	6.9	22	6

2. Caracalla

No. 63) Caracalla/Mên (SNG Copenhagen, 445)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Laureate bust right, at times draped. Around clockwise AV...ANTWNIN...; MACEOVANTO...ΝΟΓ (*sic*).

Reverse: Mên standing in front of horse holding reign in right and at times sceptre in left. Around clockwise ΛΑΟΔΙΚ ΠΡΟC

ΑΙΒΑΝΩ, in exergue ΜΗΝ.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Notes
1	BM-1929.8.22.1	7.89	24	6?	
2	Ashmolean-Bouchier 1930	8.55	22.5	1	
3	CNG-213.322	7.97	24	12	
4	CNG-191.121	12	24	12	
5	CNG-194.194	8.76	23	1	
6	CNG-246.231	8.35	23	12	
7	Berlin-Löbbecke 1906	8.63	23.5	12	
8	BNF-202	9.41	25	1	
9	BNF-203	10.88	26.5	7	
10	BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1740	10.48	23.5	1	
11	BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1741	6.98	23	7	
12	PC3	11.1	26	-	
13	PC3	8	23	-	
14*	VCoins-Jencek N1248	10.56	25	-	
15	<i>SNG Copenhagen-445</i>	8.4	22	12	
16	<i>Lindgren III-1288</i>	8.33	26	-	
17	M&M 20.699	9.79	26	-	
18	M&M 20.700	9.97	23	-	
19	Wildwinds-7602	8.34	25	-	
20	AUB-1618	9.5	24	6	
21	AUB-1619	8.62	23	1	
22	ANS-1944.100.83969	9.24	24	1	
23	Missouri-83.62	7.4	24	12	
24	wildwinds-John Noory 2003	7.72	23	-	blundered legends; erroneously attributed to Severus Alexander

No. 64) Julia Domna/Tyche (ANS-1944.100.83654)

Denomination: AE, small

Obverse: Draped bust right of Julia Domna with no bun behind head. Around clockwise IOYΛΙΑ AYΓOYCTA.

Reverse: Turreted and veiled bust of Tyche right. Around clockwise TYXH ΛAOΔIK ΠPOC ΛIBA...; ΛAOΔIK ΠPOC ΛIBAN...

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Notes
1*	CNG-162.267	5.97	21	-	
2	ANS-1944.100.83654	4.61	22.5	6	
3	Winterthur-G 6563	4.09	19.1	7	hairstyle indistinguishable

3. Macrinus

No. 65) Macrinus/Mên (*Lindgren I*, 2175-2176)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Laureate and draped bust right. Around clockwise AYT KAI MAK...

Reverse: Mên standing in front of horse holding reign in right and torch in left. Around clockwise ...POC ΛIBANW.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis
1	PC1	20.91	30	6
2*	Berlin-Morel 5/1908	15.14	28.5	6
3	BNF-no number on ticket	16.97	30.5	6
4	<i>Lindgren I-2175</i>	19.7	29.5	-
5	<i>Lindgren I-2176</i>	20.77	28.5	-
6	Yale-2001.87.5775	19.6	30	6

4. Elagabalus

No. 66) Elagabalus/Mên (*Lindgren III*, 1290)

Denomination: AE, large

Obverse: Laureate and draped bust right. Around clockwise M AV ANTWNINOC...

Reverse: Mên standing in front of horse holding reign in right and torch in left. Around clockwise ΛΑΟΔΙΚ ΠΡΟC...IBANO.

	Inventory	Weight	Size	Axis	Notes
1	PC1	10.6	23.5	1	
2	BNF-204	15	26	1	
3	PC3	15.3	28.3	-	
4	PC3	20.3	26.85	-	
5	PC3	17.1	25.2	-	
6	<i>Lindgren I-2177</i>	15.17	27.5	-	erroneously attributed to Trebonianus Gallus
7*	<i>Lindgren III-1290</i>	16.38	28	-	

CHAPTER III

PRODUCTION

The production of coins in the Orontes Valley is effectively divided into two chronological groups, although it is treated here under a single section. The first is represented by Apamea and, to a lesser extent, Larissa. Apamea initiated a civic coinage in the first quarter of the first century BC and ceased to mint by the mid first century AD, whereas Larissa minted in 86/85 BC only. The second group is represented by the remaining cities to the south which minted in the second and third centuries AD, with most of the output taking place in the Severan period.

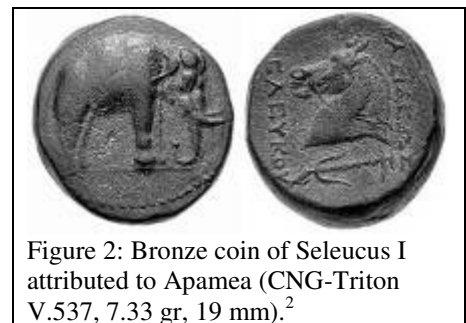
The production of silver coins in the Orontes Valley is very limited compared to the output of bronze. For this reason, the silver issues (tetradrachms) will not be discussed in a separate section, but rather within the framework of the relevant mints and emperors. Where possible, parallels will be drawn between the production of coins in the Orontes Valley and neighbouring cities.

A. Apamea

Of the cities in this study, it was Apamea solely which minted a royal coinage of the Seleucids.¹ These issues were sporadic and bore the name of the ruling monarch, with no civic issues attested to this early period. This aspect of the coinage in the region is not surprising when considering that there was no tradition of coinage in the Orontes Valley prior to the campaigns of Alexander the Great.

¹ *WSM*, 86-180; *CSE I*, 1-32.

Apamea seems to have been a mint for the Seleucids from the outset, but it never achieved the prominence of Antioch. Newell tentatively attributed a bronze issue of Seleucus I to Apamea based on the style, fabric and iconography of the coins, which depict an elephant on the obverse and the head of a horse on the reverse (Figure 2).³ Newell also attributed to this mint a series of tetradrachms, and to a lesser extent drachms and bronzes, issued by the Seleucid kings throughout the third century BC.⁴ These attributions however remain unconfirmed and are doubted by recent scholarship.⁵ Nevertheless, due to the lack of a better classification, Newell's attributions are still generally maintained.⁶



Seleucid issues which can be attributed to Apamea with certainty belong to the reign of Antiochus IV and Alexander Balas based on the inscription ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ on the reverse. These 'semi-autonomous' (also referred to in the literature as 'quasi-autonomous' or 'municipal') coins of Apamea were minted contemporaneously with issues of eighteen other cities in the region –including Antioch, Seleucia and Laodicea– which would imply some sort of a centralised scheme by Antiochus IV.⁷

The bronze issues of Antiochus IV at Apamea were minted in two denominations (see Metrology and Denominations chapter). Both denominations have the portrait of the King on the obverse. The larger denomination depicts Zeus seated

² Note: coin images in the text are not to scale, but those in the plates at the end are.

³ *WSM*, no. 1128; *SC I*, no. 35.

⁴ *WSM*, 155-180, Plates XXXIII-XXXVIII.

⁵ See the discussions in *CSE I* p. 29 and *SC II* p. 74. See also the review by Mørkholm in *WSM* p. i-vi (1977 edition), who prefers a reattribution to Antioch for some of the issues.

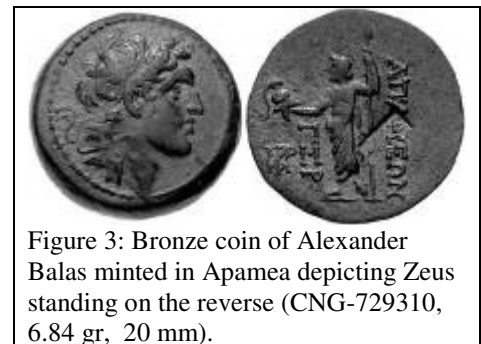
⁶ Houghton despite his doubts prefers to follow Newell's attributions in general (*CSE I*, 29-31; *CSE II*, 57, 79-80, 97-98; *SC I*, 25, 405; *SC II*, 74).

⁷ See Mørkholm 1966, 124-130, for the relevant discussion and a list of these cities.

on the reverse and the smaller Zeus standing. Both issues have identical inscriptions reading ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΑΞΙΩΙ.

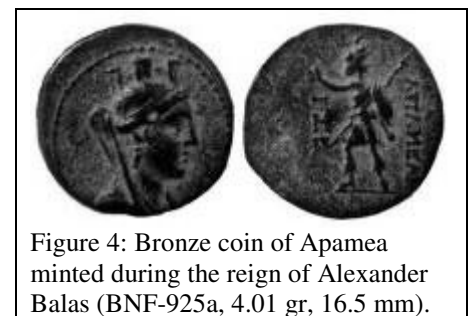
The issues of Alexander Balas at Apamea were also minted in two denominations, but unlike those of Antiochus IV, the bronzes of this king are dated by the Seleucid era ΓΞΡ = 163 = 150/149 BC.⁸ As no other date has yet come to light, it seems that these coins were issued in that year alone. The larger denomination has the

portrait of the monarch on the obverse and depicts Zeus standing holding a Corinthian helmet and long sceptre on the reverse (Figure 3).⁹ The ethnic of the city ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ is inscribed on the reverse. The smaller



denomination is unlike all of the above mentioned issues of the Seleucids at Apamea, since the king's portrait is not present. This denomination depicts the turreted head of Tyche on the obverse and a marching warrior on

the reverse (Figure 4).¹⁰ These are inscribed with the same date ΓΞΡ as those of the larger denomination and like it bear the ethnic



ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ on the reverse. *BMC* does not

include this type under Alexander Balas in the volume dedicated to the Seleucid kings (presumably because it lacks a portrait); neither does Houghton in his catalogues.

However, since this type has the same date as that of the larger denomination depicting the portrait of Alexander Balas, it was undoubtedly struck in his reign and

⁸ *BMC Kings*, p. 57, nos. 64-65; *CSE I*, nos. 441-443; *CSE II*, nos. 457-458; *SC II*, nos. 1803-1804.

⁹ A second variety of this type depicts Zeus holding the same objects but resting his right foot on a pile of arms (*CSE II*, no. 457). These two varieties should not be considered as separate denominations, since they have similar weights and sizes (see Metrology and Denominations chapter for statistics).

¹⁰ *BMC Syria*, p. 233, no. 1.

complements the denominational sequence similar to the two denominations minted at Apamea under Antiochus IV.¹¹

Another type listed in *BMC Syria*, depicting the head of Poseidon on the obverse and for the reverse the standing figure of the same god, has also been attributed to Apamea in Syria.¹² However, the correct reading of the legend on the reverse is ΑΤΤΑΛΕΩΝ and therefore the issue should be attributed to Attalia in Pamphylia.¹³ Additional Seleucid bronze issues of the second century, namely that of Antiochus VI, have also been assigned to Apamea; however, these remain unconfirmed.¹⁴

Civic issues of Apamea commenced in the first quarter of the first century BC, during the period following the disintegration of the Seleucid Empire. These issues began just before the advent of the Roman period in 77/76 BC (as attested by the earliest known civic issue) and continued to be produced after the conquests of Pompey with no immediate change in the types or modules (see below). These civic issues were followed by provincial coins bearing the portraits of Augustus, Tiberius and Claudius (including a rare tetradrachm issue), after which Apamea ceased to mint coins.

Butcher, in his study of the coinage of northern Syria, has observed that it is difficult to compare issues in the Roman period with the ‘semi-autonomous’ coins

¹¹ See Hoover 2004b for a discussion on the representation of civic status and identity on coins by civic authorities, particularly in the reign of Alexander Balas. Although Hoover’s study focuses on the territories of Phoenicia and Coele Syria, this particular type from Apamea may indicate that the privileges of expressing civic identity on coins extended further north under this king.

¹² *BMC Syria*, p. 233, no. 2, where the legend is misread as ΑΠΑΛΕΩΝ. See also *SNG Poland*, no. 61 and *Lindgren III*, no. 1174.

¹³ See *BMC Lycia*, p. 110, no. 1. Seyrig (1950, 15) also notes this misattribution.

¹⁴ *SC II*, nos. 1805, 1883-1884, 2008-2015, 2242-2243.

minted under Antiochus IV and Alexander Balas, since they were limited to the two kings only.¹⁵ In the case of Apamea, however, one might argue that the types that were used for the ‘semi-autonomous’ coins, namely that of Zeus, were continued in the early Roman period as well, particularly in the early years of Pompey’s presence in the region (see below for the remaining types). It has also been mentioned that the very first issues of Apamea, depicting a horse and an elephant, pertain to the royal stables and the war-elephants kept there,¹⁶ knowing that the elephant was also portrayed on the civic coins issued before and after the advent of the Romans.¹⁷ The Dionysus/thyrsus type, which was minted in the time of Augustus, can also be seen as a continuation of the thyrsus type on the bronze issues of Antiochus IV attributed to Apamea.¹⁸ In fact, a direct continuation of certain types at Apamea is also the case before and after the conquests of Pompey (see Group 1 below), a trend which is in line with other mints in the region.¹⁹ Even during the Julio-Claudian period the coinage of Apamea seems to have maintained the Hellenistic style of iconography used in the pre-Augustan period, with the emperor’s portrait as the only addition. All this is a good indication that there was no intervention on the part of the Romans to impose a new typological structure for the coinage. Unfortunately, because Apamea did not mint coins after the mid first century AD, it is impossible to trace the continuity or similarities any further.

¹⁵ *CRS*, 24.

¹⁶ *WSM*, 156.

¹⁷ The Zeus/elephant type of Apamea is similar to the elephant reverses issued by the Seleucids (*SC I*, nos. 1065-1068).

¹⁸ *SC II*, no. 1884.

¹⁹ Butcher (*CRS*, 26) has noted this trend for the main mints of northern Syria (Antioch, Seleucia, Laodicea, etc.). For a survey of the coinage in Syria during the pre-Augustan period see Augé 1989, p. 166-168.

1. Civic issues

As stated above, during the reigns of Antiochus IV and Alexander Balas, civic coins bearing the portrait of the king and engraved with the ethnic of the city ‘ΑΠΙΑΜΕΩΝ’ were issued in Apamea. This tradition seems to have been continued in the first century BC and into the early Roman period at Apamea. The civic coins of Apamea do not present a major problem of classification since they are all dated, similar to the first century BC issues of Antioch, Laodicea and Seleucia. The difficulty arises from the fact that various dating systems were employed throughout its minting history. However, this does not impose too great a challenge once the issues are tabulated according to type, date and legend (see Table 1 below). The classification is further established when taking into consideration the ensuing historical events in the region during the early turbulent years of Rome’s presence in the east.

The coins of Apamea of the first century BC have been recently classified by Hoover.²⁰ However, his classification suffers from inconsistencies, mainly because the issues are organized according to denomination, based entirely on the average weights for each issue, rather than according to their type. The classification is further complicated because the issues have not been structured chronologically.

The civic issues of Apamea can be divided into three main chronological groups based on type, date, and legend varieties:

²⁰ Hoover 2009, 303-306.

Group 1							
Date (BC)	Seleucid year	Pompeian year	Antoninian year	Zeus/elephant	Tyche/Nike	Demeter/corn ear	Dionysus/grapes
77/76	236			ΑΣΥΛΟΥ			
76/75	237			ΑΣΥΛΟΥ	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ		ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
75/74							
74/73	239					ΑΣΥΛΟΥ	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
73/72	240			ΑΣΥΛΟΥ			
72/71							
71/70	242			ΑΣΥΛΟΥ		ΑΣΥΛΟΥ	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
70/69	243			ΑΣΥΛΟΥ	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ(?)	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ	
69/68							
68/67	245			ΑΣΥΛΟΥ	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ(?)		
67/66							
66/65							
65/64							
64/63							
63/62							
62/61							
61/60							
60/59		7		ΑΣΥΛΟΥ			
59/58		8		ΑΣΥΛΟΥ		ΑΣΥΛΟΥ	
58/57							
57/56							
56/55							
55/54							
54/53							
53/52							
52/51							
51/50		16			ΑΣΥΛΟΥ		
50/49							

49/48							
48/47							
47/46							
46/45							
45/44							
Date (BC)	Seleucid year	Pompeian year	Antonian year	Dionysus/ thyrsus	Athena/ Nike	Demeter/ 3 corn ears	Tyche/ Athena
44/43		23					ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
43/42		24			ΑΣΥΛΟΥ		
42/41							
41/40	272				ΑΣΥΛΟΥ		
40/39			2		ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ		
39/38			3		ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ		
38/37	275				ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ	
37/36	276				ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ		ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
36/35	277				ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
35/34							
34/33							
33/32							
32/31							
31/30	282				ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ	ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ
30/29	283			ΑΣΥΛΟΥ	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ/ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
29/28	284			ΑΣΥΛΟΥ			
28/27	285			ΑΣΥΛΟΥ			
27/26	286				ΑΣΥΛΟΥ	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
26/25	287				ΑΣΥΛΟΥ		
25/24							
24/23							
23/22							
22/21							

21/20	292			ΑΣΥΛΟΥ	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
20/19	293			ΑΣΥΛΟΥ	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ		
19/18							
18/17	295			ΑΣΥΛΟΥ	ΑΣΥΛΟΥ		ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
17/16							
16/15							
15/14							
14/13							
Date (BC)	Seleucid year	Pompeian year	Antoninian year	Dionysus/thyrsus	Dionysus/Demeter	Dionysus/cornucopia	Zeus/Tyche seated
13/12	300				ΑΣΥΛΟΥ(?)		
12/11							
11/10							
10/9	303					ΑΣΥΛΟΥ	
9/8	304			ΑΣΥΛΟΥ			
8/7							
7/6							
6/5							
5/4	308				ΑΣΥΛΟΥ		ΑΣΥΛΟΥ
4/3							
3/2							
2/1							

Table 1: Civic issues of Apamea tabulated according to types, dates and inscription varieties. Entries in **bold** in the first column denote dates when the mint was active.

a. Group 1 (Cat. nos. 1-4)

The first civic coins, as stated above, commence in 77/76 BC during the rule of Tigranes the Great in the region, a time of relative stability in Syria following a period of political turmoil due to the gradual collapse of the Seleucids. This group may be divided into two sub-groups, 1a and 1b, based on the dating system found on the coins. The coins of Group 1a were minted in four denominations as follows: Zeus/elephant; Tyche/Nike; Demeter/corn ear; Dionysus/grapes. Issues of this sub-group are all dated using the Seleucid era ranging from 236 to 245 (77/76 to 68/67 BC). The coins of this group were minted throughout the ten recorded years, with the exception of years 238, 241 and 244 (75/74, 72/71 and 69/68 BC), based on the data from the specimens collected to date.

Group 1a continued to be minted until 68/67 BC, when Rome's presence in the region began with the campaigns of Pompey. After a gap of several years a second sub-group of coins, Group 1b, commenced in Apamea. These were a direct continuation of the previous types, the only exception being the Dionysus/grapes type, which was either fully abandoned or no specimens have yet come to light.¹ All the coins of this sub-group are dated by a Pompeian era initiated in 66 BC similar to Antioch.² These issues commence in 60/59 BC and are minted sporadically until 51/50 BC. Dates recorded for this sub-group are Pompeian years 7, 8 and 16 (60/59, 59/58 and 51/50 BC). Perhaps the fact that Pompey razed the citadel of Apamea in 64 BC,³ where the main mint of the city most probably would have been located, resulted

¹ It should be noted here that the coins of Group 1b are considerably lighter in weight than those of Group 1a (see Metrology and Denominations chapter for details).

² Seyrig 1950, 16; Baldus 1987, 131.

³ Josephus, *JA*, 14.3.2.

in the cessation of minting until few years later, by which time the Pompeian era was used.

b. Group 2 (Cat. nos. 5-8)

After the issues of 51/50 BC a gap of several years is noted. This gap coincides with the ensuing conflict between Caesar and Pompey, and the consequent victory of the former. The coins of Group 2, which may also be divided into two sub-groups, 2a and 2b, commenced in 44/43 BC, whereby the previous types represented by Group 1 were completely abandoned. The issues of Group 2a were initially minted in two types: Athena/Nike (Cat. no. 6) and Tyche/Athena standing (Cat. no. 8). These coins at first used the Pompeian era, represented by the dates 23 and 24 (44/43 and 43/42 BC). In 41/40 BC, the Athena/Nike type reverted to the Seleucid date 272, a date which coincides with the Parthian invasion of Syria.⁴

Apparently, in 40/39 BC Apamea was granted the status of autonomy by Antony. This new title is reflected in the inscriptions of the coins, which then read ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ. Although no change was introduced in the types after receiving autonomy, a third type Demeter/three corn ears (Cat. no. 7) was added starting in 38/37 BC.⁵ This three-denominational system employing the title of autonomy was continued until 31/30 BC (with a gap noted between 35/34 and 32/31 BC) when, as a result of Octavian's victory over Antony in Actium, changes appeared in Apamea's coinage represented by Group 2b. First, a new and heavier type of Dionysus/thyrsus (Cat. no. 5) was introduced. Second, the title of autonomy was no

⁴ It is also in this year that Antioch reverts to the Seleucid era on its coins (*CRS*, 27, 307; Baldus 1987, 130).

⁵ This of course is based on all the specimens collected to date. Future finds may show that the Demeter/three corn ears type may have been introduced earlier, perhaps as early as the two other types of this group.

longer inscribed on the coins; instead, Apamea returned to using the traditional title ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ. These issues continued to employ the Seleucid era and were minted regularly until 18/17 BC, with a gap noted from 25/24 to 22/21 BC.

It should be noted that the year 30/29 BC (Seleucid year 283) may be considered a transition phase between the two sub-groups. All four types discussed above (Dionysus/thyrsus, Athena/Nike, Demeter/three corn ears and Tyche/Athena standing) have been noted for this year. In fact, the Athena/Nike type of this year has been recorded with both legend varieties (ΑΣΥΛΟΥ and ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ). Thus, it seems that Octavian's passage through Syria on his way to Egypt had caused swift changes in Apamea's allegiance; the city was stripped of its autonomy granted by Octavian's rival Antony.

c. Group 3 (Cat. nos. 9-12)

After a gap of several years, Apamea resumed minting civic coins in 13/12 BC (or perhaps 10/9 BC, see discussion below). This group continued for a short span of time until 5/4 BC, after which coins bearing imperial portraits were initiated. Coins of Group 3 continued to employ the Dionysus/thyrsus type, although the remaining types of Group 2b were abandoned and replaced by three altogether new types: Dionysus/Demeter, Dionysus/cornucopia and Zeus/Tyche seated.

Coins of this group are represented by issues of a single year with the exception of the Dionysus/Demeter type, which seems to have been minted in two

separate years: Seleucid date T = 300 = 13/12 BC and HT = 308 = 5/4 BC.⁶ All the coins of Group 3 use the Seleucid era for dating and bear the legend ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ.

2. Augustus (Cat. nos. 13-14)

In 4/3 BC Apamea minted coins bearing the portrait of Augustus. Two reverse types, Nike advancing and bust of Tyche, were minted concurrently in year 28 of the Actian era. Interestingly, although the Nike type has the usual legend of ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ, the Tyche type reads only ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ. This does not seem to have been a deliberate omission by the issuing authorities, implying that the title of ‘Inviolable’ was stripped from the city, because both types were minted in the same year. The use of the ‘shorter’ legend is also not accidental, since this type is known thus far by four dies, all of which were engraved with the same legend (see Die Studies chapter). The flans used for striking the Tyche type were by no means minute (averaging at 21 mm), and therefore it was not an issue of a mere lack of space for accommodating a longer legend. Thus, no reason can be found for the use of this shorter version which only occurs on this particular issue under Augustus, since future issues of Apamea continued to use the ‘longer’ version (see below).

3. Tiberius (Cat. nos. 15-16)

The issues of Tiberius are represented by a single year dated by the Seleucid era 326 corresponding to AD 14/15. Two types are noted for this emperor: the first,

⁶ The Seleucid date on the specimen published in *CRE* 1469 seems to read only T, but due to the rather poor condition of the coin, this reading remains unconfirmed. See also the discussion in *RPC I* for this coin (no. 4370).

and heaviest, depicts the bust of Tiberius on the obverse and Nike advancing either left or right on the reverse.⁷ These coins are inscribed with the legend ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ. The second type is of a smaller denomination and has the bust of Tyche on the obverse and an advancing Athena on the reverse. This type also has the same legend as the above type.

4. Claudius (Cat. nos. 17-19)

No coins of Gaius are yet known to have been minted in Apamea, with the final issues of this city being minted in the reign of Claudius. The obverse of the bronzes depicts the head of Zeus and for the reverse two types were minted: an advancing Nike and a seated Tyche. The Nike type is dated ‘year 1’ and that of Tyche ‘year 2’. The legend on both coin types reads ΚΛΑΥΔΙΕΩΝ ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ. It is apparent from the legend that Claudius bestowed a new title on Apamea, and for this reason it is more probable that the years inscribed on the coins relate to the initiation date of this title and not to the regnal years of the Emperor. However, it remains uncertain when this title was granted. A very rare issue of tetradrachms, the only silver issue attributed to this city during the period covered in this study, is attested for the reign of Claudius based on the legend of the reverse identical to the issues mentioned above. These silver coins are dated ‘year 2’ and have a reverse type comparable to the seated Tyche type mentioned above.

Seyrig states that Apamea minted tetradrachms as a result of it being given liberty by Claudius.⁸ Callu shares this viewpoint and adds that the cessation of

⁷ Since both issues share obverse dies they should be considered as variants of a single type and not two separate reverse types.

⁸ Seyrig 1950, 20. The tetradrachms have the field mark ΕΛ, which according to Seyrig signifies ΕΛ[ελευθερίας].

tetradrachms in Apamea by the mid first century AD is in line with the trend at other mints of the region (Antioch, Seleucia, Sidon and Tyre, the exception being Laodicea).⁹ However, in the case of Apamea the discontinuation of minting is not only true in the case of silver but also bronze; no other mint in the region had a similar fate. The reason for the cessation of minting remains unknown as no reference to it is made in ancient sources, and historical events of that time and place do not provide a reason for such an abrupt end. It seems that Apamea was not among the numerous cities in Syria which took part in the minting of tetradrachms during the reign of Caracalla and also Macrinus. This is intriguing for it is known that Apamea was a well populated city boasting monumental streets and various public structures, which were among the largest known in the Roman world. The city was the base for the Legio II Parthica aiding Caracalla and his predecessors in their eastern campaigns. It was also where Macrinus proclaimed his son emperor. Despite the significance of Apamea, it does not seem to have minted tetradrachms in the third century (for tetradrachms with a wheat symbol erroneously attributed to Apamea see the detailed discussion in the Types and Legends chapter).

The above coinages represent the chronological sequence of Apamea's minting activity. Accordingly, a correlation can be drawn between these issues and the prevailing historical events in the region as follows:

After the collapse of the Seleucid Empire, Apamea began minting civic coins starting in 77/76 BC, in the time of Tigranes the Great. Laodicea, which served as Apamea's outlet to the sea, was freed by the Armenian sovereign and first started

⁹ Callu 1979, 9.

minting in 80/79 BC.¹⁰ It is possible that Apamea too was freed by Tigranes, and therefore starting minting in 77/76 BC, continuing this series (Group 1a) until 68/67 BC, when minting abruptly stopped.¹¹ Seyrig states that Antiochus XIII, who was reinstated by Lucullus, abolished minting at Apamea in this year to counter Tigranes' granting of the right to mint.¹² Rigsby attributes the gap in coinage after Tigranes' deposition to the sporadic nature of minting in the city and not to grants or abolitions.¹³ In any event, it is not a matter of simple happenstance that the cessation of Group 1a coincides with the period when the Armenian king was ousted by Lucullus.¹⁴ Therefore, Seyrig's proposition seems more plausible, but due to the lack of epigraphic evidence it can neither be confirmed nor refuted.

Apamea resumed minting in the time of Pompey's influence in the region, but only after a gap of several years. This delay may be explained by the fact that the Roman general razed the citadel of Apamea, which would have interrupted the city's minting for a period of time, with output resuming in the seventh year of the Roman presence. These issues were dated by a Pompeian era, similar to Antioch. Seyrig relates this gap with Pompey's hostility towards the city,¹⁵ but Butcher states that "a break in production of coinage is not a very good indicator of the humiliation of a city".¹⁶ This statement is true regarding the association between coinage and politics in the region in general, but in this particular case it seems that Pompey's treatment of the city did indeed have negative consequences on the minting operations there.

¹⁰ *CRS*, 25.

¹¹ It should be noted here that the issues of Laodicea bear the title AYTONOMOY, whereas those of Apamea do not, even though both cities start minting under Tigranes.

¹² Seyrig 1950, 18.

¹³ Rigsby 1996, 503-504.

¹⁴ Details and dates of the confrontation between Tigranes and Lucullus are documented in Plutarch *Lucullus* 19.1, 21.7, 26.1 and 29.1-3.

¹⁵ Seyrig 1950, 18-19.

¹⁶ *CRS*, 26.

In 44/43 BC there was a complete change in the types issued in Apamea. The initiation of a new coinage seems to be indirectly linked to Caesar's arrival in the area. Although other prominent mints in Syria reflect the Roman's presence in the region,¹⁷ it seems that Apamea and its currency was not influenced by him, keeping in mind that from 46 to 44 BC Bassus, a follower of Pompey, defended the city against the Caesareans.¹⁸ This observation is coupled with the fact that the new issues did not use the Caesarean era, but rather continue the Pompeian.

Regarding the use of a Caesarean era, Rigsby¹⁹ and El-Zein²⁰ propose the use of this era at Apamea, namely for the coins engraved with years 7 and 8, which they equate with years 43/42 and 42/41 BC (based on the reckoning of a Caesarean era). However, the two types –Zeus/elephant (Cat. no. 1) and Demeter/corn– bearing the dates 7 and 8, if indeed they were dated by a Caesarean era, would not fit in with the typological sequence at Apamea for the following reason: the two types bearing the dates 7 and 8 belong to the four types minted in Group 1 (Zeus/elephant, Tyche/Nike, Demeter/corn ear and Dionysus/grapes, which ceased to be minted in 59/58 BC) and are not part of the four types minted in Group 2 (Dionysus/thyrsus, Athena/Nike, Demeter/three corn ears and Tyche/Athena standing, which commenced in the year 44/43 BC), thus creating a conflict in the proposal by the two authors above (see Table 1).

Although the Pompeian era continued to be in use for the new issues of Group 2 initially, in 41/40 BC the dating system reverted to the Seleucid era –a trend which is also seen in Antioch– due to the Parthian invasion under the leadership of

¹⁷ For example Antioch and Laodicea, apart from introducing the Caesarean era on their coinage, made changes to the denominations (*CRS*, 27).

¹⁸ Strabo 16.2.10.

¹⁹ Rigsby 1996, 502-504.

²⁰ El-Zein 1972, 138-197.

Pacorus I of Parthia and Q. Labienus. The above-mentioned changes of the coinage at Apamea brought about by the Parthian invasion seem to have been short-lived (as it is attested by issues of a single year only) due to Antony's arrival. The Roman seems to have been congenial towards Apamea, and granted the city autonomy as supported by the legends on the coins starting in 40/39 BC and continuing through 31/30 BC.²¹

Antony's presence in the region brought some changes to the coinage of Antioch, which reduced the modules of the bronzes.²² In the case of Apamea the coinage remained unchanged with the exception of an 'Antonian era' initiated there, as displayed by the Athena/Nike (Cat. no. 6) type bearing the dates Β and Γ (40/39 and 39/38 BC). It is worth pointing out that this era begins to be represented on the coins from the second year and not the first, since the issues of the above type minted in year 41/40 BC are dated by the Seleucid era. If year 2 corresponds to 40/39 BC, this would naturally imply that year 1 would be 41/40 BC, the year that Decidius Saxa held the city against Labienus. It seems that the Apamenes considered their liberation to have taken place in 41/40 BC, since in that year they abandoned the use of the Pompeian era in favour of a Seleucid one, even though the coins of that year continue to use the title of 'Inviolata'. This may imply that it was not until the second year that the city was granted autonomy by Antony for its allegiance in the battle to repel the Parthian forces. This may particularly be true if 'year 1' was short, i.e., if it was initiated towards the end of the calendar year in use, and therefore it was not until the second year that the new era and title were adopted on the coins.

²¹ The Athena/Nike type continued the use of the title down to 30/29 BC.

²² *CRS*, 27. Further north Rhodus starts minting using an 'Antonian era' and the title of autonomy (*CRS*, 426).

A coin listed in an auction by Malter²³ attributed to Apamea, depicting on the obverse the bust of Mark Antony wearing an Egyptian crown and on the reverse the caps of the Dioscuri placed in a wreath, is a misattribution.²⁴

The next notable change that took place in the coinage of Apamea is related to the turn of events brought about by Actium and Octavian's visit to Syria in 31/30 BC. No major changes were made to the coinage in northern Syria,²⁵ with the issues at Apamea also generally continuing from the pre-Actian period. However, some changes are noted: a) the title of autonomy at Apamea was stripped and the coinage reverted to using the traditional legend, referring to the city as being 'Inviolata' starting in 30/29 BC. b) A new heavier type –Dionysus/thyrsus (Cat. no. 5)– was introduced, becoming the largest denomination. These issues continued quite uniformly until 18/17 BC.

Mionnet proposes the use of the Actian era at Apamea, referring to the types Zeus/elephant (Cat. no. 1) and Athena/Nike (Cat. no. 6) bearing the dates H = 8 and ΔK = 24 respectively.²⁶ This proposal of course is incorrect for the following reason: regarding the Zeus/elephant type, if indeed it was dated by an Actian era, it would imply that these coins were minted in 24/23 BC. This would create an anomaly in the typological sequence of these coins (see Table 1), since the Zeus/elephant type belongs to Group 1 and was minted from 77/76 to 59/58 BC. In 24/23 BC coins of Group 2 were well in place, represented by entirely new types, of which the Zeus/elephant issue was not part of. The same argument holds true for the Athena/Nike type. An Actian era would place it in 8/7 BC, i.e., in Group 3, whereas it

²³ Auction II, February 23-24, 1978, lot no. 298, 3.86 gr, 19 mm.

²⁴ *RPC I*, 632; *CRS* 27, footnote no. 22; Baldus 1987, 132.

²⁵ *CRS*, 28.

²⁶ Mionnet 1811, vol. 5, 224-225, nos. 577-581. Eckhel (1828, vol. 3, 308) also uses this era for Apamea.

is clear that this type was minted from 43/42 to 18/17 BC and therefore belongs to Group 2.²⁷

After this date a gap of a few years followed, when from 13/12 BC(?) a new series was sporadically minted until AD 5/4. The cessation of minting in 18/17 BC and the initiation of a new series a few years later has parallels in Antioch, where traditional types were abandoned in 19/18 or 17/16 BC and new denominations were introduced.²⁸

In 4/3 BC coins with Augustus' portrait were initiated. Thus, Apamea adopted the concept of applying the Emperor's portrait relatively early, similar to Antioch, Laodicea ad Mare and Aradus.²⁹ For the issues under Claudius a different system of dating was used, which most probably was initiated when Apamea was given the title 'Claudia Apamea'. Based on recent archaeological work at Apamea, it has been proposed that the city was damaged in an earthquake during the reign of Claudius.³⁰ Consequently, reconstruction work was undertaken, perhaps with the benefaction of the Emperor, as a result of which Apamea might have received its new title. This, however, does not pin down the initiation date of this re-foundation, although comparisons may be drawn with similar cases in the region. Balanea had also attracted Claudius' attention and was given the title 'Claudia Leucas' between AD 47/48 and 53/54.³¹ Ake-Ptolemais also received recognition by Claudius and coins were issued in AD 50/51 depicting for the first time an imperial portrait and

²⁷ Mionnet in his supplement to *Description de médailles* (1837, vol. 8, p. 152, no. 142) also uses an Actian era to classify the Tyche/Nike type with the date $\zeta\text{I} = 16$, but this too is incorrect.

²⁸ *CRS*, 28.


²⁹ Antioch in 5 BC (*CRS*, 58); Laodicea post 5 BC (*RPC I*, 634-635); Aradus 8/7 BC (*RPC I*, 641).

³⁰ Viviers and Vokaer 2007, 143-145.

³¹ Seyrig 1950, 24. *RPC I*, p. 640, proposes a date between AD 48 and 51.

legends referring to its re-foundation.³² A similar case is also noted in Tiberias, where coins were minted in Claudius' year 13 = AD 53/54.³³ The above cases may indicate that the issues of Apamea under Claudius probably were minted during the later period of the Emperor's reign, possibly in AD 52/53 and 53/54.

B. Larissa (Cat. nos. 20-21)

The issues of Larissa are limited to two types only: Zeus/throne and Tyche/horse.³⁴ The two types were minted in the same year, dated by the Seleucid era ΖΚΣ = 227 = 86/85 BC,³⁵ and have an identical monogram  and the letter **M** in the reverse field. The inscriptions on both types read ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ, by which Larissa, unlike Apamea, is not represented as 'Inviolate'. The horse type is certainly representative of the fact that the city was famous for horse breeding and played a role in providing the cavalry for the Seleucid army (see Introduction chapter). Although early numismatists such as Mionnet, Eckhel and Head had correctly classified the horse type to Larissa in Syria,³⁶ this attribution seems to have been overlooked by numismatists in more recent times.³⁷

W. M. Leake's *Supplement to Numismata Hellenica* lists a coin of Larissa on the Orontes with the bust of Tyche on the obverse and a horse's head on the reverse,³⁸

³² *RPC I*, 659. Note that the coins are dated by the Claudian year 11 and not by the initiation date of the re-foundation. Soon after AD 50/51 Ake became a colony (see *RPC I* p. 659 for this chronology).

³³ *RPC I*, 671.

³⁴ See *BMC Syria*, p. 264, no. 1, for the Zeus/throne type; the Tyche/horse type is not listed.

³⁵ Hoover (2009, 307) reads the date on the coins of Larissa as ΚΣ and therefore misattributes them to the year 93/92 BC.

³⁶ Mionnet 1811, vol. 5, 264, no. 817; Eckhel 1828, vol. 3, 322; Head 1887, 660.

³⁷ *BMC Syria*; Hoover 2009.

³⁸ Leake 1859, 65.

but the coin is in fact an electrotype of Aegeae in Cilicia.³⁹ Head attributes a third type to this city, Apollo/Artemis, but this is a misattribution.⁴⁰

C. Epiphanea

To this mint, both Mionnet and Eckhel ascribe coins of the second century BC, followed by imperial issues from Tiberius to Gordian.⁴¹ Head similarly attributes coins to the second century BC, but extends the imperial issues to the reign of Gallienus.⁴² *BMC Syria* attributes two types to the second century BC –Tyche/seated Zeus and Athena/standing Apollo– with inscriptions reading ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΚ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ.⁴³ However, Seyrig considers these to be issues of Epiphanea in Cilicia based on similarities of these issues with those of Cilician, and not Syrian, mints.⁴⁴ It is also worth noting that the above inscriptions use the lunate sigma, a feature which is unusual of contemporaneous coins of Syria. Accordingly, the above attributions are incorrect and therefore no coins have been minted in Epiphanea of Syria.⁴⁵ This proposal is further backed by the fact that Epiphanea also did not mint under the Seleucids; neither silver nor bronzes have been attributed by Newell⁴⁶ and Houghton.⁴⁷

³⁹ Personal communication with Adrian Popescu (Senior Assistant Keeper, Department of Coins and Medals, Fitzwilliam Museum).

⁴⁰ Although the coin in question is not depicted by Head (1887, 660), it is most likely an issue of Larissa in Thessaly (see *SNG Cop.* vol. 3, nos. 148-149).

⁴¹ Mionnet 1811, vol. 5, 231-233, nos. 615-623 ; Eckhel 1828, vol. 3, 312-313.

⁴² Head 1887, 659.

⁴³ *BMC Syria*, nos. 1-2. See also the discussion on p. lxx-lxxvi.

⁴⁴ Seyrig 1950, 25-26. Note that Epiphanea in Cilicia also uses the title of 'Inviolat' on the reverse (Rigsby 1996, 474), an aspect which may have given rise to this misattribution and confusion.

⁴⁵ *Lindgren I*, no. 2050 (Tyche /seated Zeus), is misattributed to Epiphanea in Syria. See also *Lindgren III*, no. 1183, for a coin of Domitian(?) depicting a seated Tyche on the reverse also misattributed to Epiphanea.

⁴⁶ *WSM*.

⁴⁷ *CSE I; CSE II; SC I; SC II*.

D. Raphanea (Cat. nos. 22-24)

Although coins of Caracalla have been attributed to this mint,⁴⁸ they are in fact issues of Elagabalus (see Die Studies chapter).⁴⁹ Thus, it is with the reign of Elagabalus that Raphanea first started minting coins. Two denominations have been noted. The larger denomination is known by three types: Elagabalus/seated genius, Elagabalus/standing genius and Severus Alexander/standing genius.⁵⁰ The smaller denomination, thus far known by a single specimen, depicts a humped bull on the reverse and the portrait of Elagabalus on the obverse (Cat. no. 25).⁵¹ Most of the coins are undated, but a few specimens of the Elagabalus/standing genius type bear the Seleucid date ΒΛΦ = 532 = AD 220/221 in the exergue of the reverse. Another possible date reading ΑΛΦ = 531 = AD 219/220 is partially visible on two coins, but this reading remains unconfirmed.⁵²

The issues depicting the portrait of Severus Alexander were certainly issued when he was Caesar under Elagabalus and should not be considered coins minted during his reign. This classification is based on the absence of a wreath on Alexander's head and the fact that the legend reads Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ (thus lacking the imperial title); the die studies have also confirmed this classification.⁵³ Despite this, most catalogues list this type as imperial issues of Severus Alexander and not Elagabalus. This is probably because of Mionnet's initial classification,⁵⁴ an

⁴⁸ *BMC Syria*, p. 267, nos. 1-2; *SNG Schweiz II*, nos. 2129-2130; Gschwind *et al.* 2009, 281; Augé 2000, 165.

⁴⁹ See Johnston 1982 for a good guide for differentiating between issues of Caracalla and Elagabalus.

⁵⁰ *BMC Syria*, p. 267, nos. 1 (listed as Caracalla), 3 and 4 respectively.

⁵¹ Butcher 2011, 78.

⁵² Both in a private collection and of the Elagabalus/standing genius type.

⁵³ For further details refer to the relevant section in the Die Studies chapter.

⁵⁴ Mionnet 1811, vol. 5, 268, no. 833.

error which seems to have been perpetuated in subsequent scholars' listings, for example Eckhel, Head and *BMC*.⁵⁵ A reverse die used in conjunction with an obverse depicting the bust of Severus Alexander bears a date in the exergue. Unfortunately, the date is either illegible or off the flan on the two known specimens struck from this reverse die (BNF-1304 and AUB-242).⁵⁶ Augé, referring to this specimen in the BNF, gives a possible reading of ΕΛΦ, ζΛΦ or ΖΛΦ, corresponding to AD 223/4, 224/5 and 225/6 respectively, clearly placing the coins during the period when Severus Alexander was emperor.⁵⁷ However, these readings are incorrect due to the reasons explained above. Recently, a coin with the portrait of Severus Alexander was published having the date ΛΓΦ = 533 = AD 221/222 in the exergue of the reverse.⁵⁸

We know that Severus Alexander was Caesar under Elagabalus starting in June 221 until his accession in March 222.⁵⁹ Knowing that the Seleucid new year commences in autumn,⁶⁰ the above time span corresponds to the end of the Seleucid year ΒΓΦ (AD 220/221) and the first half of ΛΓΦ (AD 221/222). Therefore, it is certain that the coins bearing the portrait of Alexander were minted during this time period. The coins of Elagabalus, with clearly legible dates, were minted in AD 220/221. This implies that the issues of Elagabalus were minted concurrently with those depicting Severus Alexander. This hypothesis was also verified by the die studies (see below). Thus, it seems that minting in Raphanea was short lived and was perhaps linked to the military presence, which certainly would have had an effect on

⁵⁵ Eckhel 1828, vol. 3, 323; Head 1887, 661; *BMC Syria*, p. 267, no. 4.

⁵⁶ See Die Studies chapter under die R18.

⁵⁷ Augé 2000, 167; Gschwind (2009, 281) also attributes coins to Severus Alexander during his reign as emperor.

⁵⁸ Ronde 2007 (referring to a coin in his private collection).

⁵⁹ Kienast 1996, 177. *RIC* (Vol. IV, p. 69) provides the date of July 10th (AD 221) for Alexander's adoption.

⁶⁰ Samuel 1972, 245-246; Bickerman 1980, 71-72.

the local economy. Although Raphanea was a military garrison early on, the fact that the city started minting coins in the reign of Elagabalus may indicate that it was elevated to the status of *polis* and was no longer seen as a mere military base.

The only other mint in the immediate region which was active solely during the reign of Elagabalus is Botrys.⁶¹ Based on the Actian date inscribed on these coins, it seems that the mint was operational throughout the Emperor's reign in AD 218/219, 219/220, 220/221 and 221/222, whereby the coins with the latter date depict the bare-headed bust of Severus Alexander as Caesar and have legends reading M AVP ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC. No other city in the region is known to have minted *only* during the reign of Elagabalus, with the exception of Antipatris, further south in Palestine.⁶²

E. Arethusa

Mionnet and Eckhel list three issues for this mint and Head two, but these are misattributions.⁶³ Noris, Marquardt and Seyrig discuss a single type with a crab reverse which they attribute to Diadumenian.⁶⁴ However, the coin is an issue of Mopsus.⁶⁵ Seyrig interprets the date inscribed on these coins as a Pompeian era and therefore presumes that Arethusa was liberated by the Roman general, but this is not the case.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Sawaya 2006. A small issue of civic coins was also produced there in 37/36 BC.

⁶² *BMC Palestine*, p. 11 no. 1, Pl. II no. 7.

⁶³ Mionnet 1811, vol. 5, 225-226, nos. 584-586; Eckhel 1828, vol. 3, 309-310; Head 1887, 658.

⁶⁴ Noris 1696, 338; Marquardt 1892, 4 (under Syria); Seyrig 1950, 20-21.

⁶⁵ Personal communication with Kevin Butcher, who has seen a specimen of the type.

⁶⁶ Kropp 2010, 214. See also *IGLS* vol. V, no. 2085, for the erroneous Pompeian date on the coins of Diadumenian wrongfully attributed to Arethusa.

F. Emesa

Mionnet and Head attribute coins to this mint starting from the reign of Domitian, but in fact the first issues are those of Antoninus Pius, as Eckhel had surmised.⁶⁷

1. Antoninus Pius (Cat. nos. 26-28)

Emesa first started minting coins during the reign of Antoninus Pius, similar to Caesarea ad Libanum (Arca)⁶⁸ in the south and Zeugma⁶⁹ further north. Three types –perched eagle (right or left), bust of a sun god and a seated Tyche (left, right or front)– are attested to this emperor, with the first being the most common type.⁷⁰ It would be simple to assume that the three types represent three separate denominations; however, all the types, along with their variants, were minted using almost identical modules (see Metrology and Denominations chapter).

Despite this uniformity in the modules, a structure for this series can be attempted based on the numeral letters on the reverse of these coins: A; B; Γ; Δ; E; ζ; Z. First, an explanation will be provided on the meaning of these numeral letters which, starting with the reign of Domitian, were a common feature on second century coins of Syria until the reign of Caracalla.⁷¹ MacDonald suggested that these numeral letters signify months since, based on his collected data, he noticed that the numbers on the majority (but not all) of the coins do not go beyond 13, thus signifying the 12

⁶⁷ Mionnet 1811, vol. 5, p. 227; Head 1887, 659; Eckhel 1828, vol. 3, 311.

⁶⁸ *BMC Phoenicia*, lxxi.

⁶⁹ *CRS*, 460.

⁷⁰ *BMC Syria*, p. 237-238, nos. 1-8 (where the seated Tyche type is not listed). See also the RPC IV Online database for bronzes of Antoninus Pius minted in Emesa (<http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk>).

⁷¹ *CRS*, 14, 35, 236.

months of the year, with the thirteenth being an intercalary month.⁷² In recent years, detailed tabulation of coins from Syria has clearly shown that the numerals cannot signify months, since in certain cases they reach as high as 15.⁷³ It could be assumed that the numerals signify years (whether regnal years or an annual enumeration), but this too is not the case, since on some issues the numbering extends beyond the span of a particular reign. For example, the issues of Nerva (AD 96-98) at Antioch⁷⁴ have numeral letters extending from 1 to 10, in addition to 20.⁷⁵ Due to these high numbers, and the gaps in the sequences, Butcher excludes the possibility that the numbers may alternatively represent *officinae*. He prefers to consider them as having a ‘chronological significance’ of a non-calendrical numbering system, perhaps connected to magistracies.⁷⁶ He reaches this conclusion since all the sequences start with one and because the gaps indicate that a strict sequential numbering was not followed for the issues. McAlee, by studying the progression of die cracks on bronze coins of Antoninus Pius minted in Antioch, has shown that the numeral letters do not follow a strict chronological sequence and therefore concludes that these numbers denote different *officinae* of a mint sharing dies between them.⁷⁷

The drachms of Tigranes the Great (95 - 55 BC), although produced some two centuries before the Emesene issues, may provide a better understanding of these numeral letters. The reverse of these silver issues depicts a seated Tyche holding a palm branch with a river god swimming at her feet (Figure 5).⁷⁸ Above the palm the

⁷² MacDonald 1903.

⁷³ *CRS*, 236. For an example see the issue of Marcus Aurelius in Antioch (*CRS* p. 376, Group 4).

⁷⁴ *CRS*, 355.

⁷⁵ Certain ‘jumps’ in sequences, example from 10 to 20, should not be considered as gaps, but rather a continuation where an alpha-numeric system was being employed as thus:

A, B, Γ, Δ, E, ζ, Z, H, Θ, I, K, Λ, and so on.

⁷⁶ *CRS*, 237.

⁷⁷ McAlee 2007, 8-12.

⁷⁸ Bedoukian 1978, 55-61.

Greek numbers ΔΛ = 34, ΕΛ = 35, ζΛ = 36, ΖΛ = 37, ΗΛ = 38 and ΘΛ = 39 are inscribed, and below the palm: Α, Β, Γ, Δ, Ε, ζ, Ζ, Η, Θ, Ι, Κ, and Λ. The two digit numeral letters represent the regnal years of the Armenian king corresponding to the years 62 - 57 BC.⁷⁹ A die study of these drachms has provided the following combinations for these field marks:⁸⁰

ΔΛ: Α⁸¹ (3 specimens, 1 obverse die, 3 reverse dies)

ΕΛ: Α, Β, Δ, Ε, ζ, Ζ, Η, Θ, Ι, Λ (64 specimens, 16 obverse dies, 44 reverse dies)

ζΛ: Β, Γ, Δ, Ε, ζ, Ζ, Η, Θ, Ι, Κ, Λ (57 specimens, 17 obverse dies, 38 reverse dies)

ΖΛ: Α (17 specimens, 3 obverse dies, 5 reverse dies)

ΗΛ: Α, Δ (3 specimens, 3 obverse dies, 3 reverse dies)

ΘΛ: none⁸² (1 specimen, 1 obverse die, 1 reverse die)

The above single digit numeral letters represent a system of enumeration using an alpha-numeric system, hence the reason Ι is followed by Κ, which in turn is followed by Λ. Since for all the dates the sequence begins with Α,⁸³ it seems very likely that these single digit enumerations had a fiscal significance, by which every year the sequence recommenced at Α and did not continue from where the previous year's sequence had ended. These field marks also should not be

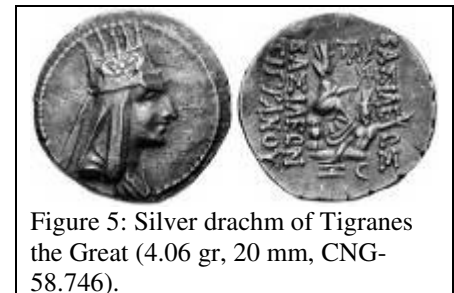


Figure 5: Silver drachm of Tigranes the Great (4.06 gr, 20 mm, CNG-58.746).

considered as separate workshops, since the die links have shown that some obverse dies were shared between the different groups; for example, an obverse die (a9) for

⁷⁹ Foss 1986, 25.

⁸⁰ Nercessian 2006, 87-102.

⁸¹ Erroneously listed as Λ.

⁸² Although all the drachms are inscribed with a regnal year, some do not bear any field mark below the palm.

⁸³ With the exception for ζΛ, but this may be because a specimen inscribed with Α has not yet come to light.

the group EΛ was shared between E, ζ, Z and H. Similarly, an obverse die (a24) for ζΛ was shared between E and ζ. This implies a chronological continuation for these numeral letters and it seems very likely that they relate to production batches (as has been demonstrated in the Die Studies chapter).

With regards to the coins of Emesa from the reign of Antoninus Pius, the perched eagle type utilises all seven numeral letters listed above, the sun god type only the first three (A, B and Γ) and the seated Tyche type only two (Δ and E). Thus, it seems that the sun god type and that of the seated Tyche were not minted concurrently, but rather sequentially, with the latter being less common than the former. It should be noted here that the issues with the numerals ζ and Z for the perched eagle type are known by a very few specimens only (see the Die Studies chapter for a thorough discussion on the structure of these coins based on the results of the die studies).

2. Septimius Severus (misattributed denarii)

Certain denarii of Septimius Severus have been tentatively ascribed to a number of eastern mints, including Emesa.⁸⁴ These attributions were mostly based on the style of the coins and their chronology as attested by the titles in the legends. This classification was later re-evaluated by Bickford-Smith, without introducing any significant changes to the proposed arguments in *RIC* and *BMCRE*, although he too was skeptical of an attribution to Emesa and preferred a mint in the north-western regions of Asia Minor.⁸⁵ Butcher, in a more recent detailed study of these denarii,⁸⁶

⁸⁴ *RIC IV*, 64, 81-82, 137-150, 175-177; *BMCRE V*, cxvii-cxxi, 87-105. See also Mattingly 1932 whose view remained influential although lacking evidence. The remaining mints are that of Laodicea ad Mare and Alexandria.

⁸⁵ Bickford-Smith, 1994-1995.

has convincingly argued against this attribution by studying the legends and the stylistic similarities of these coins with those from the mint of Antioch produced under Pescennius Niger. The main reason certain denarii were attributed to Emesa and not Antioch was due to the fact that the coins in question were thought to be dated to Septimius Severus' first consulship in AD 193, when the Emperor did not have a hold on Antioch (due to Pescennius Niger's presence there), until his second consulship in AD 194. However, by showing that the denarii presumably minted during Septimius Severus' first consulship were in fact issues of his second consulship (based on epigraphic anomalies), Butcher has reattributed these denarii to the mint of Antioch. His reattribution is also based on the stylistic similarities of these denarii with those of Pescennius from Antioch.⁸⁷

A metallurgical analysis was conducted on the denarii of Septimius Severus from these 'eastern mints' and Rome.⁸⁸ Although the results show that the denarii attributed to Emesa should be considered separate from those of Laodicea and Rome, the issues of Pescennius Niger from Antioch were not included in the study and therefore it cannot be confirmed if the 'Emesene' issues are similar in chemical composition to those of Antioch. Although a metallurgical analysis of the 'Emesene' and Antiochene denarii is needed to confirm Butcher's proposition, his attribution remains convincing and thus it may be stated that Emesa did not mint in the reign of Septimius Severus.

⁸⁶ *CRS*, 98-108.

⁸⁷ Butcher also does not see any reason why Antioch could not have subsequently minted imperial denarii of Septimius Severus even though it was 'punished' by the emperor for siding with Pescennius Niger.

⁸⁸ Gitler and Ponting 2007.

3. Caracalla (Cat. nos. 29-36)

After the issues of Antoninus Pius, a gap of at least five decades follows, until minting was resumed at the very end of Caracalla's reign. It is uncertain why the successors of Antoninus Pius had no issues at Emesa, but it is known that during the Severan period there was a proliferation of minting in the region, and perhaps this was the reason Emesa resumed its output after the long gap. However, the direct reason for Emesa restarting the minting of bronze coins is most probably the consequence of the minting of tetradrachms there initiated in AD 215, in the Emperor's fourth consulship, which continued until his assassination in AD 217.⁸⁹ It should be noted that because Septimius Severus did not mint tetradrachms in Emesa, this could also explain why there are no bronze coins of this emperor from this mint.

Under Caracalla, the production of tetradrachms was part of a region-wide initiative; a total of 28 cities took part in this scheme,⁹⁰ including Emesa. The consensus regarding the reason for the production of tetradrachms in numerous mints of the Syro-Phoenician territories is the preparation for the Emperor's Parthian campaign and the subsequent military pay.⁹¹ However, it should also be kept in mind that there was no widespread production of tetradrachms for the eastern campaigns of Septimius Severus, and therefore Caracalla's motives may not have been purely military in nature. As stated above, the production of tetradrachms at Emesa seems to have been a likely incentive for the re-initiation of a bronze coinage there. This is backed by the fact that the bronze coins of this emperor were issued towards the end of his reign (see below), as was also the case for the silver.

⁸⁹ Caracalla's fourth consulship began in AD 213 (Kienast 1996, 163). Bellinger (1940, 6) is also aware of this date, but proposes that minting started later in AD 215 due to the Emperor's visit to the region.

⁹⁰ based on Bellinger's classification (1940).

⁹¹ Bellinger 1940, 6; *CRS* 112; Prieur and Prieur 2000, xxv.

The bronze issues of Caracalla are known by six types: temple façade, temple view (right or left), Julia Domna/altar, Caracalla/Julia Domna, perched eagle and seated Tyche (front or left).⁹² These issues are difficult to classify in a detailed sequential order, since they are all dated to the final two years of the Emperor's rule. The altar, perched eagle and both temple types are attested by two dates: ZKΦ = 527 = AD 215/216 and HKΦ = 528 = AD 216/217. The seated Tyche type is attested by the date ZKΦ only and the Caracalla/Julia Domna type by the date HKΦ.

Based on the metrological data (see Metrology and Denominations chapter for statistics) it is apparent that there existed three main modules, with the heaviest weighing roughly 24 grams (temple façade and perspective view), the medium module 12 grams (both types depicting the Emperor's mother) and the lightest 8 grams (eagle and Tyche types). Regarding the largest denomination, as mentioned above, both dates are attested for the two types, and thus it is apparent that they were minted concurrently. However, it should be noted that the majority of the temple view type is dated ZKΦ, by which it may be assumed that production of this type was significantly reduced and perhaps ceased in the second year (represented by a single specimen only, BNF-Y28045, 990a). The temple façade type is distributed equally over the two documented dates. The Caracalla/Julia Domna type is tentatively placed in the second denominational group since it is represented by a few specimens only (seven coins), whereas the Julia Domna/altar issue was apparently minted in substantial quantities. Most of these latter coins are dated ZKΦ, whereas the former type is thus far known by the date HKΦ only. This may imply that the altar type was the only type for the medium module during the first year and was later supplemented

⁹² *BMC Syria*, p. 238-239, nos. 9-16, where the temple, Caracalla/Julia Domna and the eagle types are not listed.

by the Caracalla/Julia Domna type, as production of the principal type was reduced considerably after the first year (40 coins have been documented with the date ZKΦ, though only 11 for those dated HKΦ). Regarding the lightest modules, the perched eagle was documented in greater numbers (27 specimens) than the Tyche type with all its variants (8 specimens). As stated above, the former type is represented by both dates of issue, with the latter being represented only by the first year. Thus, the perched eagle type seems to have been the chief type of this third group.

In most of the cases above it is apparent that the second year (HKΦ) was less represented at Emesa for the reign of Caracalla and with fewer types than the first year of issue (ZKΦ). This should not be interpreted as a decrease in production, but rather due to Caracalla's reign ending in AD 217, as a result of which minting was stopped and then continued for Macrinus.

4. Macrinus (Cat. nos. 37-40)

Macrinus continued Caracalla's system for the production of tetradrachms in multiple mints of the Syro-Phoenician territories. Emesa also continued minting these silver coins without introducing any changes in the metrology. Cases have been noted where reverses of Macrinus have been paired with obverses of Caracalla (see Die Studies chapter), indicating that minting of tetradrachms under Macrinus continued immediately after the death of Caracalla without any apparent gap in the minting activity.

The bronze issues of Macrinus at Emesa are represented by two types only – temple façade and side view⁹³ both of which are of the same denomination as

⁹³ Both types not listed in *BMC*.

attested by their modules. These coins are very limited in terms of specimens surviving to date (a total of only seven specimens being documented during this study) and are represented by the single date of ΗΚΦ, which corresponds to AD 216/217. Keeping in mind that the Seleucid new year commences in early autumn⁹⁴ and knowing that Macrinus' accession took place in April of 217,⁹⁵ it seems that the coins were minted towards the end of the Seleucid year ΗΚΦ, i.e., during the spring/summer of AD 217. All this, in addition to the fact that only a single obverse die was identified (used to strike both types), implies that it had a short-lived and limited production. No other types or modules have come to light. It seems odd that only a single denomination was issued; perhaps future finds may add to our knowledge.

5. Elagabalus (Cat. nos. 41-48)

Although during the reign of Elagabalus a proliferation of types (eight in total) took place, a regression in the output, modules and style is noticeable. The eight types minted during the reign of Elagabalus are: temple façade, wreath with inscriptions, prize-crown, seated Tyche, altar, eagle standing facing, perched eagle and sun god.⁹⁶

It is difficult to classify the issues of Elagabalus chronologically, since most of the coins are undated. Only the temple façade and perched eagle types bear dates. The latter is dated by the Seleucid era ΦΛ = 530 = AD 218/219, but in the case of the temple type, the date is not fully legible apart from the ΦΛ, in which the single digit number on the surviving specimens is either indiscernible or off the flan. This places

⁹⁴ Samuel 1972, 245-246; Bickerman 1980, 71-72.

⁹⁵ Kienast 1996, 169.

⁹⁶ *BMC Syria*, p. 239-240, nos. 17-21. The wreath, seated Tyche and sun god types are not listed.

the issue anywhere in the Emperor's reign (AD 218-222). The prize-crown, seated Tyche and standing eagle types all have the numeral letter E in the field of the reverse. There do not seem to be any other dates or field marks inscribed on the coins of Elagabalus, with the exception of the altar type which has unidentifiable letters in the exergue, perhaps representing a date.

Stylistically, the issues of Elagabalus seem to be of lesser quality than those of his predecessors, in particular the standing eagle type, which occasionally has blundered legends.

6. Uranius Antoninus (Cat. nos. 49-58)

Uranius Antoninus resumed the minting of tetradrachms in Emesa after a gap of three decades.⁹⁷ These base silver tetradrachms, the last of its kind to be minted in Syria, followed the style of their contemporary counterparts produced in Antioch. Two series have been noted based on the two consulships of Uranius as attested by the reverse inscriptions.⁹⁸ Baldus managed to identify a total of 19 obverse and 26 reverse dies, showing that these tetradrachms had a considerable output.⁹⁹

A second group of silver coins, known as 'reformed' tetradrachms, were also produced under Uranius.¹⁰⁰ These were minted using a variety of reverse types reminiscent of denarii and aurei (see Types and Legends chapter). Despite the lower weight standard of these 'reformed' tetradrachms,¹⁰¹ their fineness of about 90%

⁹⁷ Elagabalus did not continue the region-wide production of tetradrachms witnessed under Caracalla and Macrinus.

⁹⁸ Baldus 1971, 22; *CRS*, 122-123.

⁹⁹ Baldus 1971, 17, 22.

¹⁰⁰ Baldus initially included only two specimens known to him at the time of the publication of his main corpus (1971, nos. 27-28), but later published a total of 41 specimens in a subsequent study (Baldus, 1975).

¹⁰¹ The average weight of 41 specimens was calculated to be 8.44 gr (Baldus 1975, 448).

provides an intrinsic value of around four or five times that of the ‘pre-reform’ issues discussed above.¹⁰² It remains uncertain why these new better-quality silver issues were introduced. Walker has proposed that they were intended to contest the high quality Sassanian drachms, but as Butcher has rightfully pointed out, the Sassanian currency did not circulate in Syria.¹⁰³ Nonetheless, it is likely that these silver coins may have been intended to be circulated or sent elsewhere, otherwise Gresham’s law would have inevitably driven them out of circulation in favour of the base silver tetradrachms.¹⁰⁴ Perhaps these new coins were intended to be paid as tribute to the Sassanians by Uranius. Malalas reports that the Sassanian emperor accepted Uranius – Samsigeramus, priest of Aphrodite– as an ambassador and ordered his troops not to attack (see Introduction chapter for details of the account).¹⁰⁵ Perhaps an agreement was made where Emesa would be spared in return for the payment of tribute in a medium acceptable to the Sassanians. Indeed, Emesa was not among the list of cities conquered by Shapur. In any case, the new tetradrachms do not seem to have been put into circulation; whatever the reasons for their production, the coins were not used for their intended purpose and were discontinued with the cessation of Uranius’ reign.

The bronze issues of Uranius Antoninus, both in terms of modules and types, reverted to those of Macrinus. Once again only the temple façade and side view types were minted, both of which are dated ΕΞΦ = 565 = AD 253/254. Based on the number of surviving specimens to date and the number of dies identified, it seems that more bronzes were issued by Uranius than Macrinus. Baldus has documented two

¹⁰² *CRS*, 123.

¹⁰³ See *CRS* p. 122-123 and note 310 for the relevant discussion. Walker 1978 (Part III), 96.

¹⁰⁴ This would hold true even though the ‘reformed’ tetradrachms had a higher value than the ‘standard’ tetradrachms, since it would have been preferable to exchange the low quality silver coins with the better, particularly for hoarding purposes.

¹⁰⁵ Malalas *Chronicle* 12. 296-297.

obverse dies from a total of 15 bronzes of Uranius Antoninus.¹⁰⁶ In the process of this study, six more bronzes, not known to Baldus at the time, have been recorded from online auctions,¹⁰⁷ but without adding to the two dies already identified by Baldus. All seven bronzes of Macrinus documented herewith were struck from a single obverse die. Although the number of documented bronze coins for both emperors is not comprehensive, and thus the die studies are incomplete, it may be tentatively implied that the issues of Uranius Antoninus were more common than those of Macrinus.¹⁰⁸ No smaller modules have yet come to light¹⁰⁹ (as is the case for Macrinus also), but this does not necessarily mean that only the largest denomination was produced; future finds may add to the denominational sequence.¹¹⁰

As we have seen above, Emesa began minting in the reign of Antoninus Pius. But what was the reason for this? Butcher has noted that these issues were similar in style and size, and perhaps concurrent with those issued at Chalcis, Beroea and Cyrrhus.¹¹¹ He thus implies that they may have been minted as a result of an increase in the military presence in Syria for a potential campaign against the Parthians, similar to the reigns of Trajan and Lucius Verus. This proposition is plausible, when considering Emesa's proximity to Raphanea, a leading military base in the Orontes Valley.

¹⁰⁶ Baldus, 1971, nos. 30-44.

¹⁰⁷ CNG-Triton V.1767; CNG-Triton IX.1561; CNG-76.3140; CNG-85.644; acsearch-NY Sale IX.143; acsearch-M&M 20.634.

¹⁰⁸ Although this may also be due to Uranius' coins being more desirable and therefore sought after by collectors.

¹⁰⁹ Baldus lists a small bronze denomination (1971, coin no. 45), but questions the coin's authenticity which indeed seems to be a nineteenth century forgery.

¹¹⁰ The aurei and denarii are not discussed herein, since they are not considered to be provincial coins. See Baldus 1971, 1977, 1983 and 1990 for a discussion of these coins.

¹¹¹ *CRS*, 39.

The reason Emesa restarted minting coins during the very end of Caracalla's reign (after a considerable gap of half a century) may be due to the hiatus in the production of coinage during the reign of Septimius Severus in northern Syria, with no bronze coins being produced in Antioch at all;¹¹² perhaps a shortage of coinage in the area prompted Emesa to resume minting. However, the more likely reason seems to be the fact that Emesa participated in the region-wide production of tetradrachms under Caracalla, most likely prompting the resumption of bronzes as well. This hypothesis is further backed by the fact that the bronzes date to the later period of Caracalla's reign, as is also the case for the production of the tetradrachms.

A gap in production between the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Caracalla for Syrian mints is unknown and therefore it is not possible to draw any direct parallels. A similar case can be found at Caesarea ad Libanum, where a gap in minting between Antoninus Pius and Elagabalus is noted, and further south Dora and Sepphoris-Diocaesarea had a cessation in their minting activity between the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Caracalla, but it is difficult to see any direct parallels between these cities and Emesa.

Another gap in minting at Emesa was between the reigns of Elagabalus and Uranius Antoninus. The worship of Elagabal was unpopular in Rome and with the army, an aspect which consequently played a role in the downfall of Elagabalus and the accession of Severus Alexander to the throne.¹¹³ Perhaps this negative role was the reason Elagabalus' successor did not encourage the minting of coins at Emesa.

¹¹² *CRS*, 23.

¹¹³ Herodian 5.7-8.

G. Laodicea ad Libanum

Mionnet, Eckhel, de Saulcy and Head attribute coins to this mint starting from the reign of Antoninus Pius, although minting in fact began with Septimius Severus.¹¹⁴

1. Septimius Severus (Cat. nos. 59-62)

The production of coins in Laodicea ad Libanum starts in the reign of Septimius Severus, but the reasons for this remain unknown. Perhaps due to the proliferation of mints elsewhere during this time period Laodicea ad Libanum also felt the need to mint. Heliopolis, similar to Laodicea ad Libanum, also began minting in the reign of this emperor.¹¹⁵ However, in the case of Heliopolis the historical context for initiating a coinage is evident, since in the reign of this emperor it was detached from the territory of Berytus and granted the rank of *colonia*.¹¹⁶ Perhaps it may have been the result of rivalry and jealousy, or reasons of prestige, that Laodicea ad Libanum started minting as a reaction to Heliopolis' elevation in status in the region. Similarities in style between the issues of both mints have been noted, but the denominational system is entirely dissimilar (see Metrology and Denominations chapter).

Four types are known under this emperor: Septimius Severus/Mên, Caracalla/seated Tyche, Julia Domna/Tyche bust and Geta/Tyche bust.¹¹⁷ Although minting in Laodicea ad Libanum started in the time of Septimius Severus (AD 193-

¹¹⁴ Mionnet 1811, vol. 5, 306-307, nos. 144-150 (the type listed under Antoninus Pius is in fact a coin of Caesarea ad Libanum); Eckhel 1828, vol. 3, 336-337; de Saulcy 1874, 3-5; Head 1887, 663.

¹¹⁵ Sawaya 2009, 230.

¹¹⁶ Millar 1993, 124, 218.

¹¹⁷ *Lindgren III* lists a coin (no. 1289) with a *seated* Tyche reverse under Geta, but the portrait is that of Caracalla and has an obverse die link (O9) with ten other coins of Caracalla (see Die Studies chapter).

211), it is uncertain precisely when during the reign. The type depicting the *young* Caracalla has inscriptions referring to him as Emperor (AVTKMANTWNINOC) and not Caesar; thus, they were minted after AD 198. Similarly, since Geta is presented as Caesar (ΓΕΤΑ ΚΑΙCΑΠΙ), this too is after AD 198, though before AD 209 when Geta becomes Augustus. With the above in mind, it may be proposed that minting under Septimius Severus took place sometime during the period of AD 198 - 209.

2. Caracalla (Cat. nos. 63-64)

In the reign of Caracalla the number of types decreased to two: Caracalla/Mên and Julia Domna/bust of Tyche. As these two types are not dated, it is difficult to establish their chronology, and the die studies unfortunately do not aid in this question. Based on the number of surviving specimens and the number of dies produced, the larger denomination represented by the Mên type seems to have been produced in greater numbers (2 obverses, 11 reverses) than the smaller, which is known by a single pair of dies only.

3. Macrinus (Cat. no. 65)

Issues of Macrinus at Laodicea ad Libanum are represented solely by the Mên type, and as with the issue of Septimius Severus, it is quite scarce. The only noticeable difference is that the average weight was increased to approximately 18 grams, compared to 9 grams under Caracalla. These issues too are undated as was the case for the previous emperors.

4. Elagabalus (Cat. no. 66)

The case for Elagabalus is very similar to that of his predecessor with only the Mên type represented. The issues of this emperor are also undated and rare. A coin of Laodicea ad Libanum depicting Mên on the reverse listed in *Lindgren I* (no. 2177) is attributed to Trebonianus Gallus or Volusian by the authors, but the coin is an issue of Elagabalus and is struck from the same obverse die (O19) as all the other coins of Elagabalus (see Die Studies chapter).

It is difficult to ascertain the reason Laodicea ad Libanum began minting in the reign of Septimius Severus, but perhaps the hiatus in production of coinage starting in the reign of Commodus and continuing during the reign of Septimius Severus in northern Syria¹¹⁸ may have prompted Laodicea ad Libanum to mint coins to accommodate for a possible shortage. Alternately, as discussed above, the initiation of a coinage in this city may have been a reaction to the debut of coinage in Heliopolis. But perhaps it is more simply the case that this city too participated in the proliferation of minting in the region during the Severan period.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ *CRS*, 23.

¹¹⁹ The reason for this proliferation remains uncertain, but perhaps the hiatus in the early Severan period prompted an eventual increase in production to compensate for a possible shortage in currency in the region.

CHAPTER IV

CIRCULATION

There has been a good amount of literature on how to interpret hoards,¹ but when it comes to site finds it is only recently that interest has emerged, and with it the pitfalls it presents.² In fact, it is courtesy of these pitfalls that the interest, and surrounding debates, has grown even further, resulting in the acknowledgement of the significance of documenting coin finds. One would assume that by tabulating and mapping out the coins found from a site it would be easy to understand coin circulation in a region, but this is not necessarily so.

The reason it is difficult for numismatists to understand monetary circulation in the Roman Near East is due to the lack of any uniformity in the issues. Whereas in Rome there was relative regularity in the currency, the opposite is true for the Roman East. Although there may have been a generally accepted exchange rate between Roman coins and those of the eastern provinces,³ this was certainly not true for the denominations in use. Each city issued a variety of denominations which were not compatible with issues of other cities. This lack of conformity has complicated the understanding of coin circulation in the region and, as stated above, any attempt to make sense of the picture through coin finds has been met with hurdles (see below).

¹ Noe 1920; Milne 1939, 91-110; Laing 1969, 52-68; Crawford 1969; Casey 1986, 51-67; Duncan-Jones 1998, 67-94.

² For what follows, the term 'site finds' refers to coins, whether single or aggregate, retrieved from excavations and surveys. The term 'stray finds', often used in the literature, is avoided here since it denotes cases involving casual finds or when a coin is found out of context (for example, a medieval coin from a Roman site).

³ Melville Jones 1971; Walker 1982-1983; Buttrey 1991; Howgego 2005, 54-60 (hereafter *GIC*); Johnston 2007, 17.

The understanding of coin circulation in a region can be derived from site finds, hoard evidence, countermarks, overstrikes, and epigraphic evidence. Literary sources as an aid to the numismatist for the understanding of circulation in the Roman East are nearly nonexistent. For this reason, site finds and hoards are considered the chief source of information, followed by countermarks and overstrikes.

A. Site finds and hoards

1. Significance and problems

Site finds are the best source for understanding circulation patterns of provincial bronzes, whereas hoards, being composed mostly of silver coins, are not as useful. This is mostly because silver coins had a wide area of circulation and were used as currency for a long period of time. However, the chief reason hoard evidence cannot be used extensively for the current study is because there is no data from hoards of the Orontes Valley.⁴

a. Interpretation of the data

The data obtained from site finds is more informative, but the interpretation of it is risky.⁵ The main complexity lies in determining whether or not a coin was legal tender in the place it was found. Does a single coin find of a certain city in the territory of another imply that it was accepted there, or does it mean that the coin was not acceptable and therefore discarded? If a coin can be shown to have been lost, this would indicate that it was in circulation (and thus legal tender), whereas if it were

⁴ With the exception of Hama discussed below.

⁵ Reece 1982, 495-497.

deliberately discarded, this would indicate that it was obsolete (and therefore not legal tender).⁶ Unfortunately, there is no obvious way of proving whether a single coin was in circulation or not.⁷ But an alternative to this approach is available: if a significant amount of a certain issue were to be found, it would be safe to assume that it had been in circulation.⁸ If only a single coin were to be found, it would be safe to assume nothing.

The notion that coins may have been systematically discarded because they were not legal tender may not necessarily be true in all cases. The view that “it may not have been worth the effort of recycling handfuls of small change”⁹ may not have been true in all cases. To cite an example: it is true that the discard of ½ penny coins was commonplace in the United Kingdom after they were withdrawn from circulation in the 1980s. However, the 1 Livre nickel coins issued in Lebanon between 1975 and 1986, although currently no longer legal tender and are worthless as far as their face value, are still sold as scrap metal by weight, even though several handfuls of these coins merely fetch the price of a single modest meal. It would be difficult to discard a piece of currency even if it no longer has buying value; money is not something readily abandoned, in whatever form it may be. It is not uncommon to find coins put aside in a drawer as keepsakes, even after they have been decommissioned.¹⁰ This is also true for paper money, although it has no intrinsic value. This is not to say that coins were never discarded; it merely means that it would be difficult to part with

⁶ As Butcher points out, “to describe the coins as ‘lost’ implies accident; ‘discarded’ implies a deliberate act. ‘Deposited’ implies neither.” (Butcher 2001-2002, 31). In this study deposition should be understood as a non-deliberate act.

⁷ Butcher 2001-2002, 36.

⁸ Milne (1939, 99) proposes that when the number of coins of the same issue or mint reaches double figures it would be safe to assume that they were currency in the locality they were found.

⁹ Butcher 2001-2002, 24.

¹⁰ Coins put away in a drawer may be considered as a form of discard, but it also implies retention.

money, whether or not it still has value. Therefore, when a coin is found, it is probably the case that it was not deliberately discarded.¹¹

The above hypothesis implies that most coin finds from sites are due to loss. Small change is more likely to be treated casually and carelessly; thus, the likelihood of it being lost is more probable. More valuable coins, on the other hand, whether of precious metal or higher base metal denominations, would have been treated with more care to avoid loss, and in case of loss, more effort would have been exerted in finding them.¹² Similarly, with bronze coins having a lesser value than silver or gold, it would have been more common to carry them around for convenience, and thus they would have been more susceptible to loss.¹³

In the case of discarded coins, one should not be too hasty in concluding that the coins were not in circulation. It may be the case that an issue was demonetised and therefore discarded, but nevertheless it would still provide information about circulation just before it was decommissioned. When it comes to coins classified as forgeries or 'foreign coins', it has been proposed that they should be removed from statistical analysis of site finds.¹⁴ But forgeries too can provide information on patterns of circulation. It would have been worthwhile to make forgeries of a particular issue and inject them into the market only if it was acceptable as a coin already in circulation. Forgeries are also useful for evaluating economic crises in a certain time and place. A shortage in the supply of money may have prompted the introduction of forgeries to supplement liquidity in local markets.¹⁵ For these reasons,

¹¹ This is not to say that there are absolutely no discarded coins among the finds.

¹² Carradice 1983, 133; Casey 1986, 70-72; Blackburn 1989, 17-18.

¹³ Howgego 1992, 12.

¹⁴ Blackburn 1989, 17.

¹⁵ Burnett 1987, 97.

foreign coins should without a doubt be included in any statistical analysis, since it is also through them that circulation patterns may be better understood.

It is generally accepted that there would have been some loss involved in the exchange from one currency to another. This is more true when lesser known and far away currencies were exchanged than in the case of well known and generally accepted currencies. This is due to confidence in a currency. For example, the Euro is better known and accepted in Britain than the Russian Ruble and therefore exchangers and banks would probably demand a larger commission when it comes to exchanging the Ruble as compared to the Euro. Similarly, in the case of the US Dollar, because it is a well known global currency, and despite the fact that it is the currency of a distant country, exchangers would be more readily willing to accept it at a smaller exchange rate than the equally distant, but less known, Ruble. This hypothesis may apply to the present study as well. Antioch and Berytus were relatively equidistant from the Orontes Valley. However, it is much more common to find Antiochene coins in the region as opposed to coins of Berytus (see below for the statistics). The reason for this is because Antiochene coins (in particular the SC issues) enjoyed a wide circulation, whereas those of Berytus did not. Thus, it is likely that exchangers would have been more willing to accept Antiochene coins over those of Berytus.

b. Biases in interpretation

Regarding bias in the analyses of the site finds evidence, it should first be stated what primary factors govern coin loss and retrieval. The number of coins deposited should be based on a) the volume of coins in circulation and b) the venue (market, military camp, farm, etc.). In the first case, the finds would be a true representation of what was available in circulation, because the volume of coins

would be influenced by the demand of a particular coinage.¹⁶ In the second case, however, the finds would present a misleading representation of what was in circulation in general, since a particular venue would display finds influenced by the needs of certain groups (merchants, soldiers, etc.).¹⁷ Secondary factors which may govern a coin's loss and its subsequent retrieval are the intrinsic value of a coin and its size.¹⁸ It can be surmised that smaller pieces are more difficult to retrieve than larger pieces, since the size of a coin can be an aid in finding it if lost in the past or retrieving it in the present. This creates a bias in favour of bigger denominations, even if it was not used at a particular place instead of the smaller. On the other hand, the tendency to lose smaller denominations is greater than that of more valuable coins, which would have been handled with more care. Thus, finds could be biased in favour of small change.¹⁹ Similarly, site formation processes play a role in where a coin is recovered, but not where it may have been originally deposited.

The presence or absence of a coin from an excavation may be the result of chance, depending on which areas of a site are excavated and which are left unexplored.²⁰ Similarly, the coins that are retrieved are those which have survived disintegration over the years. Some alloys are more vulnerable to corrosion than others, thus creating a bias in favour of coins which 'age' better than those which do not. On the same note, the chemical composition of the soil in a particular region may be less damaging than in other places, which once again can lead to biases in the survival rate for certain coins.²¹ Human factors may also play a role on the outcome of

¹⁶ Carradice 1983, 133.

¹⁷ Casey 1986, 81-83.

¹⁸ Casey 1986, 69-74.

¹⁹ Carradice 1983, 133.

²⁰ Ryan 1988, 30.

²¹ Casey 1986, 80, 88; Ryan 1988, 30.

the results, based on the methodology used in recording the finds and their subsequent publication.²²

Therefore, whereas it is easy to draw conclusions from studying site finds, it is even easier to draw false conclusions, especially if limited or biased data is used.²³ On this note, numismatists have stated that the number of coins lost is directly proportional to the number of (the same) coins in use.²⁴ However, this may not necessarily be the case. It could be that a number of coins of a certain issue were lost, but due to various circumstances have not been recovered. Thus the proportions could be only partially true.

c. Lack of systematic documentation

The lack of documented site finds in the form of published material also hampers the understanding of coin circulation.²⁵ In general, site directors are reluctant to devote their resources to processing coin finds (cleaning, imaging and documenting) and subsequently publishing them. This lack of enthusiasm on the part of directors is to some extent due to numismatists, who themselves seem to be undecided on how to interpret coin finds. The reason archaeologists are reluctant to place much importance on coin finds is because they are not a reliable source for dating archaeological contexts. A coin retrieved from a stratigraphic layer cannot provide a date for that particular context. All that can be provided is the date of issue of the coin.²⁶ Archaeologists express frustration when trying to date a context according to the date of a coin, whereas what should be sought is the date of

²² Howgego 1995, 88-89.

²³ Grierson 1965, ii.

²⁴ Casey 1986, 69-70; Blackburn 1989.

²⁵ Although it is fair to say that this trend has been improving in recent years.

²⁶ See the detailed discussion in Butcher 2001-2002, 23-28.

deposition of the coin.²⁷ The unreliability of coins for chronological analyses is in fact a realistic concern, but it should not be a reason to dismiss coin finds as archaeologically unimportant artefacts. Numismatists have avidly tried to point out to archaeologists the significance of site finds and the arguments involving archaeological contexts and coin finds.²⁸ Coins from excavations can provide an understanding of the economic life of a region, especially when used in correlation with finds from surrounding regions. Coin finds can also provide the sequence of settlement periods at a particular site by statistically analysing a particular issue's production and circulation.²⁹

Coordination between numismatists and archaeologists is progressing, understanding that it is only with the accumulation of a substantial amount of data, aided by comparative material from other regions, that a clearer image can be composed.

d. Conclusion

This section has attempted to discuss the significance of coin finds and the pitfalls that should be avoided when interpreting the data. In the case where an issue is represented by a single coin find it is prudent to deduce nothing, as this may represent a lost coin or one which was discarded. In cases where the list of coins from a site is a small one, it would not warrant an interpretation, but it is certainly worth cataloguing the coins. On this note, representing site finds lists in terms of percentages may also misrepresent the data. For example, if 25% of a considerable number of coins

²⁷ Blackburn 1989, 15.

²⁸ Casey 1986, 74-79; Ryan 1988, 110-115; Blackburn 1989; Christophersen 1989.

²⁹ Müller 1968. It should be noted that Müller's hypothesis requires further experimentation to be conclusive.

collected from a particular site are of a single type, then it is a significant representation of the presence of these coins. However, if the same 25% is represented by only 2 or 3 coins, then this small number of specimens is too weak to base an argument on. Accordingly, attempting to draw any conclusion from a small number of finds is tempting but dangerously hasty. Even when a significant amount of coins is available from a site, it is still difficult to compose a definite picture of coin circulation. Yet this should not dissuade numismatists and archaeologists from documenting coin finds. With a growing database of site finds from an entire geographical region, such as the Roman province of Syria, a general understanding can be composed.

2. The data

a. Finds from the Orontes Valley

Bronzes

- **Apamea**

Of the 2,452 coins excavated from Apamea between 1966 and 1971, 38 were Hellenistic, 1,100 Roman, 153 Byzantine and 89 Islamic. The remaining coins, comprising nearly half of the total retrieved, were unidentifiable. Only the Roman coins were published,³⁰ of which 48 belong to the period AD 27-253,³¹ with the remaining vast majority belonging to the late Roman period. Here it should be noted

³⁰ Callu 1979.

³¹ Potentially, civic coins of Apamea could have been among the finds, but would not have been included in the publication by Callu.

that the statistics are biased towards the late Roman period, because 84.5% of the coins collected came from areas and contexts dating to that period.³²

The 48 coins retrieved from archaeological contexts are as follows:

Mint	Obverse	Reverse	Reference	Date (AD)	Callu no.
Antioch	Augustus	AVGVSTVS in wreath	CRS 43		39
Antioch	head of Zeus	ram(?)	<i>SNG Cop.</i> 95-98	Augustan period	42
Antioch	head of Tyche(?)	ram	<i>SNG Cop.</i> 99	55/56	41
Antioch	head of Artemis	laurel branch	<i>SNG Cop.</i> 106	68/69	44
Antioch	Trajan	SC in wreath	CRS 197ff		46
Antioch	Antoninus Pius	bust of Marcus Aurelius, SC in field	CRS 304-313		47
Antioch	Elagabalus	seated Tyche, SC in field	<i>BMC Syria</i> 458 or 460		76
Antioch	Elagabalus	SC in wreath	CRS 469		77
Antioch	busts of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian	Tyche seated in temple	CRS 507		86
Antioch	uncertain	SC		1 st - 2 nd c.	48-65
Antioch	uncertain	SC		2 nd - 3 rd c.	66-74
Antioch	uncertain	SC		3 rd c.	81-85
Antioch	uncertain	seated Tyche		Post 218	78
Antioch	uncertain	SC		222-249(?)	80
Antioch or Rome	Trajan	head of Tyche, KOINON CYPIAC	CRS 13		45
Laodicea	Elagabalus	ΔE in wreath	<i>SNG Glasgow</i> 3219 ³³		79
Commagene	Tiberius	caduceus and double cornucopia	<i>BMCRE</i> 174 ³⁴		40
Judean procurators	palm. Λε Καίσαρος	Νερωος in wreath	<i>BMC Palestine</i> 266	58/59	43

³² Callu 1979, 9.

³³ Callu, following *BMC Syria* (nos. 447-450) and *SNG Cop.* (248-249), attributes this coin of Elagabalus with a 'ΔE in wreath' reverse to the mint of Antioch. However, Butcher (*CRS*, 384) considers these to be issues of Laodicea; his attribution is used here.

³⁴ Butcher tentatively attributes these dupondii to Antioch (*CRS*, p. 332, nos. 68-69).

Megalopolis	Septimius Severus	Zeus holding sceptre	<i>BMC Peloponnesus 17</i>		75
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Table 2: List of coins excavated from Apamea dating to the period AD 27 - 253.

Callu's publication includes an appendix listing an additional 100 coins collected from Apamea, but which were not retrieved from the excavations of 1966-1971. The following is a list of 11 of these coins relative to the period covered in this study:

Mint	Obverse	Reverse	Reference	Date (AD)	Callu no.
Antioch	Nerva	SC in wreath	<i>CRS 183-194</i>		1
Antioch	Lucius Verus	SC(?)	<i>SNG Cop. 228</i>		2
Antioch	Diadumenian	SC in wreath	<i>CRS 463b-465b</i>		6
Antioch	Elagabalus	SC in wreath	<i>CRS 469</i>		7
Antioch	Elagabalus(?)	SC in wreath	<i>CRS 469 (?)</i>		8
Antioch	Severus Alexander	seated Tyche flanked by a standing Tyche and a figure crowning her	<i>CRS 488</i>		11
Antioch	uncertain	SC		Early 3 rd c.	3-4
Raphanea	Elagabalus	standing genius	<i>BMC Syria 3</i>		9
Laodicea	Caracalla	wolf suckling twins	<i>BMC Syria 91</i>		5
Tripolis(?)	Elagabalus	tetrastyle temple with figures	<i>SNG Cop. 292(?)</i>		10

Table 3: List of coins included in Callu's appendix relevant to the time period under study.

- **Larissa**

From the excavations at Shayzar, ancient Larissa, 7 badly corroded coins have been retrieved. Preliminary observations indicate that they are of the Islamic period. They are currently deposited in the Hama Museum.³⁵

³⁵ Personal communication with Matthias Grawehr (Universität Basel). In another communication, Cristina Tonghini (Università Ca' Foscari, Venice) has stated that no coins were found from the areas she has excavated in Shayzar.

- **Epiphanea**

The coins from Hama have been published by Thomsen.³⁶ The references provided by the author are rather generic and, unlike the publication by Callu, the descriptions and the metrological data is not provided, rendering the finds difficult to classify with certainty. From the pre-Islamic period a total of 545 coins and 11 hoards were excavated. The bronze coins relative to this study, numbering 139 in total, are as follows:

Mint	Obverse	Reverse	Reference	Date	Number of coins
Antioch	head of Zeus	Zeus seated	<i>SNG Cop.</i> 67ff	1 st c. BC	5
Antioch	head of Zeus	ram	<i>SNG Cop.</i> 95ff.	Augustan	1
Antioch	head of Tyche	altar	<i>SNG Cop.</i> 102	uncertain	1
Antioch	Augustus	SC in wreath	<i>SNG Cop.</i> 139ff ³⁷		2
Antioch	Augustus	AVGVSTVS in wreath	<i>CRS</i> 43 ³⁸		3 ³⁹
Antioch	Claudius	SC in wreath	<i>SNG Cop.</i> 150ff		2
Antioch	Nero	SC in wreath	<i>SNG Cop.</i> 158ff		1
Antioch	Otho		Uncertain ⁴⁰		1
Antioch	Vespasian	SC in wreath	<i>SNG Cop.</i> 171		1
Antioch	Domitian	SC in wreath	<i>SNG Cop.</i> 178, 180		2
Antioch	Trajan	SC in wreath	<i>SNG Cop.</i> 199		1
Antioch	Antoninus Pius	SC in wreath	<i>SNG Cop.</i> 211ff		3
Antioch	Macrinus	SC in wreath	<i>BMC Syria</i> 389		1
Antioch	Diadumenian	SC in wreath	<i>SNG Cop.</i> 235		1
Antioch	Elagabalus	SC in wreath	<i>SNG Cop.</i> 242ff		7
Antioch	Elagabalus	seated Tyche	<i>SNG Cop.</i> 250ff		1
Antioch	Severus Alexander	seated Tyche(?)	uncertain ⁴¹		1
Antioch	Severus Alexander	seated Tyche flanked by a standing Tyche	<i>SNG Cop.</i> 256		2

³⁶ Thomsen 1986.

³⁷ Erroneously referenced as *SNG Cop.* 39ff by Thomsen.

³⁸ Thomsen ascribes these to the mint of Pergamon and classifies them as Roman issues. Butcher prefers an attribution to Antioch (*CRS*, 322-323).

³⁹ Including a halved coin.

⁴⁰ The reference provide by Thomsen (*SNG Cop.* 164f) is a tetradrachm of Otho and not a bronze coin.

⁴¹ The reference provide by Thomsen (*SNG Cop.* 250ff) is for bronzes of Elagabalus.

		and a figure crowning her			
Antioch	Philip I	bust of Tyche	<i>SNG Cop. 272</i>		1
Antioch	Trebonianus Gallus	seated Tyche in tetrastyle temple	<i>SNG Cop. 292</i>		1
Antioch			unidentified	1 st - 3 rd c. AD	22
Hierapolis	Caracalla		uncertain ⁴²		1
Apamea	bust of Athena	Nike	<i>SNG Cop. 298-299</i>	2 nd half of 1 st c. BC	11
Apamea	bust of Dionysus	cornucopia	<i>SNG Cop. 300</i>	Late 1 st c. BC	2
Apamea	bust of Dionysus	thyrsus	<i>SNG Cop. 301</i>	2 nd half of 1 st c. BC	4
Apamea	bust of Dionysus	Demeter standing	<i>SNG Cop. 302</i>	Late 1 st c. BC	2
Apamea	bust of Zeus	elephant	<i>BMC Syria 5 and 14</i>	1 st half of 1 st c. BC	5
Emesa	Caracalla	Tyche seated facing	<i>BMC Syria 14</i>		1
Emesa	Elagabalus	prize-crown	<i>BMC Syria 21</i>		1
Emesa			unidentified		1
Laodicea	bust of Tyche	Nike	<i>SNG Cop. 321, 323</i>	Late 1 st c. BC - early 1 st c. AD	3
Laodicea	Domitian	bust of Tyche	<i>SNG Cop. 341</i>		1
Laodicea	Macrinus	wolf suckling twins	<i>BMC Syria 97</i>		1
Laodicea	Elagabalus	two wrestlers	<i>SNG Cop. 373</i>		1
Laodicea	Elagabalus	bust of Tyche in distyle shrine	<i>SNG Cop. 374</i>		2
Laodicea	bust of Athena	eagle	<i>SNG Cop. 338</i>	3 rd c AD	1
Seleucia Pieria	bust of Tyche	thunderbolt on throne	<i>SNG Cop. 401</i>	79/80 AD	2
Heliopolis	Septimius Severus	decastyle temple façade	Cohen vol. IV, no. 916		1
Aradus	female bust	galloping bull	<i>SNG Cop. 71</i>	1 st c. BC	3
Tripolis	jugate busts of Dioscuri	Tyche standing	<i>SNG Cop. 274</i>	Augustan	1
Dora	Trajan	bust of Tyche	<i>BMC Phoenicia 33</i>		1
Judaea	parasol	three corn ears	<i>SNG Cop. 72</i>	Herod Agrippa	1
Judean	palm. Λε	Νερωος in	<i>BMC Palestine</i>	58/59 AD	1

⁴² The reference provided by Thomsen (*BMC Syria*, 40ff) is for tetradrachms and not bronze coins of Hierapolis.

procurators	Καισαρος	wreath	266		
Philippopolis	Philip I	seated Athena	<i>BMC Arabia</i> 4 ⁴³		1
Cyprus	Caracalla	temple with semi-circular court in front	<i>SNG Cop.</i> 92		1
Rome	Gordian III	Inscriptions in wreath	<i>RIC IV</i> 263		1 ⁴⁴
'Syrian area'	Roman emperor		unidentified		5
Syro-Phoenician			unidentified		5
unidentified	Roman emperor				2
unidentified				1 st - 3 rd c. AD	17

Table 4: List of bronze coins excavated from Hama covering the period relevant to this study.

Eleven hoards were also retrieved from Hama, three of which contain bronze coins relevant to this study:⁴⁵ Hoard no. 4 (*IGCH* 1580) contains 51 bronze coins, all of which (with the exception of two unidentifiable coins) are Antiochene dating to the first half of the first century BC, asserting the fact that coins of Antioch dominate the Hama finds (see below). Hoard no. 5 contains three coins from the mint of Rome, including a single dupondius of Marcus Aurelius, the other two coins being silver issues (see below). Hoard no. 6, composed mainly of 'antiquities', includes a single bronze coin from Laodicea ad Mare of Caracalla or Macrinus with a wolf suckling twins reverse.⁴⁶

The two halved coins among the finds (Augustus/Antioch and Gordian/Rome) may help in our understanding of the denominational structure in use, but more specimens are needed before drawing conclusions.

⁴³ Thomsen attributes this coin to Antioch.

⁴⁴ Halved coin, denomination: As, date: AD 238/239.

⁴⁵ Thomsen 1986, 63-68.

⁴⁶ Note that a coin of the same type of Macrinus was among the single finds as well.

- **Raphanea**

Recent projects conducted at Raphanea have yielded only 5 identifiable coins, two of which are of the relevant period and are tabulated below.⁴⁷

Mint	Obverse	Reverse	Reference	Date
Antioch	bust of Apollo	lyre	<i>CRS</i> 129, 136	1 st c. AD
Carrhae	Caracalla	bust of Tyche	<i>BMC Arabia</i> , 21	

Table 5: List of coins collected from Raphanea relevant to the time period under study.

Of the remaining finds, two are Late Roman bronze coins dating to the fourth and fifth centuries AD, and the others Byzantine anonymous folles of the eleventh century.

- **Arethusa**

No archaeological work has yet been conducted at ar-Rastan, ancient Arethusa. Thus, no data is yet available from this site, except for a single Emesene coin of the Caracalla/temple façade type housed in the Homs Museum (see below no. 922).

- **Emesa**

As a result of successive visits to the Homs Museum of Syria in early 2011, a total of 176 coins of the pre-Byzantine period (4 gold; 23 silver; 149 bronze) were recorded as follows:⁴⁸

Aurei: 4th c. Roman: 4

Tetradrachms: Alexander: 4

⁴⁷ M. Gschwind *et al* (forthcoming).

⁴⁸ The data was compiled from all the coins in the storerooms and display cases.

Lysimachus: 1

Demetrius I: 4

Alexander Balas: 1

Demetrius II: 1

Antiochus VIII and Cleopatra: 1

Antiochus VIII: 1

Post humous Philip Philadelphus: 3

Parthian: 1

Forgeries: 4

Fractional silver: Aradus: 2

Bronzes: Hellenistic: 12

Roman Provincial: 28

Late Roman: 80

Unidentifiable: 29⁴⁹

Of the above coins 66 are directly relevant to this study and are tabulated in detail below:

⁴⁹ These include seven coins that were retrieved during the excavations on the tell of Homs, but due to their heavy corrosion they were unidentifiable.

Mint/Ruler	Obverse	Reverse	Reference	Date	Museum No.	Provenance
Tetradrachms						
Demetrius I	bust right	Tyche seated left	<i>SC</i> , 1609ff		"Homs 2009"	clandestine excavations in Homs
Alexander Balas	bust right	seated Zeus	<i>SC</i> , 1781-1784		"Homs 2009"	clandestine excavations in Homs
Posthumous Philip Philadelphus	bust right	Zeus seated (date off flan)	<i>RPC I</i> , 4127-4134	47/46 - 38/37 BC	"Homs 2009"	clandestine excavations in Homs
Posthumous Philip Philadelphus	bust right	Zeus seated (date off flan)	<i>RPC I</i> , 4136-4149	31/30 - 17/16 BC	"Homs 2009"	clandestine excavations in Homs
Posthumous Philip Philadelphus	bust right	Zeus seated (Δ in exergue)	<i>RPC I</i> , 4128	46/45 BC	"Homs 2009"	clandestine excavations in Homs
Parthian	bust left	Tyche presenting diadem to the King	<i>BMC Parthia</i> , Vologases V, 1ff		"Homs 2009"	clandestine excavations in Homs
Demetrius I	bust right	Tyche seated left	<i>SC</i> , 1609ff		"Homs 2009"	clandestine excavations from outskirts of Homs
Demetrius I	bust right	Tyche seated left	<i>SC</i> , 1609ff		"Homs 2009"	clandestine excavations from outskirts of Homs
Demetrius I	bust right	Tyche seated left	<i>SC</i> , 1609ff		"Homs 2009"	clandestine excavations from outskirts of Homs
Demetrius II, 2 nd reign	bust right	seated Zeus	<i>SC</i> , 2155ff		"Homs 2009"	clandestine excavations from outskirts of Homs
Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII	jugate busts right	seated Zeus	<i>SC</i> , 2259ff		"Homs 2009"	clandestine excavations from outskirts of Homs
Antiochus VIII	bust right	Athena standing	<i>SC</i> , 2278-2279		1191	donated 1980, from Termaaleh near Homs
Alexander	bust of Heracles	seated Zeus	unidentifiable		1176	donated 1981, from

						Homs area
Alexander (Phaselis)	bust of Heracles	seated Zeus	Price, 2851		1177	donated 1981, from Homos area
Alexander (Aspendus)	bust of Heracles	seated Zeus	Price, 2899a		1178	donated 1981, from Homos area
Alexander (Aspendus)	bust of Heracles	seated Zeus, countermarked with radiate bust	Price, 2902		1179	donated 1981, from Homos area
Lysimachus	bust of Alexander	seated Athena	similar to <i>SNG Cop.</i> 1101		1167	donated 1984, unknown source
Fractional silver						
Aradus	head of male deity	galley	<i>BMC Phoenicia</i> , 45-53	4 th c. BC	"Homs 2009"	clandestine excavations from outskirts of Homos
Aradus	head of male deity	galley	<i>BMC Phoenicia</i> , 45-53	4 th c. BC	719	donated 1976, from Homos area
Forgeries (silver)						
Alexander	bust of Heracles	seated Zeus	(no identifiable marks)	modern forgery	1182	donated 1981, from Homos area
Parthian	bust left	two figures	<i>BMC Parthia</i> , Pl. XXXIV, 3	modern forgery	1760	confiscated 1989, unknown source
Bronzes						
Alexander Zabinas (Antioch)	bust right	Dionysus standing	<i>SC</i> , 2229		1511	Tell Nebi Mend 1986
uncertain Seleucid bust (Tyre)	bust right	proW of galley	<i>SC</i> , 1079-1080 or 1324		1512	Tell Nebi Mend 1986
Aradus	bust of male deity	ship's ram	<i>BMC Phoenicia</i> ,	2 nd c. BC	1378	Tell Nebi Mend 1971,

			104ff			site find
Antioch	Tiberius	SC in wreath	<i>CRS</i> , 64		168	Tell Nebi Mend 1975
Antioch	bust of Asclepius	entwined serpent	<i>CRS</i> , p. 405, no. 12	time of Hadrian?	1521	Tell Nebi Mend 1986
Emesa	Caracalla	temple façade	<i>BMC Syria</i> , 15-16		922	ar-Rastan 1977, site find
Antioch	Claudius	SC in wreath	<i>CRS</i> , 92ff		"Homs 2009"	clandestine excavations in Homs
Antioch	Antonine bust	SC in wreath	-		369	donated from Homs area
Emesa	Caracalla	temple façade	<i>BMC Syria</i> , 15-16		717	donated 1976, from Homs area
Emesa	Antoninus Pius	perched eagle	<i>BMC Syria</i> , 1		1328	donated 1983, from Homs area
Caesarea ad Libanum	Marcus Aurelius as Caesar	Tyche bust	<i>BMC Phoenicia</i> , 108-109	Seleucid era 462 = AD 150/151	1404	donated 1984, unknown source
Tryphon (Antioch)	bust right	Macedonian helmet	<i>SC</i> , 2039-2040		"Homs 2008"	confiscated 2008, from Homs area
Antioch	Marcus Aurelius or Lucius Verus	SC in wreath	Similar to <i>CRS</i> , 210		"Homs 2008"	confiscated 2008, from Homs area
Emesa	Antoninus Pius	perched eagle	<i>BMC Syria</i> , 6		2116	confiscated 1993, from Feiruzi in Homs
Antiochus III (unspecified mint)	Macedonian shield with gorgoneion	elephant right	<i>SC</i> , 1089-1090		104	confiscated 1974, from Latakia
Antiochus IV (Antioch)	bust of Laodike IV	elephant head left	<i>SC</i> , 1407		129	confiscated 1974, from Latakia
Demetrius I (Antioch)	horse head left	elephant head right	<i>SC</i> , 1646		124	confiscated 1974, from Latakia

Antioch	Elagabalus	Tyche seated, ram jumping on top	<i>CRS</i> , 478.1a		96	confiscated 1974, from Latakia
Marathus	bust of male deity	prow of galley	<i>Lindgren III</i> , 1407	2 nd - 1 st c. BC	121	confiscated 1974, from Latakia
Aradus	bust of Tyche	aphlaston	<i>BMC Phoenicia</i> , 173-177	2 nd c. BC	165	confiscated 1974, from Latakia
Laodicea ad Mare	bust of Tyche	Nike advancing (illegible date)	<i>RPC I</i> , 4403-4413	42/41 BC - AD 10/11	95	confiscated 1974, from Latakia
Laodicea ad Mare?	bust of Julio-Claudian	Tyche standing	<i>RPC I</i> , 4447-4448		92	confiscated 1974, from Latakia
Laodicea ad Mare	Domitian	Tyche standing	<i>BMC Syria</i> , 37-39		113	confiscated 1974, from Latakia
Laodicea ad Mare	Caracalla (countermark CA)	figure seated left holding spear	<i>BMC Syria</i> , 89		90	confiscated 1974, from Latakia
Laodicea ad Mare	Elagabalus	Eagle within distyle shrine	<i>SNG Cop.</i> , 371		91	confiscated 1974, from Latakia
Raphanea	Elagabalus	seated genius	<i>BMC Syria</i> , 1 (under Caracalla)		94	confiscated 1974, from Latakia
Gabala	Trajan	eagle standing left	<i>BMC Syria</i> , 6		118	confiscated 1974, from Latakia
Alexandria Troas	Valerian	horse grazing	<i>BMC Troas</i> , 157-160		99	confiscated 1974, from Latakia
Judaeen Prutah	corn ear	wreath	<i>RPC I</i> , 4965	time of Tiberius (Procurator Valerius Gratus)	123	confiscated 1974, from Latakia
uncertain mint	Elagabalus or Severus Alexander	Nike	-		111	confiscated 1974, from Latakia
Antiochus III? (Antioch?)	bust right	Apollo standing	<i>SC</i> , 1056-1057		1761	confiscated 1981, unknown source

Antioch	Nero	SC in wreath	<i>CRS</i> , 113		1074	confiscated, unknown source
Antioch	Antoninus Pius	SC in wreath	<i>CRS</i> , 282		1069	confiscated, unknown source
Antioch	Elagabalus	SC in wreath	<i>CRS</i> , 470		1071	confiscated, unknown source
Antioch	Elagabalus	seated figure left, SC in field	similar to <i>CRS</i> , 474		1070	confiscated, unknown source
Aradus	busts of female deity and Trajan	bull jumping	<i>BMC Phoenicia</i> , 368-370	time of Trajan	1072	confiscated, unknown source
Cyrrhus	Trajan	Zeus seated left	<i>CRS</i> , 4		1068	confiscated, unknown source
uncertain mint	Marcus Aurelius or Lucius Verus	unidentifiable	-		1073	confiscated, unknown source
uncertain mint	worn	worn	-	Islamic?	no number	Homs tell excavations
uncertain mint	worn	worn	-	Crusader?	no number	Homs tell excavations
uncertain mint	worn	worn	-		no number	Homs tell excavations
uncertain mint	worn	worn	-		no number	Homs tell excavations
uncertain mint	worn	worn	-		no number	Homs tell excavations
uncertain mint	worn	worn	-		no number	Homs tell excavations
uncertain mint	worn	worn	-		no number	Homs tell excavations

Table 6: List of coins in the Homs Museum of Syria tabulated according to the reliability of the provenance.

With the exception of the seven corroded coins from the excavations on the archaeological tell of Homs, the specimens tabulated above represent an assortment of coins from the immediate region of Homs, as well as Latakia.¹ Most of the coins are the result of either confiscations or donations to the museum. Some were found during construction work in and around Homs, providing a more reliable provenance. Thus, the coins should be interpreted with caution on the whole, though they nevertheless present a broad idea of what may have been available in the general region.

The silver coins are mostly represented by tetradrachms of the Hellenistic period, in addition to three posthumous Philips. All of these tetradrachms, with the exception of a specimen from an unknown source (no. 1167), have been collected from Homs and therefore may indicate that they were used there. This of course would not be an unusual occurrence, since it is well known that tetradrachms enjoyed a wide area of circulation. What it may show, however, is that silver coins were being used in Emesa even before it became a city in the early Roman period. One of the Alexandrine tetradrachms is countermarked with the bust of a radiate sun god (no. 1179). It may be possible that this countermark was applied in or near Emesa (for a detailed discussion of this coin and the countermark see Types and Legends chapter). A Parthian tetradrachm and two Aradian fractional silver coins were also among the coins found from the Homs region.

Regarding the bronzes, the ratio of coins for each of the cities represented is in fact similar to what has been documented for Apamea and Hama above. The majority are coins of Antioch followed by Laodicea ad Mare and Aradus, in addition to random single specimens from regional cities such as Caesarea ad Libanum,

¹ The five coins from Tell Nebi Mend are discussed separately below under the section of Laodicea ad Libanum.

Gabala, Cyrrhus and Alexandria Troas. However, with the exception of some of the Antiochene coins, none of the Roman provincial coins were found directly from Homs, but were rather confiscated from the region, namely Latakia. Coins of the Hellenistic monarchs are also represented, but most of these are also from Latakia and therefore do not represent finds from Homs. Of interest are the four bronzes of Emesa, one of which (no. 922) is reported to be a site find from ar-Rastan (Arethusa), with the remaining three from Homs itself. Thus, of the non-Emesene coins, it seems that only the SC coins of Antioch circulated in the city, once again confirming that they had a wide area of circulation in Syria. These SC coins are represented by all the periods from the Julio-Claudians to Elagabalus, but based on their reported origin, it cannot be deduced if the SC coins continued to circulate in Emesa after the city began minting its own coins in the mid second century AD.

In addition to the above data from the museum, Henri Seyrig, in his documentation of the tombs and the grave goods from the necropolis located in the western part of modern Homs, refers to a bronze coin of Aradus dating to 94/93 BC (*BMC Phoenicia* no. 325).² The author also refers to a few unspecified coins found in the burials, the most recent of which date to the early years of the first century AD.³

- **Laodicea ad Libanum**

A preliminary report of the 147 coins collected from this site was prepared by Butcher,⁴ in which only a single Roman provincial coin dating to the reign of Hadrian(?) was documented (see coin no. 1521 in Table 8 below). The remaining

² Seyrig 1953, 15.

³ Seyrig 1952, 250.

⁴ My gratitude to Kevin Butcher for putting this unpublished report at my disposal.

majority of the coins belong to the late Roman period. It is worthwhile to list the pre-Roman era coins found from this site also, since they provide an insight into the circulation of coins there:

Mint/Ruler	Obverse	Reverse	Period	Quantity
Ptolemy I(?)	head of Ptolemy I(?) right	eagle standing left on thunderbolt		1
Ptolemy II	Alexander in elephant headdress	eagle standing left		1
Ptolemaic	uncertain head right	worn		1
Antiochus III	head of Apollo	Apollo standing left		3
Alexander Zebinas	head of Alexander Zebinas right	Dionysus standing left		1
uncertain	uncertain head right	worn	Seleucid	1
Aradus	bust of Tyche right	prow of galley left, male figure above	3 rd - 2 nd c. BC?	1
Aradus	bust of male deity	ship's ram	2 nd c. BC	1
uncertain civic coins			Hellenistic	3

Table 7: List of coins from the pre-Roman period collected from Tell Nebi Mend.

During the visit to the Homs museum five bronze coins collected from Tell Nebi Mend were also documented. Four of these coins seem to be those documented by Butcher, the only exception being no. 168 below:

Mint/Ruler	Obverse	Reverse	Reference	Museum no.
Alexander Zabinas (Antioch)	bust right	Dionysus standing	<i>SC</i> , 2229	1511
uncertain Seleucid bust (Tyre)	bust right	prow of galley	<i>SC</i> , 1079-1080 or 1324	1512
Aradus	bust of male deity	ship's ram	<i>BMC Phoenicia</i> , 104ff	1378
Antioch	Tiberius	SC in wreath	<i>CRS</i> , 64	168
Antioch	bust of Asclepius	entwined serpent	<i>CRS</i> , p. 405, no. 12	1521

Table 8: List of coins from Tell Nebi Mend deposited in the Homs museum.

Unfortunately, as can be seen from the data above, the coin finds relevant to this study from Tell Nebi Mend are meagre and therefore cannot provide a detailed insight into coin circulation there. However, some general observations may be noted as follows: the Ptolemaic coins, as Butcher remarks, seem to indicate that the site fell under the sphere of influence of the Ptolemies until the conquest of Antiochus III; however, as Butcher also rightfully points out, three coins are not sufficient to confirm this. Regarding the Seleucid coins, these are typical of such finds from the general area. The presence of Aradian coins dating to the pre-Roman era is not an uncommon occurrence in the Orontes Valley as has been demonstrated by other site finds data listed in this chapter. The presence of Antiochene coins, albeit in small numbers, once again shows that they were being circulated in the southern Orontes Valley.

- **Surveys**

Several surveys have been conducted in the regions of the middle and upper Orontes Valley. No coins were found during the course of these surveys.⁵

Silver

- **Epiphanea**

Two silver coins were retrieved from the excavations at Hama: a denarius of Severus Alexander (*BMCRE*, 101ff) and an antoninianus of Trebonianus Gallus (*RIC*

⁵ With the exception of the surveys conducted by Graham Philip (Durham University) in the region west of Homs from where two coins were collected (pictures unavailable). All other surveys have not yielded any coin finds (personal communication with Karin Bartl, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Damascus; Maya Haïdar-Boustani, Université Saint-Joseph, Beirut; and Michael Fortin, Université Laval, Quebec).

IV, 30note). Of the eleven hoards retrieved from Hama, two are relevant here and are as follows:⁶ Hoard no. 3 (*IGCH* 1576) is composed of five tetradrachms of Aradus all dating to the first quarter of the first century BC, which may imply that Aradian tetradrachms were in circulation in Hama, at least in the early years of the Roman presence.⁷ Hoard no. 5 contains three coins from the mint of Rome: a denarius of Antoninus Pius and another of Lucius Verus, with the third coin being a dupondius of Marcus Aurelius.

- **Raphanea**

In 1955 a hoard of 21 silver coins was found from Ba'rin in the immediate vicinity of Raphanea (*IGCH* 1567). The hoard, which was later dispersed, was composed of nine tetradrachms and two drachms of Demetrius I, one tetradrachm each of Antiochus IX and Eucratides I, with the rest of the hoard composed of five tetradrachms of Cyme, two of Smyrna and one of Myrina. The hoard is dated to the second half of the second century BC.

- **Emesa**

From Homs two silver hoards are listed: *IGCH* 1529, a dispersed hoard of more than 50 tetradrachms, and *IGCH* 1532, composed of 60 tetradrachms. The coins are all of the Hellenistic period and the burial date for both hoards is placed in the early third century BC.

⁶ Thomsen 1986, 63-68.

⁷ It should be noted that Thomsen did not document the Hellenistic period coins, which potentially could have included bronze coins dating to the early first century BC circulating in Hama.

In his documentation of the grave goods from the necropolis near Homs, Seyrig refers to the following silver coins: a worn Augustan tetradrachm dating to 5 BC from Antioch (*BMC Syria*, 132),⁸ a tetradrachm of Seleucia Pieria dating to AD 5/6 (*BMC Syria*, 32)⁹ and a Tyrian tetradrachm of AD 14/15 (*BMC Syria*, 198).¹⁰

b. Finds from beyond the Orontes Valley

Bronzes

- **Zeugma**

Of 790 coins (composed of 288 single finds and 4 hoards) recovered in the year 2000 during the excavations in Zeugma, not a single coin of the Orontes Valley is represented.¹¹

- **Nisibis**

The Nisibis hoard recorded by Seyrig is composed of 624 bronze coins including one plated denarius.¹² The burial date of the hoard is placed shortly after 31 BC. Apamea, being the only mint in this study relevant to the time period of the hoard, is represented by a single coin of the Zeus/elephant type (Cat. no. 1) dated by a Pompeian era $\Pi = 8 = 59/58$ BC.¹³

⁸ Seyrig 1953, 12.

⁹ Seyrig 1953, 14.

¹⁰ Seyrig 1953, 15.

¹¹ Butcher, unpublished report.

¹² Seyrig 1955.

¹³ Seyrig 1955, 92, no. 10.

- **Gaziantep**

From an accumulation of site finds from the general region of Gaziantep in southern Turkey, Butcher has documented 163 coins which include a single Emesene coin of the Julia Domna/altar type.¹⁴

- **Antioch**

The cities of the Orontes Valley are poorly represented in Waagé's publication of the coins from Antioch.¹⁵ Apamea is represented by a single coin of the Zeus/elephant type (Cat. no. 1) issued during the first half of the first century BC.¹⁶ Emesa is represented by 2 coins, both of which are of the Caracalla/temple façade type. Both coins are dated by the Seleucid Era $\text{HK}\Phi = 528 = \text{AD } 216/217$.¹⁷ Waagé also lists a coin of Raphanea (no. 888), but Butcher remarks that the coin is not of that mint.¹⁸ Waagé's publication also includes the coins from the excavations at Seleucia Pieria, which does not have any coins minted in the Orontes Valley.

- **Antakya Museum**

In a publication of the coins in the Antakya Museum, Butcher lists two coins of Apamea. One is of the Athena/Nike type (Cat. no. 6) dated by the Seleucid era $\zeta\text{O}\Sigma = 276 = 36 \text{ BC}$, and the other is a countermarked coin of the Dionysus/thyrsus type (Cat. no. 5) dated by the Seleucid era $\text{E}\Pi\Sigma = 285 = 27 \text{ BC}$. Emesa is represented by

¹⁴ *CRS*, 153.

¹⁵ Waagé 1952.

¹⁶ Waagé no. 862 (the date is illegible).

¹⁷ Waagé nos. 863 and 864.

¹⁸ *CRS*, 159. Seyrig also expresses his doubt for the attribution to Raphanea (1958, 178).

two coins from the reign of Caracalla: the first is of the temple façade type and the other Julia Domna/altar type.¹⁹

- **Tell Rifa'at**

Of the 90 coins documented from Tell Rifa'at situated 35 km north of Aleppo, only seven coins relevant to the time period under study have been recorded, all of which are from the mint of Antioch.

- **Aleppo**

In his collection of 1,404 coins acquired over a period of 25 years from Aleppo, Seyrig lists 12 coins of Apamea, five of Emesa and one of Larissa.²⁰ These are certainly a collection of coins bought from the market and therefore not entirely useful for the study of coin circulation in that region. However, the proportion listed for the three mints is quite typical of what is available in museum collections regarding these mints.

- **Tell Abou Danné and Oumm el-Marra**

The publication of the finds from Tell Abou Danné and Oumm el-Marra (both sites located to the immediate east of Aleppo), which also includes a collection of coins from several neighbouring sites, lists no coins of the relevant mints under study.²¹

¹⁹ CRS, 160-161, 168 and Appendix 2.

²⁰ Seyrig 1958, 180. Types not specified.

²¹ Doyen 1987.

- **Tell ‘Acharneh**

The coin finds from the 1998, 2001 and 2002 seasons at Tell ‘Acharneh, located on the Orontes River halfway between Apamea and Shayzar, have been published by Johnson. All the coins are of the Byzantine period.²²

- **Tell Qarqur**

The coins from Tell Qarqur, situated on the Orontes Valley halfway between Antioch and Apamea, have not yet been published in full, although a selected portion has been. These, however, are mostly of the late Byzantine and Islamic periods, in addition to 4 tetradrachms of Lysimachus. Of the period under study mention is made of first and second century Roman coins without any further details provided.²³

- **Hosn Suleiman**

The site of Hosn Suleiman is located in the Homs Gap and situated at the southern tip of Jebel Ansariyeh. Excavations conducted there in 2004 and 2005 yielded 29 bronze coins as follows: Aradus 20, Antioch 4, Laodicea ad Mare 1, Marathus 1, Emesa 1, Tripolis 1, and a coin of Arcadius. The coin of Emesa is that of Antoninus Pius with a perched eagle reverse.²⁴

- **Marathus and Tartous**

In his publication of coins collected from excavations in Amrit (Marathus) and Tell Ghamqa (Tartous, ancient Antaradus) during the 2005 and 2006 seasons,

²² Johnson 2006.

²³ Dornemann 1999, 60- 69 and 2008, 71, 143, 146.

²⁴ Kiwan 2006-2007.

Kiwan lists 38 bronze coins, none of which are from the mints of the Orontes Valley.²⁵

- **Dura Europus**

From the excavations at Dura two coins of Apamea were retrieved.²⁶ The first is of the Athena/Nike type (Cat. no. 6) and the second of the Tyche/Nike type (Cat. no. 2). Emesa is represented by six bronze coins:²⁷ two of Antoninus Pius with a perched eagle reverse, three of Julia Domna with an altar reverse, and one of Elagabalus depicting a prize-crown on the reverse. It should be noted that three of the six coins, one of each type, were from the hoards found at Dura.

- **Palmyra**

Butcher, who has compiled a list of the coins excavated from Palmyra, refers to a single coin of Elagabalus from Laodicea ad Libanum. All other mints under study are not represented.²⁸ Recent excavations have yielded additional coins, the publication of which is forthcoming.²⁹

- **Baalbek**

The coins collected from the campaigns in Baalbek/Heliopolis are currently being studied by Ziad Sawaya. Of the coins cleaned and documented thus far, only a

²⁵ Kiwan 2004-2005. It should be noted that the author has documented only a selected sample of the total number of coins excavated.

²⁶ Bellinger 1949, nos. 1832-1833.

²⁷ Bellinger nos. 1834-1838.

²⁸ *CRS*, 164-165.

²⁹ Personal communication with Andreas Schmidt-Colinet.

single coin of Emesa has been noted. The coin is an issue of Elagabalus with a standing facing eagle reverse.³⁰

- **Beirut**

Excavations conducted in Beirut during the 1990s have yielded an enormous number of coins. Butcher has published these finds, which do not include any coins of the mints under study.³¹ Since his publication excavations have continued and more coins have been collected. Of the 10,000 coins documented thus far from the new finds, only a single coin from Apamea of the Dionysus/thyrsus type has been recorded.³²

Silver

- **Dura Europus**

Tetradrachms of Emesa are well represented at Dura: one of Julia Domna³³ and six each for Caracalla³⁴ and Macrinus.³⁵

- **Capharnaum**

A hoard composed of 270 tetradrachms, 1,274 antoniniani and a single bronze coin was discovered from Capharnaum (identified with Tell Hûm) located to

³⁰ Personal communication with Ziad Sawaya.

³¹ Butcher 2001-2002.

³² Personal communication with Ziad Sawaya.

³³ Bellinger no. 207.

³⁴ Bellinger nos. 248-252a.

³⁵ Bellinger nos. 321-326.

the north of the Sea of Galilee. The hoard contained three tetradrachms of Emesa (Caracalla 2 and Diadumenian 1).³⁶

- **Gush Halav**

In 1948 a coin hoard was found in Gush Halav near the Sea of Galilee. The hoard consisted of 180 Syrian tetradrachms, 22 denarii and 35 Roman provincial coins. Five of the tetradrachms are issues of Emesa (Caracalla 2, Julia Domna 1 and Macrinus 2).³⁷

- **Neapolis**

Bellinger has listed a hoard of 93 tetradrachms, including eleven of Emesa, found from Neapolis in Palestine.³⁸

- **Jerusalem**

A hoard of 75 tetradrachms found in the ‘vicinity’ of Jerusalem is said to have included two specimens of Macrinus from Emesa. The hoard was later dispersed.³⁹

- **Mempsis**

A hoard of several thousand Roman silver coins from Mempsis (Kurnub), located south-west of the Dead Sea, was documented by Negev. The hoard contained seven tetradrachms of Emesa: Caracalla 3, Julia Domna 1 and Macrinus 3.⁴⁰

³⁶ Spijkerman 1958-1959.

³⁷ Hamburger 1954.

³⁸ Bellinger 1940, 15-16.

³⁹ Hamburger 1954, 202.

Other site finds publications (for both silver and bronze) from lesser known excavations in the region have also been consulted, but not included here due to the absence of any coins from the mints of the Orontes Valley.⁴¹

B. Countermarks and overstrikes

1. Significance and limitations

Countermarked coins can be used as an additional source of information for the understanding of circulation patterns. This is because a group of coins having the same countermark belonged, in general, to the same place and time.⁴² However, the information which can be extracted from countermarked coins is limited. It is generally assumed that local authorities resorted to countermarking foreign coins with a locally acceptable symbol to render them legal tender, but this does not necessarily seem to have been the case. It is well attested that countermarks were in the majority of cases applied by cities to their *own* coins.⁴³ As a result, not much information can be extracted from them regarding circulation patterns beyond the borders of the issuing city.

Overstruck coins may also be useful for the understanding of coin circulation, particularly in the city where the process took place. Identification of the undertype can be used to reveal which issues were in circulation at the time of overstriking. However, it may also be the case that particular issues were imported for

⁴⁰ Negev 1965-1966; Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1980.

⁴¹ A list of these publications can be found in the Bibliography.

⁴² *GIC*, 32.

⁴³ *GIC*, 32. The reason for the application of countermarks on local coins is not well known. Perhaps it may have been used to denote changes in the value or denomination of the currency.

overstriking and therefore may not necessarily provide information to what was legal tender in the city before being overstruck.

2. The data

Regarding the mints of the Orontes Valley, based on the data gathered thus far, it seems that only Apamene coins were countermarked. The fact that Apamea minted coins during the early Roman period, unlike the rest of the mints under study, may be the reason for this. Howgego lists a countermark in the shape of Tyche's head applied on coins of Apamea, all of which are of the Dionysus/thyrsus type (Figure 6).⁴⁴ The author considers this to be perhaps a countermark for indicating a lower denomination.⁴⁵ In the process of this research it has been observed that the same countermark was also applied on the Dionysus/cornucopia (Cat. no. 11),⁴⁶

Augustus/Tyche (Cat. no. 14)⁴⁷ and Tiberius/Athena advancing (Cat. no. 16)⁴⁸ types. All these types are issues of the later period when the mint was operational.

However, of the eight countermarked specimens of the Dionysus/thyrsus type

recorded in this study,⁴⁹ no consistency was found regarding the application of these countermarks, as the coins are of varying dates. A countermark depicting a

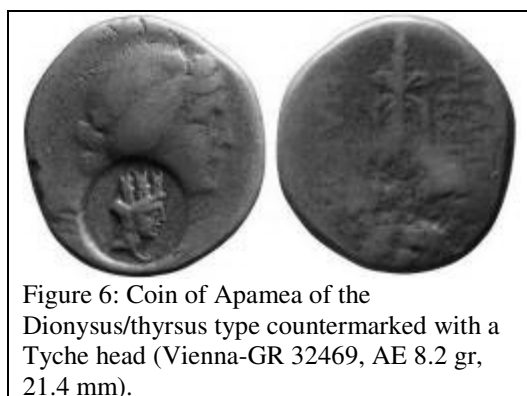


Figure 6: Coin of Apamea of the Dionysus/thyrsus type countermarked with a Tyche head (Vienna-GR 32469, AE 8.2 gr, 21.4 mm).

⁴⁴ *GIC* no. 201.

⁴⁵ *GIC*, 142.

⁴⁶ Private collection.

⁴⁷ Private collection.

⁴⁸ Private collection. The letters E, N and T are also inscribed clockwise around the Tyche head of the countermark.

⁴⁹ *CRE*, 1471A; Berlin-v.Rauch; Berlin-no ticket; BNF-945c; *SNG Glasgow*, 3143; *Lindgren III*, 1176; Vienna-GR 32469; Harvard-1980.85.197.

helmeted(?) bust was also noted to have been struck on a specimen of the Athena/Nike type.⁵⁰ A specimen of the Zeus/elephant type (Cat. no. 1) has the countermark BAS (in Latin) on the reverse.⁵¹ Keeping in mind that Bassus defended the city against the Caesareans from 46 to 44 BC⁵² (see Introduction chapter), the countermark may be that of Bassus, which would back the idea that the Romans exerted their influence in the city. However, a single specimen is not sufficient to explore this further; if more specimens with this countermark come to light, their dates can help in determining the *terminus post quem* for the application of this countermark.

Regarding overstrikes, cases from the Orontes Valley are nearly nonexistent. It has been noted in *CRS* that coins of Apamea (quantity not specified) were overstruck on those of Antioch.⁵³ This could be a good indication that coins of Antioch did indeed circulate in Apamea. However, further cases must be collected to conclude whether Antiochene coins were systematically overstruck in Apamea or if they merely represent isolated cases.

C. Circulation patterns

1. Significance and interpretations

Before discussing coin circulation in the Orontes Valley, a few remarks should be made on general circulation patterns in the Roman Near East. Butcher has shown that in Syria, or at least in the northern part, “there is evidence to support the

⁵⁰ BNF-951.

⁵¹ *Lindgren I*, 2037. The coin bears the date H = 59/58 BC.

⁵² Strabo 16.2.10.

⁵³ *CRS*, 192. The author mentions a specimen in a private collection (p. 130, Fig. 40A, no. 2).

notion that individual city-states regulated the coinage in circulation in their territories, sometimes to the exclusion of the coinage of their neighbours.”⁵⁴ Whereas in the case of Asia Minor, Johnston has noted that civic bronzes “circulated beyond the boundaries of the issuing cities, sometimes over considerable distances.”⁵⁵ Howgego similarly notes that “site finds indicate that it was normal in Asia Minor for about half of the bronze coins circulating in a city to have been struck elsewhere.”⁵⁶ Augé, in his study of the coins of the Decapolis and the Roman province of Arabia, notes that coins of one city did circulate in another as a result of shortages due to sporadic minting patterns in the region.⁵⁷

As can be seen from the above observations, each region had adopted, or adapted to, different circulation patterns. Since there was no centralised system of coinage in the Roman Near East, the imperial authorities seem to have embraced a *laissez-faire* attitude for the production and circulation of coins in the region.⁵⁸ There is also no evidence of the systematic presence of Roman base metal coins in the region.⁵⁹ There may be some indication that the Roman authorities did attempt to create a uniform coinage in the form of the SC coins, but this does not seem to have taken over the region’s monetary system (although it was circulated alongside local currencies).

Monetary activity in a region was the result of what was available for use, as well as the history of a particular city. Although it seems that each city controlled what circulated in its territories, some were more liberal than others, with variations

⁵⁴ *CRS*, 266.

⁵⁵ Johnston 2007, 5.

⁵⁶ *GIC*, 32.

⁵⁷ Augé 2002, 158-159.

⁵⁸ Butcher 2001-2002, 60.

⁵⁹ Although there is evidence for the presence of a limited quantity of Roman *aes* during the second and third centuries AD (Butcher 2001-2002, 76).

also noted in different time periods. In the case of Syria, although it may be right to state that bronze coins had a geographically limited circulation, this is a somewhat misleading and certainly an incomplete conclusion. In fact, bronze coins did circulate outside the territories of the issuing city, namely in those cities which did not mint coins. It is apparent that cities which were able to supply their market with local coins, such as Antioch, did not need to import or use coins of their neighbours, at least not in significant numbers. For those cities that did not have a local coinage, such as Epiphanea, Apamea (post mid first century AD) and Dura, it seems inevitable that foreign coins were allowed to circulate in their territories in order to supply the local market with a currency. The above hypothesis may seem to be stating the obvious, but it is not. It shows that bronze coins were not restricted by local authorities to the boundaries of the city, but rather were circulated in far away regions as long as it was acceptable to those areas which needed coinage, as in the case of Dura. For this reason, any understanding of coin circulation should be accompanied by knowledge of the prevailing circumstances at a certain time and place. To explain this point further, the coin finds from Berytus may be used as a case study. It has been shown that different coin circulation patterns existed during different time periods in the city, when at times the local currency of Berytus was almost exclusively used, and at times the local coins were supplemented by SC coins and other Phoenician mints.⁶⁰

Coin circulation seems to be based on the concept of demand and supply. If coins were in demand they were supplied from abroad; if the local mint satisfied the demand, there was no need for foreign sources. Moreover, the two scenarios could have existed in a single city, where local authorities could have restricted or opened

⁶⁰ Butcher 2001-2002, 113-118 and Figure 88.

up the market to foreign coins, based on changes in the demand and supply of coins. It is a general assumption that trade played a leading role in coin circulation, but evidence from excavations has shown that this was not necessarily the case.⁶¹ The above examples show that coin circulation was a result of prevailing historical and economic circumstances in a particular city.

2. Analysis

The study of hoards from Syria has been somewhat problematic due to the paucity of the data, with only a few hoards having been published. Most of the documented bronze hoards are, as is the case for silver, from the third century AD.⁶² Of the hoards documented from the first century BC, it has been shown that coins issued before the advent of the Romans circulated alongside those issued during their presence,⁶³ in particular Hama hoard no. 4 (see above). Consequently, due to this fragmentary data it is difficult to compose a complete understanding of circulation patterns during the first and second centuries AD. Regarding the site finds evidence, only a few publications are available. Our current understanding of coin circulation in the region is mostly based on the reports from Antioch, Dura, Hama, Apamea and more recently Berytus, discussed individually below. These publications have provided a partial understanding of coin circulation in the region.

a. Local circulation

As mentioned above, precious metal coinages had a wide area of circulation, whereas base metal coinages were more geographically limited. To show that this

⁶¹ Butcher 2001-2002, 41, 117.

⁶² A list of both silver and bronze hoards can be found in *CRS*, Appendix 1.

⁶³ *CRS*, 185.

point is applicable to the cities of the Orontes Valley, a significant number of coin finds from well-documented excavations is needed. The data from Hama may be used to formulate an idea regarding circulation in the region, but Epiphanea did not mint coins and therefore had to resort to using currency from neighbouring mints.

Concerning Apamea, coinage in this city ceased to be produced in the middle of the first century AD and thus the city would have also resorted to using, or freely accepting, the currency of other mints.

Despite these restrictions, local circulation patterns can be discerned within the Orontes Valley. It seems that coins of Apamea were quite dominant in the middle Orontes Valley, but not in northern Syria (where coins of Antioch were dominant) or the coast (where coins of Laodicea were prominent). The statistics from Hama clearly show that before the advent of the Roman period, coins from Aradus were prevailing at the site (represented by 21 coins).⁶⁴ During the Roman period the coins of Antioch, Apamea, Laodicea, Aradus, Emesa and Seleucia were prominent among the finds in that particular order. But this data may be misleading if not broken down into chronological phases, from which a progression in circulation patterns can be distinguished, as shown in the table below:

	Pre-Augustan	Julio-Claudian	Flavian to pre-Severan	Severan to mid 3 rd c. AD
Antioch	5 + 49⁶⁵	10	7	15
Apamea	16	8	-	-
Laodicea	-	3	1	5
Aradus	3	-	-	-
Emesa	-	-	-	3
Seleucia	-	-	2	-
Hierapolis	-	-	-	1

⁶⁴ Thomsen 1986, 60. See also Butcher 2002, 148.

⁶⁵ Hama hoard no. 4.

Heliopolis	-	-	-	1
Tripolis	-	1	-	-
Dora	-	-	1	-
Jewish	-	2	-	-
Philippopolis	-	-	-	1

Table 9: List of bronze coins from various mints excavated at Hama and grouped into separate periods.

The above table shows that coins of Antioch were prominent in Hama throughout the Roman period.⁶⁶ This is also partially the case for Apamene coins. However, Apamea stopped minting during the Julio-Claudian period and therefore it is not unusual that they are not represented in the finds after that time. Interestingly, coins of Laodicea seem to have started circulating in Hama for the first time during the Julio-Claudian period. A significant change regarding circulation patterns in Hama deals with the coins of Aradus, which are no longer present with the advent of the Roman period. This change may have been the result of the decreasing productivity of the mint starting in the second century. Emesene coins of the Severan period are also present among the finds, as the mint was most active during that period.

Regarding Apamea, the finds are distributed by mint and time period as follows:

	Pre-Augustan	Julio-Claudian	Flavian to pre-Severan	Severan to mid 3 rd c. AD
Antioch	-	5	4	10
Laodicea	-	-	-	2
Jewish	-	1	-	-
Peloponnese	-	-	-	1
Raphanea	-	-	-	1
Tripolis		-	-	1

Table 10: Number of bronze coins represented at Apamea grouped into separate time periods. Note that the pre-Augustan coins are not included in the publication by Callu.

⁶⁶ To the above data should be added the 22 unidentified (SC?) Antiochene coins.

The finds from Apamea are not radically different from those at Hama with Antiochene coins dominating the finds, the majority of which are of the SC type. Thus, the findings here are in line with the conclusions from northern Syria, showing that the SC coins also circulated in the Orontes Valley. Among the finds Laodicea is also present, perhaps indicating links between this important coastal city and the Valley. Regarding chronology, it seems that starting with the Severan period more mints are represented in the finds, but this is a provisional observation since the number of finds from these mints is very small. Unfortunately, Callu did not publish the pre-Roman period coins, for it would have been helpful to know if the coins of Apamea were exclusive to the city during the pre-Augustan period, or if mints from the region were also represented. Apamene issues of Augustus, Tiberius and Claudius are not present among the finds, but this is probably due to their rarity more than anything else. It is worth noting the presence of a coin of Raphanea in the finds from Apamea.

The above data shows that very few mints are represented at Apamea, and for those that are represented it is only by a single coin or, as in the case of Laodicea, by two. It may be surmised that only Antiochene coins were legal tender in the city, which may have been deliberately commissioned or imported from Antioch.

The coin finds from the excavations on the archaeological tell of Homs are unfortunately all heavily corroded and therefore cannot provide an insight into circulation patterns. The coins documented in the Homs museum are a collection of confiscated and donated material from the region of Homs and Latakia and therefore should be treated with caution. It has been discussed above that, in addition to the bronzes of Emesa, Antiochene SC coins were also used in the city, with no other regional city directly represented in the finds from Homs. Excavations in Raphanea

and Laodicea ad Libanum have provided too little information for any conclusions to be drawn, except for preliminary indications that Antiochene coins were also present there.

Based on the site finds data it seems that Hellenistic period Aradian coins circulated in the Valley before the advent of the Romans. Seleucid coins are also among the finds from this period, in addition to Ptolemaic bronzes further south in Tell Nebi Mend. With respect to coins of the surrounding regions found from the Orontes Valley, it is worth noting the presence of Tripolis among the finds both at Hama and Apamea. The presence of coins of Tripolis may indicate that the Homs gap was instrumental for trade between the coast and the Orontes Valley. Similarly, Jewish coins are also present in both mints. This is not an uncommon feature for finds from the Levant, implying that these coins did circulate there, perhaps entering through the Bekaa Valley.⁶⁷ A Peloponnesian coin was found from Apamea, which is also in line with finds from the region.⁶⁸ Coins of the Roman mint are barely present, with no Roman *aes* from the excavations of Apamea and only two from Hama. Finds from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor are absent.

b. Regional circulation

Despite the limited data on circulation patterns in the Roman Near East some observations have been made. Butcher states that “it is quite clear from the finds that the province of Syria itself did not form a regional system as far as bronze was concerned.”⁶⁹ Similarly, Rebuffat states that “on pourrait considérer qu’il n’existe pas de véritable circulation des bronzes et que les monnaies provinciales romaines, dans

⁶⁷ *CRS*, 173, 177.

⁶⁸ *CRS*, 179.

⁶⁹ *CRS*, 176.

la partie orientale de l'Empire ne servaient qu'à un usage strictement local."⁷⁰ This lack of regional systems, as mentioned above, was due to the absence of a systematic regulation by the Roman authorities to control the circulation of bronze civic coins. It was most likely economic necessity and convenience that governed the circulation of civic issues, at least in the early period of the Empire.⁷¹

With the data at hand it can be proposed that the coins of the mints under study did not circulate beyond the Orontes Valley. Even where coins of the relevant mints are represented at sites, they are present in very small numbers. Below is a table of bronze coins from the mints under study found beyond the Orontes Valley.

	Apamea	Raphanea	Emesa	Laodicea ad Libanum
Nisibis	1	-	-	-
Antioch	1	-	2	-
Dura	2	-	6	-
Palmyra	-	-	-	1
Baalbek	-	-	1	-
Beirut	1	-	-	-

Table 11: List of bronze coins minted in the Orontes Valley found from sites in the Levant.

As can be seen from the results tabulated above, the finds are indeed trivial. This is an indication that the bronze coins of the mints under study did not circulate beyond the Valley.⁷² Thus, this observation is in line with both Butcher's and Rebuffat's findings regarding circulation of bronze coins in the Roman province of Syria.

⁷⁰ Rebuffat 1999, 337.

⁷¹ Bellinger 1951, 66-67.

⁷² Only at Dura can several bronze coins of Emesa be found. However, this can be explained by the fact that Dura did not mint coins and therefore resorted to accepting the currency of other cities.

Regarding silver coins, any attempt to compose some idea of the circulation pattern for tetradrachms from site finds has been inconclusive,⁷³ especially for the reigns of Caracalla and Macrinus, issues of whom are the most relevant to this study. The main reason for this uncertainty is the fact that tetradrachms enjoyed a wide area of circulation. The below table lists sites where hoards containing Emesene tetradrachms have been found:

	Caracalla	Julia Domna	Macrinus	Diadumenian	Total
Dura	6	1	6	-	13
Capharnaum	2	-	-	1	3
Gush Halav	2	1	2	-	5
Neapolis	?	?	?	?	11
Jerusalem	-	-	2	-	2
Memphis	3	1	3	-	7

Table 12: List of cities where hoards containing Emesene tetradrachms have been found.

The above table shows that Emesene tetradrachms did circulate beyond the city's borders. This is in line with the fact that, as mentioned above, tetradrachms in general had a wide circulation in the Roman East. It should be noted that the significant concentration of Emesene tetradrachms in Palestine, as portrayed in the table above, is most probably due to extensive excavations and well documented finds from that region in comparison with other regions such as Syria or Mesopotamia.

⁷³ Bellinger 1940, 14; *CRS*, 182 and also footnote 102.

CHAPTER V

METROLOGY AND DENOMINATIONS

It is difficult to determine the denominations used in Roman Syria due to the absence of value marks on the vast majority of the coinages issued there.¹ Despite this difficulty recent scholarship has been able to present a good amount of discussions on the subject, supported by metrological data, paving the way for a better understanding of the prevailing denominational systems in the eastern part of the Empire during the first three centuries of Roman rule.² Whereas in the west Roman denominations had been well established, this was not the case for the east. Although there may have been a recognised exchange rate between Rome and the cities of the eastern provinces,³ they may never have been fully compatible; this relationship is still not completely understood.⁴

In Syria it is clear that Greek denominations had prevailed into the early Roman period and therefore were not replaced by the Roman currency system.⁵ Perhaps both systems may have been used concurrently in Syria, although evidence for this is scanty.⁶ It has also been proposed that the Greek system was still in use as late as the third century AD.⁷ The use of Greek denominations was certainly true for silver issues as attested by the tetradrachms. Because of the use of the Greek system

¹ Only a small number of cases are known, for which see the table in *RPC I*, p. 33.

² Callu 1969, 57-110; *RPC I*, 26-37, 587-590; *RPC II*, 20-29, 268-269; *CRS* 196-215; Johnston 2007, 7-13, 243-249.

³ *RPC I*, 31-32; *CRS*, 144.

⁴ *RPC I*, 32; *CRS*, 211.

⁵ *CRS*, 206; Johnston 2007, 3.

⁶ *RPC I*, 29, 33, 36-37; *RPC II*, 20, 22.

⁷ *CRS*, 209, 425; Johnston 2007, 2. This proposition is based on bronze coins of Severus Alexander from Seleucia Pieria marked OBΘ on the reverse signifying '9 obols' (*CRS*, Plate 23, nos. 94-95).

for the silver in Syria, it would only be natural that Greek denominations were also used for the fractional coinages, i.e., the bronzes. This is not to say that a uniform and universal system was in use in the Roman East. It is more the case that each region had adapted to a specific denominational system customised to their particular local needs, as shall be demonstrated below for the cities of the Orontes Valley.

By using coin finds, hoard evidence and countermarking patterns, Johnston has shown that the civic bronzes of Asia Minor enjoyed a wide area of circulation, certainly beyond the borders of the issuing cities, and that face values were widely recognised or at least accepted as equivalent in value to local currencies.⁸ This, however, was not the case for the coinages of Syria, in particular the Orontes Valley, where coins of one city did not circulate in the territory of the other (see Circulation chapter). This is one of the key factors impeding the understanding of the denominational systems and their relationships in the Orontes Valley. Yet another difficulty in distinguishing the various denominations is due to the fact that metallurgical analyses on bronze coins of Roman Syria are still greatly lacking. Of the small number of chemical analyses conducted—mostly on SC issues of Antioch—it has become apparent that, in general, a composition of 90% copper and 10% tin was employed, with the percentage of copper being gradually decreased by the second and third centuries as the percentage of lead increased.⁹

Obviously, people in the past were able to identify the denominations despite the absence of value marks, most probably by using types and sizes. This of course should not imply that each type represented a different denomination, as shall be

⁸ Johnston 2007, 5. See the review of Johnston's book by Spoerri Butcher (2009), who proposes that the denominations in use in Asia Minor were similar to those of the Greek cities and not Roman coinages as suggested by Johnston.

⁹ *RPC I*, 30; *CRS*, 205-206.

demonstrated in the discussions below under each mint. The metrological tables presented in this chapter will also demonstrate that size was less of a factor when determining denominations, since bronze coins of a single type/denomination were struck without any strict consistency in their modules.

Many questions remain unanswered regarding our understanding of the denominations and values of the coins in question precisely due to the inconsistency in their modules. However, from the metrological data of the coins gathered thus far, certain patterns have emerged concerning the denominational structure and weight standards of each mint and the subsequent changes introduced throughout the period covered in this study.

A. Apamea

Seleucid bronze coins which can be attributed to Apamea with certainty were minted under Antiochus IV and Alexander Balas (see Production chapter). The bronze issues of Antiochus IV were minted in two denominations.¹⁰ The larger depicts the portrait of the King on the obverse and a seated Zeus on the reverse. These issues have a weight range of 5.21 - 8.85 gr and measure 17 - 20 mm.¹¹ The smaller denomination has the same obverse, but a standing Zeus on the reverse. The weights range between 2.44 - 3.95 gr and the sizes 13 - 16 mm.¹² The issues of Alexander Balas at Apamea were also minted in two denominations. The larger denomination comes in two varieties: The first depicts Zeus standing on the reverse and has a weight range of 6.6 - 9.05 gr and measures 20 - 22 mm.¹³ The second variety depicts

¹⁰ *BMC Kings*, p. 41, no. 81; *CSE I*, no. 440; *CSE II*, nos. 336-337; *SC II*, nos. 1427-1428.

¹¹ *SC II*, 1427.

¹² *SC II*, 1428.

¹³ *SC II*, 1804.

Zeus also standing but with his foot on a pile of arms. This variety has a weight range of 7.51 - 9.6 gr and measures 20 - 21 mm.¹⁴ The smaller denomination, depicting the turreted head of Tyche on the obverse and a marching warrior on the reverse, has an average weight of 3.69 gr and an average size of 16.2 mm.¹⁵ This type in effect is the first issue at Apamea under the Seleucids not bearing the effigy of a king, thus anticipating the civic issues of Apamea minted in the very last years of Seleucid rule in Syria.

1. Civic issues

The civic issues of Apamea are structured into three main groups, the denominations of which are discussed separately below (Table 1 of the Production chapter should be consulted in conjunction with the discussions below).

a. Group 1 (Cat. nos. 1-4)

The first group of civic coins at Apamea, Group 1a, commenced in 77/76 BC and was produced until 68/67 BC in four denominations, each employing a separate type: Zeus/elephant; Tyche/Nike; Demeter/corn ear; Dionysus/grapes. The coins of this group are dated according to the Seleucid era. After a gap of several years, minting resumed in the city in 60/59 BC; the same types were used with the only exception being the absence of the Dionysus/grapes type. These coins, Group 1b, were dated according to a Pompeian era. During the process of recording the metrological data of all the above coins, it was noticed that the coins with a Pompeian date were perceptibly lighter in weight than the coins bearing a Seleucid date. Indeed,

¹⁴ *SC II*, 1803.

¹⁵ Data gathered from 15 specimens.

upon tabulating the average weights (in grams) and sizes (in millimetres)¹⁶ of the types of each group separately, a distinct difference became clear and is presented below (numbers in parentheses represent the standard deviation):¹⁷

Apamea/civic issues - Group 1			
Type	Average weight	Average size	Number of coins
Group 1a (77/76 - 68/67 BC)			
Zeus/elephant	8.17 (0.74)	21.4 (0.99)	20
Tyche/Nike	7.60 (0.98)	21.3 (2.06)	3
Demeter/corn ear	4.14 (0.55)	16.4 (0.90)	6
Dionysus/grapes	2.31 (0.40)	14.1 (0.89)	7
Group 1b (60/59 - 51/50 BC)			
Zeus/elephant	7.87 (0.79)	21.3 (0.92)	47
Tyche/Nike	5.44 (0.71)	17.3 (0.71)	15
Demeter/corn ear	3.43 (0.41)	17.1 (0.22)	5

Table 13: Average weights and sizes of civic coins of Apamea belonging to Group 1.

The above table clearly shows that the distinction between the two subgroups is not only based on the chronology of their production, or the difference in the dating system used for each, but also on the noticeable differences in their modules. As mentioned above, the Dionysus/grapes type is not present in Group 1b either because this smallest denomination was abandoned, whereby only three denominations were in use, or because no specimens have yet come to light, keeping in mind that this type is indeed among the rarest of all the civic issues of Apamea. The standard deviation for both the weights and sizes indicates that there was a relatively good degree of control by the mint officials; in the vast majority of cases the deviation of the weight is below one gram and for the size one millimetre.

¹⁶ Diameters were measured along the maximum width of individual coins.

¹⁷ The metrological data has been calculated from coins on which the dates are clearly visible; coins with illegible dates have been omitted from the statistics to avoid distortions in the results.

b. Group 2 (Cat. nos. 5-8)

In 44/43 BC Apamea introduced new types which were minted until 18/17 BC. This group is also divided into two subgroups: 2a and 2b. Initially, the coins of Group 2a were represented by two types, Athena/Nike and Tyche/Athena standing, which used a Pompeian era. In 41/40 BC this subgroup commenced using the Seleucid date and continued to be minted down to 31/30 BC, with an exception between 40/39 and 39/38 BC, when an Antonian era was used. A third denomination of this subgroup depicts the bust of Demeter on the obverse and three corn ears on the reverse. This type is known by the earliest recorded date of 38/37 BC, but future finds may show that it may also have been produced concurrently with the two types mentioned above.

Octavian's victory over Antony in Actium brought about changes in the coinage of Apamea, represented by Group 2b, by which in 30/29 BC a new heavier type, Dionysus/thyrsus (Cat. no. 5), was added to the above three denominations. Thus, four denominations were now used, each represented by a different type. The coins of Group 2b, which were all dated by the Seleucid era, continued to be minted until 18/17 BC. The metrology of the coins of Group 2 is listed below:

Apamea/civic issues - Group 2			
Type	Average weight	Average size	Number of coins
Group 2a (41/40 - 31/30 BC)			
Athena/Nike	7.61 (0.76)	20.7 (0.46)	66
Demeter/3 corn ears	6.40 (0.63)	18.2 (1.32)	5
Tyche/Athena	4.82 (0.49)	17.7 (0.98)	19
Group 2b (30/29 - 18/17 BC)			
Dionysus/thyrsus	9.04 (0.82)	22.0 (1.09)	37
Athena/Nike	7.26 (0.80)	19.9 (1.27)	35
Demeter/3 corn ears	5.86 (0.83)	19.2 (0.40)	6
Tyche/Athena	4.73 (0.39)	17.3 (0.53)	10

Table 14: Metrology of coins of Group 2 minted in Apamea.

After documenting the metrology of the coins of Group 2, no significant changes in the modules was noted between the issues of both subgroups, except for a minor and gradual decrease in the weights throughout the period covered in this group. However, the single noteworthy exception was among the very first issues bearing the Pompeian date, i.e., the Tyche/Athena standing and Athena/Nike types minted in 44/43 and 43/42 BC respectively. The metrology of these two early types is presented below:

Type	Average weight	Average size	Number of coins
Athena/Nike (43/42 BC)	9.12 (1.22)	21.6 (0.46)	8
Tyche/Athena (44/43 BC)	8.24 (0.71)	21.8 (0.73)	8

Table 15: Metrology of coins of Group 2a dated with a Pompeian era.

The metrology of these coins with a Pompeian date was not included in the statistics presented in Table 14 to avoid distorting the results. Note how the average weight of the Tyche/Athena type with a Pompeian date is nearly twice the weight of the coins of the same type which do not bear the Pompeian date. The early Athena/Nike type was also noted to be significantly heavier than those which followed it. Perhaps these two types initially represented a single denomination, as can be ascertained from their similar modules, and were later integrated into the three- and four-denominational system of Group 2.

A separate calculation was made for the Athena/Nike type bearing the Antonian date, minted in 40/39 and 39/38 BC, to highlight any differences in the weights of these coins and all other coins of this type listed in Table 14, but no such disparity was noted, as can be seen from the data presented below:

Type	Average weight	Average size	Number
Athena/Nike (40/39 - 39/38 BC)	7.35 (0.64)	21.1 (0.49)	9

Table 16: Metrology of the coins of Apamea bearing an Antonine date.

c. Group 3 (Cat. nos. 9-12)

Coins of Group 3 are dated according to the Seleucid era and were minted between 13/12(?) and 5/4 BC. Four types are noted for this group: Dionysus/thysus; Dionysus/Demeter; Dionysus/cornucopia; Zeus/Tyche seated. Initially, it was thought that each type represented a different denomination, thus forming a four-denominational system, which would be in line with the general trend observed in the two groups presented above. However, after tabulating the metrological data for each type, it soon became evident that only two denominations were employed:

Apamea/civic issues - Group 3			
Type	Average weight	Average size	Number of coins
Dionysus/Demeter	7.16 (0.86)	20.8 (1.06)	14
Dionysus/cornucopia	6.98 (1.14)	21.4 (1.32)	17
Dionysus/thysus	6.90 (0.76)	20.5 (1.19)	35
Zeus/Tyche seated	5.52 (0.46)	17.6 (1.15)	3

Table 17: Metrology of coins of Apamea belonging to Group 3.

It is clear from the above data that the heavier denomination was represented by three types, all depicting the bust of Dionysus on the obverse. The metrology of the smaller denomination is derived from only two coins, but a clear distinction in the module between this type and the other three types is noticeable, particularly regarding size. This two-denominational system continued to be used in Apamea for the coins bearing the imperial portraits presented below.

2. Coins with imperial portraits

In 4/3 BC Apamea inaugurated two new types bearing the portrait of Augustus on the obverse. Both types were minted concurrently as attested by the Actian year HK = 28 = 4/3 BC on their reverses. The heavier type depicts Nike on the reverse and the lighter the bust of Tyche, the metrology of which is listed below:

Apamea/Augustus			
Type	Average weight	Average size	Number of coins
Nike advancing	10.16 (0.32)	23.0 (1.41)	3
Tyche bust	6.97 (0.68)	20.8 (0.66)	12

Table 18: Metrological table of Apamene coins bearing the portrait of Augustus.

Two decades after the issues of Augustus, Apamea minted coins bearing the portrait of Tiberius in AD 14/15. Under this emperor the two-denominational system was continued, with the heavier type once again depicting Nike on the reverse, but the lighter an advancing Athena. The metrology of these coins is similar to Tiberius' predecessor as can be observed in the table below:

Apamea/Tiberius			
Type	Average weight	Average size	Number of coins
Nike (left and right)	9.87 (0.77)	23.2 (1.44)	5
Athena advancing	7.66 (1.03)	21.5 (0.5)	4

Table 19: Metrology of coins of Tiberius minted in Apamea.

Under Claudius two bronze types were minted which do not bear the Emperor's portrait. The two types are Zeus/seated Tyche and Zeus/Nike, both of which are lighter in weight than the coins of this emperor's predecessors:

Apamea/Claudius			
Type	Average weight	Average size	Number of coins
Tyche seated	6.46 (0.55)	19.3 (1.09)	4
Nike	5.46 (0.09)	18.0 (1.00)	3

Table 20: Metrological data for the coins of Claudius minted in Apamea.

Unlike the issues of Augustus and Tiberius, the differences in weights for the issues of Claudius is not considerable, raising the question whether or not the two types represent separate denominations. The Nike type was minted first, followed by the seated Tyche type, as attested by the dates ETO A and ETO B respectively. Thus,

the two types were not produced concurrently, as was the case for the coins of the previous two emperors. Further specimens would be needed to clarify the disparities in the average weights of both types, but with the available data thus far it seems that the two-denominational system was continued, albeit using lighter modules.¹⁸

A rare tetradrachm issue of this emperor is known by two specimens. The first is housed in the BNF (1973.1.352) and has a weight of 13.69 gr and measures 26.5 mm. The second is published by Imhoof-Blumer where only the weight of 15.0 gr is recorded.¹⁹

B. Larissa (Cat. nos. 20-21)

The two types minted in Larissa –Zeus/throne and Tyche/horse– represent two denominations as attested by their modules, where the average weight of the former is twice that of the latter. Hoover, in his classification of the coins of this mint, does not list the Tyche/horse type and considers the Zeus/throne type to have been minted in two denominations based on the wide fluctuation of their weights.²⁰

Although it is true that these coins do have a wide weight range of approximately 6 to 9 grams, it is unlikely that the same type was minted in two denominations, especially when taking into consideration that all the coins of Larissa were issued in a single year as attested by the Seleucid date $ZK\Sigma = 227 = 86/85$ BC. The die studies, which show that all the coins of the Zeus/throne type were minted using a single obverse die, also confirm that all the coins of this type were of the same denomination (see Die Studies chapter).

¹⁸ The weight range for the seated Tyche type is 6.11 - 7.28 gr, and that of the Nike type 5.37 - 5.56 gr.

¹⁹ Imhoof-Blumer 1913, p. 108, no. 292a (coin not illustrated).

²⁰ Hoover 2009, 307.

Larissa			
Type	Average weight	Average size	Number of coins
Zeus/throne	7.59 (0.98)	19.7 (1.17)	15
Tyche/horse	3.68 (0.48)	16.2 (0.59)	5

Table 21: Metrology of the coins of Larissa.

The standard deviations for both types are not too great, indicating that these coins were minted with a relatively good degree of control by the mint authorities. This small deviation also confirms that the Zeus/throne type was not minted in two separate denominations, despite the relatively wide range for the weight of these coins.²¹

C. Raphanea (Cat. nos. 22-24)

Two denominations are known for the mint of Raphanea, which minted coins only during the reign of Elagabalus. The larger denomination is represented by three types: Elagabalus/seated genius, Elagabalus/standing genius and Severus Alexander/standing genius, the metrology of which is presented below:

Raphanea			
Type	Average weight	Average size	Number of coins
Elagabalus/seated genius	9.10 (1.43)	23.1 (0.65)	8
Elagabalus/standing genius	7.83 (1.48)	23.1 (1.10)	72
Alexander/standing genius	7.72 (1.86)	23.3 (0.75)	23

Table 22: Metrology of the coins of Raphanea depicting a genius on the reverse.

It was initially believed that the seated genius type represented a larger denomination due to its higher average weight. However, based on the numerous die

²¹ See also the distribution of the weights tabulated in the Catalogue, which shows that this type was not minted using two distinct modules.

links that have been found between these two types (see Die Studies chapter), it has been established that both types represented a single denomination. As can be seen from the results of the standard deviations in the weights, it seems that not much control was observed regarding the preparation of the flans. Perhaps this may also be a reason the coins of the seated genius type are somewhat heavier, although the average sizes are remarkably similar.

The average weights and sizes of all the coins of the larger denomination are listed below, in addition to the smaller denomination, known by a single specimen, depicting the bust of Elagabalus on the obverse and a humped bull on the reverse:

Raphanea			
Type	Average weight	Average size	Number of coins
Large denomination	7.88 (1.59)	23.2 (0.99)	103
Small denomination	2.5	14	1

Table 23: Metrology of the two denominations minted in Raphanea.

It is fortunate that the single specimen representing the small denomination has come to light and can be included in this study, otherwise it would have been assumed that only a single denomination was in use in Raphanea. It should not be ruled out that perhaps a medium denomination may also exist for this mint, which has not yet come to light.

D. Emesa

1. Silver

a. Caracalla and Macrinus (Cat. nos. 29-30, 37-38)

Tetradrachms were issued in Emesa during the reigns of Caracalla and Macrinus, the metrology of which are presented in the table below:

Emesa/tetradrachms			
Type	Average weight	Average size	Number of coins
Caracalla	12.75 (1.30)	25.7 (1.23)	62
Julia Domna	12.85 (1.27)	25.9 (1.45)	28
Total	12.78 (1.29)	25.8 (1.29)	90
Macrinus	12.65 (1.21)	25.2 (1.57)	126
Diadumenian	12.49 (1.34)	25.6 (1.33)	8
Total	12.64 (1.21)	25.2 (1.55)	134

Table 24: Metrology of tetradrachms issued in Emesa during the reigns of Caracalla and Macrinus.

The above statistics show that there was no change in the weight standard of the silver issues at Emesa during the reigns of the two emperors. The results of the standard deviations also show a consistent degree of control regarding the modules. Butcher has shown that the weight standard of Syrian tetradrachms remained quite stable at approximately 14.50 gr from the reign of Augustus to Hadrian, thus over a span of one and a half centuries. For the reign of Marcus Aurelius a lower weight of 12.66 gr was documented.²² Table 24 shows that this lower weight standard was also continued in the reigns of Caracalla and Macrinus at Emesa. Prieur's and Bellinger's corpora do not provide weights for these tetradrachms for purposes of a comparative study, but McAlee lists a mean weight of 12.94 gr for the tetradrachms of these two emperors.²³ Future research on Syrian tetradrachms may confirm if this weight standard was uniform throughout the Syro-Phoenician territories.

²² CRS, 198.

²³ McAlee (2007, 16-19) using D. R. Walker's (1978) data compiled from all Syrian mints.

b. Uranius Antoninus (Cat. nos. 49-56)

The average weight of the ‘pre-reform’ tetradrachms of Uranius Antoninus was calculated to be 11.01 gr (25 coins) by Baldus.²⁴ During the process of this research 36 of these coins were documented as having an average weight of 11.17 gr (standard deviation = 1.14), a reading very much similar to that of Baldus’.²⁵ Evidently, by the time of Uranius Antoninus the weight of the tetradrachms in Emesa had fallen to 11 grams, compared to an average of nearly 13 grams under Caracalla and Macrinus. Regarding the ‘post-reform’ tetradrachms of Uranius, Baldus provides an average weight of 8.44 gr (41 coins).²⁶ The 26 coins documented in this study have yielded an average weight of 8.37 gr (standard deviation = 0.46).

2. Bronze

a. Antoninus Pius (Cat. nos. 26-28)

During the reign of this emperor only a single denomination was minted, represented by three different types: perched eagle (right and left), bust of sun god and a seated Tyche (front, right and left). It would be tempting to think that each type represented a separate denomination, but the die links have demonstrated that all three types have shared dies, in addition to the fact that all have similar modules:

Emesa/Antoninus Pius			
Type	Average weight	Average size	Number of coins
Perched eagle right	9.41 (1.56)	22.8 (1.00)	75

²⁴ Baldus 1971, 17.

²⁵ Baldus’ database was compiled from coins in major international collections. The current study has supplemented the data by adding specimens from the online market, in addition to a private collection.

²⁶ Baldus 1975, 448.

Perched eagle left	10.11 (2.36)	23.0 (0)	2
Sun god	9.27 (1.21)	22.6 (1.00)	13
Seated Tyche front	9.28 (1.47)	23.1 (1.03)	4
Seated Tyche right	10.23	21.5	1
Seated Tyche left	9.02	22.0	1
Total	9.41 (1.50)	22.8 (0.99)	96

Table 25: Metrological list of the coins of Antoninus Pius minted in Emesa.

Not much control seems to have been enforced regarding the weights, based on the readings of the standard deviations. However, it is clear from the tabulated data that all three types were the same denomination, with the most common by far being the perched eagle type. It may seem odd that only a single denomination was minted, but as shall be demonstrated below, the use of a single bronze denomination has also been attested for the reigns of Macrinus and Uranius Antoninus.

b. Caracalla (Cat. nos. 31-36)

Six types were minted during the reign of this emperor as follows: Caracalla/temple façade, Caracalla/temple side view (right or left), Julia Domna/altar, Caracalla/Julia Domna, Caracalla/perched eagle and Caracalla/Tyche seated (front or left). These coins are dated to the years AD 215/216 and 216/217 and represent three denominations as follows: the largest denomination depicts the temple of Elagabal, either in perspective view or the façade. The medium denomination depicts the bust of the Emperor's mother either in conjunction with the portrait of Caracalla or the great altar of Elagabal. The smallest of the denominations depicts a perched eagle or a seated Tyche (left and front).

Emesa/Caracalla			
Type	Average weight	Average size	Number of coins
Large denomination			
Temple façade	22.62 (2.60)	29.5 (1.01)	41
Temple right and left	22.02 (2.50)	30.1 (1.07)	16
Medium denomination			
Julia Domna/altar	11.71 (2.60)	24.8 (1.19)	63
Caracalla/Julia Domna	10.01 (1.07)	22.1 (1.57)	6
Small denomination			
Perched eagle	8.01 (1.17)	21.0 (1.14)	26
Seated Tyche (front and left)	7.76 (0.69)	21.3 (1.10)	8

Table 26: Metrology of the coins of Caracalla minted in Emesa.

Based on the metrological data provided in the table above, it is apparent that there existed three main modules weighing roughly 24, 12 and 8 grams, thus having a ratio of 6:3:2. The Caracalla/Julia Domna type is

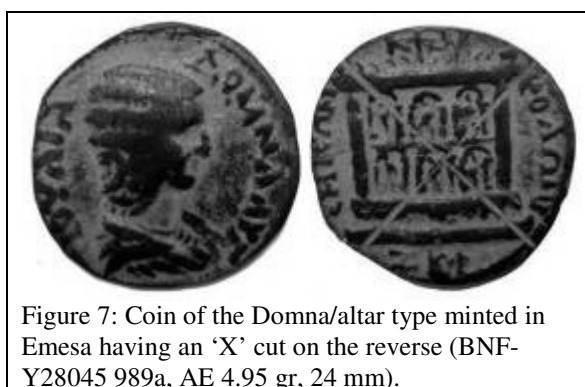


Figure 7: Coin of the Domna/altar type minted in Emesa having an 'X' cut on the reverse (BNF-Y28045 989a, AE 4.95 gr, 24 mm).

tentatively placed under the medium category; more specimens of this rare type are required to determine its averaged weight with better precision.²⁷

Halved coins are a relatively common occurrence for first century AD 'SC' coins of Antioch, but this aspect was not encountered at all for the coins of the Orontes Valley. However, five coins of the Domna/altar type were noted to have a deep 'X' cut on their reverse (Figure 7).²⁸ These specimens do not seem to be

²⁷ A die study was not helpful in confirming if the two types featuring the portrait of Julia Domna were indeed of the same denomination, since different dies were prepared for each (for the Caracalla/Domna type the portrait of the Empress is accompanied with a date, whereas for the Domna/altar type the date is not placed next to the portrait).

²⁸ BNF-Y28045, 989a; AUB-228; Vienna-GR 21667; eBay; PC3. Both dates (ZKΦ and HKΦ) have been noted for these coins.

contemporary or modern forgeries based on their style and metrology.²⁹ If these coins were marked for cancellation, it would have been easier to completely destroy or melt them down instead of applying these cuts on the reverses with what seems to have been a chisel. If they were intended to be halved or quartered, no such cut pieces have yet come to light. To confirm this point, a die study was conducted on these ‘marked’ coins and it was noted that all four specimens (the fifth being poorly preserved) were struck from four different pairs of dies. It would be highly unlikely that at least four separate pairs of dies were prepared to produce forgeries. Moreover, die links were noted between these ‘marked’ coins and the ‘unmarked’ coins of the same type, implying that they were the official products of the Emesene mint.³⁰ All this shows that these coins were not forgeries. As an alternate explanation, these ‘marks’ may have been applied as a form of ritual demonetization,³¹ similar to the coins in the Hoard of Villeneuve-au-Châtelot.³² However, this would be difficult to verify without the archaeological context from which these coins were retrieved.

c. Macrinus (Cat. nos. 39-40)

Two types were minted under Macrinus depicting the great temple of Emesa either from the front or the side. Since these coins were a direct continuation of Macrinus’ predecessor’s two heaviest types, and like them have approximately the same weights and sizes, it is only natural to assume that they represent the largest

²⁹ Although it is true that the average weight of these five coins stands at 7.69 gr and is lower than the overall average for this type, numerous other specimens without this mark have been recorded with similarly low weights.

³⁰ BNF-Y28045.989a (‘marked’) has an obverse die link with ANS-1944.100.66178 (‘unmarked’). AUB-228 (‘marked’) has a reverse die link with BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1527 (‘unmarked’).

³¹ They should not be considered as a form of *damnatio memoriae*, since the cuts are not on the portrait, but rather the reverse.

³² Zehnacker *et al.* 1984. I was unable to acquire this article, but it was suggested to me by Suzanne Frey-Kupper (Department of Classics and Ancient History, University of Warwick).

denomination at Emesa. The fact that both types share the same obverse die also asserts that they are of the same denomination. No other types have yet come to light under Macrinus implying that only the heaviest denomination was produced, although future finds may add to the denominational sequence for this emperor.

Emesa/Macrinus			
Type	Average weight	Average size	Number of coins
Large denomination			
Temple façade	23.31 (2.46)	30.0 (0.60)	6
Temple right	26.08	29.0	1

Table 27: Metrology of the coins of Macrinus minted in Emesa.

d. Elagabalus (Cat. nos. 41-48)

In the reign of Elagabalus a proliferation of types has been noted. Eight types are known, the metrology of which is tabulated below:

Emesa/Elagabalus			
Type	Average weight	Average size	Number of coins
Large denomination			
Temple façade	11.13 (2.27)	23.3 (1.86)	6
Wreath	12.64	26.5	1
Medium denomination			
Prize-crown	7.32 (1.42)	22.3 (1.30)	47
Seated Tyche	7.85 (1.32)	23.5 (2.64)	4
Small denomination			
Altar	5.53 ³³	19.2 (1.06)	2
Eagle standing facing	4.85 (1.24)	18.2 (1.22)	30
Perched eagle	4.07 (1.21)	18.5 (0.91)	4
Sun god	3.59 (1.15)	16.1 (1.83)	11

Table 28: Metrology of coins of Elagabalus minted in Emesa.

³³ Two specimens of this type are documented (*Lindgren III-1182* and *Aeqvitas*), but the weight of only one is known.

Regarding the denominations, it is quite apparent that there was a significant reduction in the modules as attested by the average weights. The temple façade type once again seems to have been the heaviest and thus the largest denomination. However, the average weight for these coins at this point was approximately 12 grams, standing at only half the weight of the same type of Elagabalus' predecessors. The wreath type is known only by a single specimen,

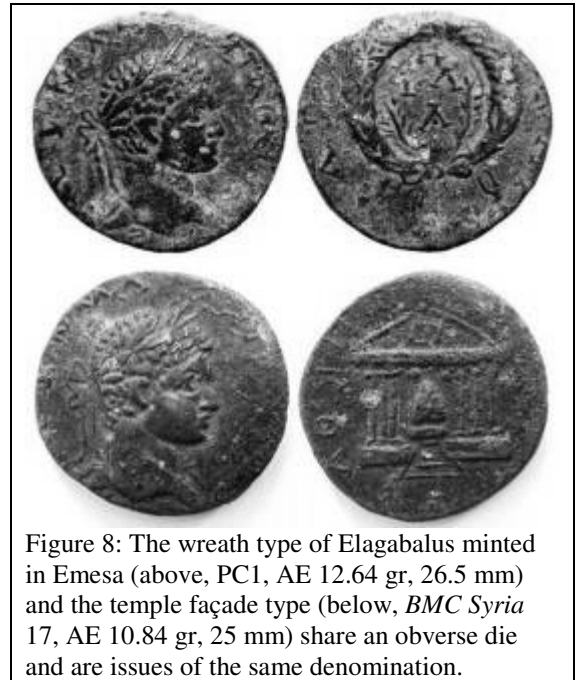


Figure 8: The wreath type of Elagabalus minted in Emesa (above, PC1, AE 12.64 gr, 26.5 mm) and the temple façade type (below, *BMC Syria* 17, AE 10.84 gr, 25 mm) share an obverse die and are issues of the same denomination.

but its classification under the largest denomination along with the temple façade type is based on its weight, in addition to the fact that it shares an obverse die with the temple façade type (Figure 8). The medium denomination is represented by the prize-crown and seated Tyche types, with a die link also having been established between the two (see Die Studies chapter). The smallest denomination seems to be represented by four types. The average weight and size of the sun god type seems to be somewhat less than that of the other types, but the difference is not great enough to warrant a separate classification. This is in addition to the fact that an obverse die link has been found between the altar and sun god types (see below). The weight of the altar type is known by a single specimen only (*Lindgren III-1182*), rendering it difficult to classify; however, because an obverse die link has been established between this type (*Aeqvitas*, no inventory number) and the sun god type (*BNF-1005*), it is placed under the smallest denomination. It may be possible that all four types of the smallest denomination were not produced concurrently. One type may have succeeded the

other, but this remains unverified since it has been difficult to establish the chronology of these issues due to the absence of dates on them (see Production chapter).³⁴

A single specimen of the prize-crown type was documented to have three deep cuts on the reverse in the following shape: ⊥ (Figure 9). The cuts do not seem to be the ‘X’ mark noted for the Domna/altar type discussed above. The style of this coin is unlike the remaining specimens of this type and does not have any die links with them. Based on the crude style of the portrait and the fact that the legend is blundered, the coin may be considered a contemporary imitation.

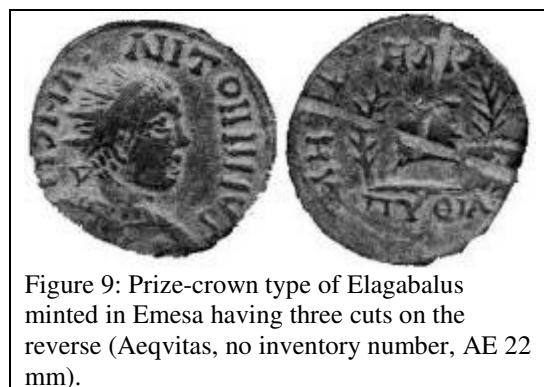


Figure 9: Prize-crown type of Elagabalus minted in Emesa having three cuts on the reverse (Aeqvitas, no inventory number, AE 22 mm).

e. Uranius Antoninus (Cat. nos. 57-58)

As was the case for Macrinus, only the temple façade and side view types were minted under Uranius Antoninus, the metrology of which is presented below:

Emesa/Uranius Antoninus			
Type	Average weight	Average size	Number of coins
Temple façade	24.26 (4.21)	31.8 (1.15)	15
Temple left	22.12 (3.71)	32.3 (1.49)	4

Table 29: Metrology of bronze coins of Uranius Antoninus.

The modules under this emperor are not dissimilar to those of Caracalla and Macrinus, with the only exception being the significantly elevated reading for the standard deviation for the two types, implying that little control was enforced in

³⁴ Only the perched eagle type of this group bears a date of ΦΛ = 530 = AD 218/219.

regulating the weights of these coins. Apparently, after the reduction in modules witnessed under Elagabalus, the issues of Uranius at Emesa reverted to the original weight standard used for the heaviest denomination under Elagabalus' predecessors. As for the case of Macrinus, no smaller denominations have been recorded. Baldus has illustrated a smaller bronze coin of Uranius having a reverse type similar to the above temple façade type, but the coin seems to be a nineteenth century forgery.³⁵

E. Laodicea ad Libanum

1. Septimius Severus (Cat. nos. 59-62)

Four types were minted in the reign of this emperor depicting on the obverse members of the imperial family:

Laodicea ad Libanum/Septimius Severus			
Type	Average weight	Average size	Number of coins
Large denomination			
Septimius Severus/Mên	11.32 (2.47)	27.3 (1.98)	9
Medium denomination			
Caracalla/seated Tyche	7.67 (1.15)	24.2 (1.46)	24
Small denomination			
Julia Domna/Tyche bust	6.36 (1.07)	22.0 (1.82)	4
Geta/Tyche bust	5.77 (1.29)	21.4 (0.82)	4

Table 30: Metrology of coins minted in the reign of Septimius Severus at Laodicea ad Libanum.

Three denominations were minted in Laodicea ad Libanum with the smallest being represented by two types, both depicting the bust of Tyche on the reverse.

Although the Geta type is slightly smaller in weight and size compared to the type depicting his mother, the two are classified under one denomination based on the

³⁵ Baldus 1971, Table V, nos. 45 and 45a. Baldus too is skeptical of the coin's authenticity.

overall similarity in their modules and the fact that they share a reverse die (see Die Studies chapter). The weight standards used under this emperor seem to be roughly 12, 8 and 6 grams,³⁶ thus having a ratio of 6:4:3.

What is interesting is the fact that the denominational structure of the coins minted under Septimius Severus reflects the hierarchy of the imperial family, at least as viewed by the mint officials, with the Emperor placed on the highest denomination, followed by the heir apparent and then the remaining members of the family.

2. Caracalla (Cat. nos. 63-64)

Under Caracalla only the Mên and the Domna/Tyche types were issued; no other types have yet come to light. Therefore, it seems that only two denominations were minted as follows:

Laodicea ad Libanum/Caracalla			
Type	Average weight	Average size	Number of coins
Caracalla/Mên	9.03 (1.27)	24.0 (1.23)	24
Julia Domna/Tyche bust	4.89 (0.97)	20.8 (1.70)	3

Table 31: Metrology of coins of Caracalla minted in Laodicea ad Libanum.

Under Caracalla a clear reduction in modules is noted with the heaviest weighing around 9 grams compared to 12 grams under his father. The same reduction is noted for the smaller denomination as well.

3. Macrinus (Cat. no. 65)

Only a single type, and thus denomination, is recorded for Macrinus:

³⁶ The average weight and size of the Julia Domna and Geta types combined is 6.06 gr and 21.71 mm.

Laodicea ad Libanum/Macrinus			
Type	Average weight	Average size	Number of coins
Macrinus/Mên	18.84 (2.30)	29.5 (0.83)	6

Table 32: Metrology of the single type minted under Macrinus at Laodicea ad Libanum.

It is quite evident from the statistics above that there was a twofold increase in the average weight of the Mên type minted under Macrinus when compared to that of his predecessor. No other types have been recorded.

4. Elagabalus (Cat. no. 66)

Similarly, under this emperor only a single type was issued. Once again a reduction in the module is noted, although it still remains significantly higher than that used under Caracalla:

Laodicea ad Libanum/Elagabalus			
Type	Average weight	Average size	Number of coins
Elagabalus/Mên	15.77 (2.69)	26.6 (1.67)	8

Table 33: Metrology of the Mên type minted under Elagabalus in Laodicea ad Libanum.

It should be noted that the standard deviation recorded for this mint is quite high, indicating that little control was practised in the preparation of the flans.

F. Analysis

Although the above statistics do not present the face values of the various issues under study, they have presented the denominational structure of the coinages through tabulating the types and modules. Where possible, the denominational divisions have also been corroborated with the results of the die studies. In most cases, clear patterns for the denominations have emerged, but certain rare issues are

known by a few specimens only and therefore have been tentatively placed in the denominational structures of each mint.

1. Northern Orontes Valley

Apamea and Larissa should be considered a separate group due to the chronological difference between the issues of these two mints and those of the southern Orontes Valley (Raphanea, Emesa and Laodicea ad Libanum). The first 'semi-autonomous' issues of Apamea date back to the reigns of Antiochus IV and Alexander Balas, after which Apamea began minting civic issues in 77/76 BC. These were followed by issues bearing an imperial portrait in 4/3 BC. All the bronze denominations of Apamea have been listed below according to their weight averages:

Apamea	9.5 - 10.0	9.0 - 9.5	8.5 - 9.0	8.0 - 8.5	7.5 - 8.0	7.0 - 7.5	6.5 - 7.0	6.0 - 6.5	5.5 - 6.0	5.0 - 5.5	4.5 - 5.0	4.0 - 4.5	3.5 - 4.0	3.0 - 3.5	2.5 - 3.0	2.0 - 2.5 gr
HELLENISTIC ISSUES																
Antiochus (2)						*								*		
Balas (2)					*								*			
CIVIC ISSUES																
Group 1a (4)				*		*						*				*
Group 1b (3)					*					*				*		
Group 2a (3)					*			*			*					
Group 2b (4)		*				*			*		*					
Group 3 (2)							*		*							
IMPERIAL ISSUES																
Augustus (2)	*						*									
Tiberius (2)	*				*											
Claudius (2)								*		*						

Table 34: Chart illustrating the various weight standards and denominations used at Apamea. Numbers in parentheses denote the number of denominations known for each group or ruler.

The above chart indicates that the denominations and modules employed at Apamea were quite diverse. It is only during the imperial period that a uniform two-denominational system was used, although it employed varying modules.

When comparing the issues of Larissa with Apamea, certain differences are apparent, despite the relative proximity of the two cities and the fact that both of their civic issues commenced in the first quarter of the first century BC. The two denominations with their average weights of approximately 8 and 4 grams minted in Larissa are very similar to the issues of Apamea minted during the period of the two Seleucid kings mentioned above. However, when comparing them to the *civic* issues of Apamea, the difference become more pronounced, particularly because Larissa minted two denominations whereas Apamea initially minted four and later three.

Regarding coins of neighbouring mints, a comparison of denominations can be conducted between Apamea and the prominent mint of Antioch in the north of the Valley. Between 77/76 - 68/67 BC Apamea minted coins using a four-denominational system (Group 1a). Antioch during this same time period minted three denominations: Zeus/Zeus, Tyche/tripod and Artemis/Apollo.³⁷ After the advent of the Roman period and until 50/49 BC, Antioch continued to mint bronze coins in three denominations with average weights of 7.54, 5.2 and 2.8 grams.³⁸ These issues were concurrent with the coins of Group 1b (60/59 - 51/50 BC) at Apamea, which also have similar weights of 7.87, 5.44 and 3.43 grams.³⁹ From 40/39 to 17/16 BC Antioch minted three denominations having average weights of 7.82, 5.81 and 3.13 grams.⁴⁰ During this same period Apamea initially minted three denominations (Group 2a, 41/40 - 31/30 BC: 7.61, 6.40 and 4.82 gr) and later four (Group 2b, 30/29 - 18/17 BC: 9.04, 7.26, 5.86 and 4.73 gr).

³⁷ *CRS*, 307-312, the average weights are not listed for these pre-Roman period issues. See also *RPC I*, 617-621 for what follows.

³⁸ *CRS*, 312-314.

³⁹ This similarity was mentioned by Butcher (*CRS*, 206), noting that the cities of the Tetrapolis during 63 - 47 BC minted a three-denominational bronze coinage with approximate weights of 7.5, 5.0 and 2.5 gr.

⁴⁰ *CRS*, 317-319.

Regarding the imperial period, issues of Antioch under Augustus between 4 - 1 BC were struck in two denominations with average weights of 16.74 and 8.75 grams.⁴¹ Apamea also struck two denominations concurrent with these issues, but which had considerably lower weight averages of 10.16 and 6.97 grams. For Tiberius' reign both Antioch and Apamea minted two denominations in AD 14/15. However, once again the modules at Antioch, 15.15 and 8.88 grams,⁴² were significantly heavier than those at Apamea, having average weights of 9.87 and 7.66 grams. The denominations and modules under Claudius in Antioch were similar to those of Tiberius noted above,⁴³ but in Apamea the weights had been reduced even further to 6.46 and 5.46 grams. The below chart provides a representation of all the above data:

	16.0 - 17.0	15.0 - 16.0	14.0 - 15.0	13.0 - 14.0	12.0 - 13.0	11.0 - 12.0	10.0 - 11.0	9.0 - 10.0	8.0 - 9.0	7.0 - 8.0	6.0 - 7.0	5.0 - 6.0	4.0 - 5.0	3.0 - 4.0	2.0 - 3.0 gr
77/76 - 67/66 BC															
Apamea Group 1a (4)									*	*			*		*
Antioch (3)										*		*			*
66/65 - 50/49 BC															
Apamea Group 1b (3)										*		*		*	
Antioch (3)										*		*			*
41/40 - 31/30 BC															
Apamea Group 2a (3)										*	*		*		
Antioch (3)										*		*		*	
30/29 - 17/16 BC															
Apamea Group 2b (4)								*		*		*	*		
Antioch (3)										*		*		*	
AUGUSTUS															
Apamea (2)							*				*				
Antioch (2)	*								*						
TIBERIUS															
Apamea (2)								*		*					

⁴¹ *CRS*, 323-325. During 7/6 - 2/1 BC Antioch also struck smaller civic denominations, under P. Quinctilius Varus and an unknown successor, with average weights of 6.88, 4.84, 2.54 and 1.46 grams (*CRS*, 326-327).

⁴² *CRS*, 331.

⁴³ *CRS*, 336-339

Antioch (2)		*							*					
CLAUDIUS														
Apamea (2)										*	*			
Antioch (2)		*							*					

Table 35: Chart comparing the denominations used at Apamea and Antioch. Numbers in parentheses denote the number of denominations known for each time period.

To sum up, for the pre-imperial period in which Apamea issued three denominations, the average weights were very similar to those of Antioch, but this does not imply that the face values were equal. However, Apamea at times issued four denominations, a trend not known in Antioch. This shows that Apamea did not strictly follow the Antiochene system, despite the similarities. During the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius and Claudius both mints employed a two-denominational system, but the modules at Apamea were significantly smaller than those at Antioch. All this implies that different currency systems were utilised in each city.

2. Southern Orontes Valley

The coinages of Raphanea, Emesa and Laodicea ad Libanum form a rather uniform grouping based on their chronology and geographical proximity. Despite this, a clear dissimilarity in their issues is evident. The below table provides an overview of the disparity observed in the denominations and weight standards used in the mints of these cities:

	25.0 - 26.0	24.0 - 25.0	23.0 - 24.0	22.0 - 23.0	21.0 - 22.0	20.0 - 21.0	19.0 - 20.0	18.0 - 19.0	17.0 - 18.0	16.0 - 17.0	15.0 - 16.0	14.0 - 15.0	13.0 - 14.0	12.0 - 13.0	11.0 - 12.0	10.0 - 11.0	9.0 - 10.0	8.0 - 9.0	7.0 - 8.0	6.0 - 7.0	5.0 - 6.0	4.0 - 5.0	3.0 - 4.0	2.0 - 3.0 gr
RAPHANEA																								
Elagabalus (2)																		*						*
EMESA																								
Pius (1)																	*							
Caracalla (3)				*											*			*						
Macrinus (1)		*																						
Elagabalus (3)														*				*				*		
Uranus (1)			*																					

LAODICEA																								
Septimius (3)																	*		*	*				
Caracalla (2)																		*				*		
Macrinus (1)								*																
Elagabalus (1)										*														

Table 36: Chart depicting the various bronze denominations used in the mints of the southern Orontes Valley. Numbers in parentheses denote the number of denominations known for each emperor.

Table 36 shows a distinct difference in the denominations and modules used in each mint. It also portrays how within the same city the denominations varied from one emperor to another. The reign of Elagabalus may be taken as a good case study, since it is only during his reign that all three mints were concurrently operational. Yet here, too, the differences in the metrology and denominations are quite diverse, as can be seen in the table below:

	25.0 - 26.0	24.0 - 25.0	23.0 - 24.0	22.0 - 23.0	21.0 - 22.0	20.0 - 21.0	19.0 - 20.0	18.0 - 19.0	17.0 - 18.0	16.0 - 17.0	15.0 - 16.0	14.0 - 15.0	13.0 - 14.0	12.0 - 13.0	11.0 - 12.0	10.0 - 11.0	9.0 - 10.0	8.0 - 9.0	7.0 - 8.0	6.0 - 7.0	5.0 - 6.0	4.0 - 5.0	3.0 - 4.0	2.0 - 3.0 gr
RAPHANEA																								
Elagabalus (2)																			*					*
EMESA																								
Elagabalus (3)															*			*			*			
LAODICEA																								
Elagabalus (1)											*													

Table 37: The various denominations used in the cities of the southern Orontes Valley under Elagabalus.

The data presented in Table 37 demonstrates how there was no coordination between the denominational systems employed in the cities of the southern Orontes Valley.⁴⁴ This implies that the different currency systems used were most probably incompatible with one another. Preliminary evidence also suggests that the coins of these cities did not circulate in the territories of one another (see Circulation chapter),

⁴⁴ A preliminary study by Sawaya (2006, p. 175, Table 4) on the denominations of nine Phoenician mints for the reign of Elagabalus has also reached the same conclusion of diversity.

an aspect which further supports the above hypothesis. An attempt was also made to find evidence of the sharing of obverse dies between these three mints for coins with the portrait of Elagabalus, but no such cases were found.

In the Severan period a large module of about 30 mm was introduced in the mints of northern Syria.⁴⁵ This also was the case for Emesa and was later followed by Laodicea ad Libanum, but not Raphanea. Once again, this aspect shows the lack of uniformity in the currency systems used in the southern Orontes Valley. During the reign of Elagabalus a heavy denomination was introduced in Antioch, which is completely contrary to the case in Emesa, where the modules were actually reduced during his reign.

A comparative study may be conducted between the denominational relationships, if any, of the mints of the southern Orontes Valley and Antioch in the north, and Heliopolis in the south of the Valley:⁴⁶

	24.0 - 25.0	23.0 - 24.0	22.0 - 23.0	21.0 - 22.0	20.0 - 21.0	19.0 - 20.0	18.0 - 19.0	17.0 - 18.0	16.0 - 17.0	15.0 - 16.0	14.0 - 15.0	13.0 - 14.0	12.0 - 13.0	11.0 - 12.0	10.0 - 11.0	9.0 - 10.0	8.0 - 9.0	7.0 - 8.0	6.0 - 7.0	5.0 - 6.0	4.0 - 5.0	3.0 - 4.0	2.0 - 3.0	1.0 - 2.0 gr
Antoninus Pius																								
Emesa																*								
Antioch 1 ⁴⁷											*													
Antioch 2																	*				*			
Antioch 3																*								
Antioch 4																	*						*	
Antioch 5														*										
Septimius Severus																								
Laod. ad Lib.													*				*		*					
Heliopolis 1 ⁴⁸										*		*				*					*			
Heliopolis 2												*			*		*							

⁴⁵ *CRS*, 207. In Antioch, a heavy module was introduced starting from the reign of Elagabalus onwards and not before.

⁴⁶ For Antioch see *CRS*, 212-213, Figs. 62 and 63. For Heliopolis, which minted only during the reigns of Septimius Severus, Philip I and Valerian, see Sawaya 2009, 145-146.

⁴⁷ Five groups of issues have been listed by Butcher.

⁴⁸ Six groups (émissions) have been recorded by Sawaya.

Heliopolis 3														*			*	*		*					*
Heliopolis 4														*			*		*						
Heliopolis 5														*			*	*		*					*
Heliopolis 6														*										*	
Caracalla																									
Emesa				*										*				*							
Laod. ad Lib.																	*					*			
Antioch																		*						*	
Macrinus																									
Emesa	*																								
Laod. ad Lib.								*																	
Antioch																						*			
Elagabalus																									
Raphanea																			*						*
Emesa														*				*			*				
Laod. ad Lib.								*																	
Antioch						*								*							*				*

Table 38: Chart comparing the denominations at Antioch and Heliopolis with those of the southern Orontes Valley.

The above table also shows a general lack of uniformity in the denominational relationships between the various mints. For the reign of Antoninus Pius, Antioch minted either one or two denominations with some similarities in their modules with that of Emesa, but it is difficult to see any compatibility between the issues of the two mints. Both Laodicea ad Libanum and Heliopolis began minting in the reign of Septimius Severus, but whereas Laodicea had only a single series, Heliopolis seems to have had a variety of issues and denominations. It has been argued that the issues at Laodicea were minted sometime between AD 198 and 209 (see Production chapter). These coincide with Groups 3, 4 and 5 for Heliopolis, the denominational systems of which are unlike those of Laodicea. For the reigns of Caracalla, Macrinus and Elagabalus, the differences in denominations and modules of the various mints are clearly visible in Table 38 above.

CHAPTER VI

TYPES AND LEGENDS

Coins, as a form of miniature art, provide a glimpse into the social and cultural patterns prevalent in the Orontes Valley during the Roman period and before. In the case of Apamea, the iconography of the coins clearly show that Greek religion had left its imprint and continued to do so after the arrival of the Romans. Regarding the remaining cities of the Orontes Valley further south, the coins present a mirror of the communities' civic identity and religious beliefs (or at least those of the elites).

A. Apamea

Silver

Tetradrachms of Caracalla with the symbol of a wheat ear between the legs of the eagle on the reverse were initially attributed to Apamea by Bellinger, based on the presence of wheat ears also on bronze issues of this mint.¹ However, he later classified them in his corpus under Cyprus based on Seyrig's proposal.² Prieur, too, attributes these silver coins to Cyprus, but not without reservation.³ Parks also classifies them to a Cypriot mint, but does not rule out an attribution to Ake Ptolemais.⁴ Butcher, on the other hand, has noted that these tetradrachms with a wheat ear have stylistic similarities with those of the mint of Sidon.⁵ Putting the attribution

¹ Bellinger 1931, 8-9.

² Bellinger 1940, 104. For Seyrig see 1932, 362-363.

³ Prieur 1578-1583.

⁴ Parks 2004, 127-130. A possible attribution to Ake was initially suggested by Bellinger (1949, 121).

⁵ CRS 112. Also noted by Bellinger (1940, 105).

of these coins with a wheat symbol aside, it would be natural to raise the question whether or not Apamea did indeed participate in minting tetradrachms under Caracalla. Due to the lack of any evidence to date, no silver coins of the Roman period can be attributed to Apamea with certainty, apart from those minted under Claudius.⁶ These rare silver coins depict Tyche seated on a throne, holding a sceptre and corn ears, with her feet placed on a nude swimming torso representing the Orontes River.⁷ Unlike the typical portrayal of Tychai on Apamene coins, the Tyche on the silver (and bronze) of this emperor is depicted in the style of a seated Roma.⁸ A shield placed at her side has a scorpion engraved in relief, perhaps representing the astrological symbol associated with the refoundation of the city as ‘Claudia Apamea’.⁹

Bronzes

1. Types

a. Civic issues

Apamea’s civic issues, which originated in 77/76 BC, are dominated by the images of Zeus, Dionysus, Demeter, Tyche and Nike, all of whom are familiar themes for Hellenistic period issues in the region. What is noteworthy was the continuation of these types with the arrival of the Romans, without changes being introduced. It was

⁶ The classification of mints producing tetradrachms during the reign of Caracalla and Macrinus based on the symbols of the reverse is still not fully established, and therefore Apamea cannot be fully excluded from the list of possible candidates.

⁷ Prieur 948.

⁸ In fact, Imhoof-Blumer (1913, 108) does describe the seated figure as Roma and not Tyche, although she clearly is wearing a turreted crown.

⁹ For astrological symbols on Syrian coins see Barton 1994 and *CRS* 225-226.

only in 4/3 BC that the portrait of Augustus was introduced at Apamea, more than two decades into his rule. These issues with imperial portraits continued using most of the above mentioned iconography as reverse types.

Group 1

- **Zeus/elephant (Cat. no. 1)**

The image of Zeus had a prominent place on Seleucid coins. This seems to have been the case also for the civic coins of Apamea from the outset, as it is present on the earliest known autonomous issue from this mint and on the largest denomination. These coins continued to be issued for nearly two decades until 59/58 BC, even after the conquest of the city by Pompey and the advent of the Romans.

The god's local significance is evident from the existence of a prominent temple, most likely dedicated to Zeus, located in the heart of the city.¹⁰ What is certain is that an oracle of Zeus Belos was to be found in Apamea.¹¹ The combination of the Greek Zeus with an eastern Bel (a supreme god in Babylonia or the chief god of a city¹²) is perhaps the result of the location of Apamea on the western fringes of the Syrian steppe and at proximity to Palmyra, where the worship of this deity was prominent. It should be noted that it may also be the case that the name Zeus Belos derives from the river with that name flowing past Chalcis ad Belum, situated north-east of Apamea, though Millar's identification with the eastern Bel seems more plausible.¹³ Unfortunately, the main temple at Apamea having been destroyed in the

¹⁰ There is no archaeological or epigraphic evidence that the temple is dedicated to Zeus.

¹¹ Dio 79.8.

¹² Millar 1993, 263.

¹³ Millar 1993, 263.

late fourth century AD by Bishop Marcellus¹⁴ cannot provide more insight into this question.

The elephant represented on the reverse of these early coins was undoubtedly a reference to Apamea being the military headquarters of the Seleucids, where 500 war elephants were kept.¹⁵ The Seleucids were keen on maintaining a contingent of elephants in their arsenal, although by the time of Antiochus III the numbers had dwindled to around one hundred.¹⁶ Despite this decline, the elephant as a symbol of Seleucid military might was cherished, and several issues minted in Apamea under the Seleucids continued to portray the elephant.¹⁷

What is indeed remarkable for the time period under study here is the fact that the coins with this image were minted some two centuries after the elephants were first stationed there. By the early first century BC it is unlikely that the site continued to host elephants, for we know that in the mid-second century BC the elephants were destroyed by the Roman ambassador Gnaeus Octavius (consul in 165 BC):

When the Roman senate heard that the Syrians kept more warships and elephants than allowed by the peace treaty of Apamea made in 188 BC, they sent a Roman embassy to travel along the cities of Syria and cripple Seleucid military power. Warships were sunk and elephants hamstrung. Lysias dared do nothing to oppose the Romans, but his subservience so enraged his Syrian subjects that the Roman envoy Gnaeus Octavius was assassinated (Appian *Syr.* 47).¹⁸

Apparently, the fact that Apamea was where the Seleucids kept their war elephants must have been a symbol of pride for the Apamenes, for the representation of this animal held a prominent place on their coinage (being the type used on the

¹⁴ Theodoret *Hist. eccl.* 5.21.

¹⁵ Strabo 16.2.10.

¹⁶ Polybius 5.79.13.

¹⁷ *SC I*, nos. 1065-1066 and possibly nos. 1067-1068; *SC II*, no. 2243.

¹⁸ See also Appian *Syr.* 46 and Cicero *Philippic* 9.

highest denomination) and continued to be issued even after the arrival of the Romans and the destruction of the citadel by Pompey the Great.

- **Tyche/Nike (Cat. no. 2)**

The depiction of Tyche and Nike on the civic coins of Apamea originates from Apamea's Seleucid past. The bust of Tyche wearing a turreted crown, representing the walls of the city, was a common theme utilised by numerous mints in the region. Just as the walls defined a city and symbolised its identity as a *polis*, Tyche too was a representation of civic pride and autonomy. Apamea, with its monumental colonnaded streets and gates, certainly boasted impressive walls, and excavations there have revealed a *Tychaion*, which stood in front of the city's main temple near the *agora*.¹⁹ It is also undoubted that statues representing Tyche stood in most Syrian cities. Thus, it is no surprise that Tyche, with her mural crown, was also depicted on the coinage of the city.²⁰

No particular reason need be sought for the presence of Nike on the civic issues of Apamea, as Nike was a popular theme of Hellenistic coins and continued to be the case through the Roman period. The winged figure was in most cases represented wearing a long dress and holding a wreath and palm branch.

- **Demeter/corn ear (Cat. no. 3)**

The bust of Demeter, the goddess of grain and harvest, is depicted on the civic issues of Apamea in association with a corn ear which had two buds sprouting

¹⁹ Balty 1988, 95. See *IGLS* vol. IV, no. 1317, for a dedicatory inscription referring to the construction of the 'Temple of Fortuna'.

²⁰ For a general discussion on the iconography of Tychai on Hellenistic and Roman coins see Cellini 2007.

from the stem. This was probably a reference to Apamea's fertility, as the city was situated in the fertile Orontes Valley.

- **Dionysus/Grapes (Cat. no. 4)**

The bust of Dionysus also appears on the first civic issues of this mint along with a bunch of grapes for the reverse design. As a god of vegetation (notably fruits) and wine, the depiction of Dionysus on the coins pertained to Apamea's agricultural fertility and/or to the worship of his cult. Apparently, the reverence of Dionysus had become more prominent in Apamea throughout the first century BC, since the bust of this deity and his attributes came to dominate the types (see Group 3 below). Unfortunately, the archaeological record of this city provides only minimal evidence for this worship. There is no specific mention of Dionysus and his cult in inscriptions documented from Apamea and the surrounding area,²¹ except for an honorific inscription dedicated by an association of actors devoted to Dionysus dating to the early first century AD.²² A pillar, referred to as the 'pilier bacchique', was found among the central ruins of the site, depicting in relief the fate of Dionysus' victim Lycurgus ensnared in vines.²³ The only direct representation of the deity is in the form of a mutilated statue reported by Haskett Smith to have stood in front of a 'large building' located in the centre of the main street of Apamea.²⁴ It is uncertain if the 'large building' is a reference to the main temple attributed to Zeus Belos, but if this indeed is the case, then perhaps this temple may also have been associated with Dionysus.

²¹ *IGLS* vol. IV, nos. 1311-1541.

²² Millar 1993, 262.

²³ Balty 1981, 58-61.

²⁴ Smith 1892, 582.

In any event, the theatre at Apamea was the largest in Syria and perhaps in the Roman world. Keeping in mind that festivals dedicated to Dionysus were performed in theatres, perhaps this was a reason the theatre was built on a colossal scale, as to accommodate the deity's prominence in the city's religious life.

Group 2

- **Dionysus/thyrsus (Cat. no. 5)**

As stated above, the prominence of Dionysus on the coins of Apamea increased, by which the bust of the deity, and his attribute the thyrsus, was then placed on the largest denomination, replacing Zeus as the chief deity on the coinage. This introduction took place in 31/30 BC, following the defeat of Antony by Octavian in Actium (for the relevant historical events and the effect they had on the coinage see the Production chapter).

- **Athena/Nike (Cat. no. 6)**

Athena was commonly depicted on coins along with Nike, representing military victory. On the coins of Apamea the bust of Athena was depicted wearing a Corinthian helmet, and Nike was represented advancing in a flowing dress while holding a wreath and a palm branch over her shoulder. This type was issued in Apamea for a relatively long period spanning nearly three decades. The origin of this type (Athena/Nike) on the coins of Apamea can be traced back to Hellenistic times, since it also appeared on the issues of Seleucus II attributed to this mint by Newell.²⁵

²⁵ WSM, nos. 1169-1174.

- **Demeter/three corn ears (Cat. no. 7)**

The symbolism of Demeter on the coins of Apamea was discussed above for the issues of Group 1. In this group the same tradition was carried on with the difference being that the single ear of corn was replaced by three individual corn ears. The style in which Demeter was represented is also noticeably different. Whereas on the earlier issue her veiled head was depicted, the later displayed her entire bust, unveiled but draped.

- **Tyche/Athena standing (Cat. no. 8)**

In Group 2, the Tyche and Athena themes are combined. Each was discussed separately above. However, in the case of these issues, Athena was no longer depicted by her bust alone, but rather Nikephoros in the style of Athena Parthenos.

The fact that the Tyche/Athena type (represented by the year 44/43 BC) was issued together with the Athena/Nike type above (represented by the year 43/42 BC), may be connected to the relevant historical events taking place in the region, since these types most likely relate to a victorious event. We know that during the period from 46 to 44 BC Bassus, a supporter of Pompey, held out the city against the Caesareans,²⁶ keeping in mind that the first issues of the above two mentioned types utilise the Pompeian era (year 23 and 24 = 44/43 and 43/42 BC respectively). Thus, the fact that both Athena and Nike are represented on the new issues of Group 2 may be explained by the military perseverance of Apamea in the ensuing battles of the

²⁶ Strabo 16.2.10.

Roman generals and therefore may very well have been minted under Bassus to commemorate the event.

Group 3

- **Dionysus/thyrsus (Cat. no. 9)**

This final group of civic issues of Apamea is almost completely dominated by Dionysus. As discussed above, the prominence of this deity at Apamea during the early Roman period is obvious, but the deity's importance in the city can be traced back to the Hellenistic period. Coins issued by several Seleucid kings in this mint also utilised Dionysus as a theme, along with his attributes: thyrsus, panther, grapes and the ivy wreath.

Posthumous issues of Antiochus IV struck by Alexander Balas depict the bust of Dionysus on the obverse and a thyrsus on the reverse.²⁷ These were followed by the issues of Antiochus VI, who minted coinage in silver of several denominations, all of which had Dionysian themes: thyrsus and ivy wreath on tetradrachms, a bunch of grapes on drachms and a panther for the hemidrachms.²⁸ Two separate bronze issues of this monarch also have been tentatively attributed to the mint representing Dionysus and a cantharus on the reverse.²⁹ Antiochus VI associated himself with Dionysus by using the deity's epithet, but the issues of this king using Dionysian elements was more likely linked with the cult practised at the city rather than his title, since his predecessors and successors also used these themes on coins struck in

²⁷ *SC II*, nos. 1883-1884.

²⁸ *SC II*, nos. 2008-2012. See also discussion on p. 325.

²⁹ *SC II*, nos. 2014-2015.

Apamea. Issues in bronze attributed to Alexander Zebinas from Apamea also portray the bust of Dionysus.³⁰

Thus, the cult of Dionysus at Apamea was certainly significant, since the worship of this deity had taken a foothold in the Hellenistic era and probably grew in importance, as can be seen from the place it occupied on the coins minted in the city.

- **Dionysus/Demeter (Cat. no. 10)**

In this issue, Dionysus is depicted in association with Demeter, who stands holding a long torch. Once again Demeter was introduced into the iconography of the coins, although in this group, she is not depicted as the sole deity on the coin, as was the case for the previous two groups discussed above.

- **Dionysus/cornucopia (Cat. no.11)**

The cornucopia undoubtedly refers to Apamea's fertility, as Dionysus was also a god of vegetation and viticulture.

- **Zeus/Tyche seated (Cat. no.12)**

This very rare type of Apamea has thus far been documented by three specimens only.³¹ A fourth specimen is said to be in the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum of Jerusalem (SBF).³² A cast of a fifth specimen is reported to be in the

³⁰ *SC II*, no. 2242.

³¹ BNF-959; Vcoins-Incitus Coins; private collection. All three specimens are struck from a single obverse die and at least two reverse dies (the reverse of the specimen in Paris is quite worn and therefore difficult to identify the die used).

³² Personal communication with Kevin Butcher. Several unsuccessful attempts were made to contact the museum staff, as a result of which an image and metrological data was not acquired.

British Museum.³³ The obverse depicts the head of Zeus and the reverse a seated Tyche. The seated female figure on the coins of Apamea has similarities with the seated goddess on the coins of Gabala.³⁴ However, the goddess of this coastal city is Aphrodite/Astarte due to the presence of a sphinx at her feet, and therefore should not be associated with the deity on the Apamene coins.³⁵

- **Misattribution**

An Artemis/seated Zeus type published in *Lindgren I*, no. 2038, is attributed to the mint of Apamea in Syria based on the reading of the legend ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ on the reverse by the authors (Figure 10). The inscription is rather

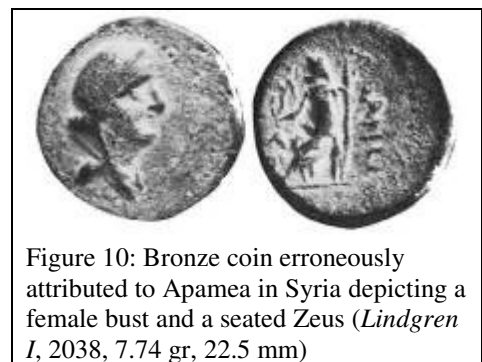


Figure 10: Bronze coin erroneously attributed to Apamea in Syria depicting a female bust and a seated Zeus (*Lindgren I*, 2038, 7.74 gr, 22.5 mm)

worn and therefore the reading is not unequivocal. Based on the style, the module and the types it can be surmised that the coin is the product of Adana in Cilicia,³⁶ hence the confusion in the reading between ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ and ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

b. Coins with imperial portraits

Apamea minted coins with the portrait of an emperor from the outset (starting with Augustus), a trend in line with other Syrian mints such as Antioch, Seleucia and Laodicea.³⁷ The iconography on the coins minted under Augustus, Tiberius and Claudius was a continuation of the previous types of Zeus, Athena,

³³ Cited in *RPC I*, p. 634, no. 4371. The cast cannot be located in the present.

³⁴ *RPC I*, nos. 4449-4452, 4454-4455.

³⁵ For a description of the goddess of Gabala see Seyrig 1964, p. 22, and Imhoof-Blumer 1901, 7.

³⁶ *SNG Cop.*, 22.

³⁷ *CRS*, 218; *RPC I*, 39-40.

Tyche and Nike. However, in the case of Claudius, the Emperor's portrait does not appear on the bronze issues, but is reserved for the tetradrachms.

c. Conclusion

The presence of Zeus, Athena, Tyche and Nike on the civic issues of Apamea is in line with the iconography depicted on coins of the region. What is somewhat unusual is the dominance of Dionysus, particularly during the later phases. The presence of this deity and his attributes was a tradition carried down by the Seleucids and continued to be in use during the Roman period. Almost nothing is known of the cult of Dionysus in Apamea, but his birthplace is traditionally placed in southern Syria, and it is well attested that this deity was popular in Hellenistic Syria.³⁸

However, in the case of Apamea, a special connection may be drawn between Dionysus and the fact that the city was the main military headquarters of the Seleucids where the war elephants were kept. Dionysus is represented as the mythical conqueror of India, whence the elephants were secured by Seleucus I, and later by Antiochus III. This significant event by the first of the Seleucid monarchs may have initiated the cult of Dionysus at Apamea early on.³⁹ The presence at Apamea of the Roman world's largest theatre adds to the importance of Dionysus and his cult in the city.

The cult of Demeter also seems to have been significant at Apamea based on her presence on the coins of the city throughout the first century BC. This was in all probability a reference to Apamea's fertility due to its location in the productive Orontes Valley.

³⁸ Van Berg 1972, 112-113; Retsö 2003, 602-605, 610-614; Aliquot 2009, 189-194.

³⁹ See also *WSM*, 171.

Regarding the coins with imperial portraits, no new iconography was introduced, but it should be noted that the Dionysus and Demeter themes fell out of use.

2. Legends

The name of Apamea first appeared on the ‘quasi-municipal’ coins minted there in the time of Antiochus IV and Alexander Balas. The legend on the coins of the former monarch reads ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΙΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΑΞΙΩΙ, whereas that of the latter simply reads ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ. The first inscription refers to the city being situated on the Axios River, as this was the name given to the Orontes River by the early Macedonian settlers from Pella, as tribute to the main river which flowed in their homeland.⁴⁰

With the appearance of the civic issues of Apamea in the 70s BC, the legend used on the coins for all denominations invariably reads ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ, proclaiming the city’s holy and inviolable status. The title on the coins was later converted to ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ in 40/39 BC, following the granting of autonomy by Antony. This title was consistently used on the coins for a period of ten years without any significant changes introduced in the types.

Following the defeat of Antony in Actium, in 30/29 BC Apamea reverted to using its original title of being ‘inviolable’ and no longer boasted its ‘autonomous’ status. The change of titles was apparently sudden, since the Athena/Nike type issued in this year was recorded with both legend varieties (ΑΣΥΛΟΥ and ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ).

⁴⁰ Grainger 1990, 42; Cohen 2006, 100.

After this transition, the city continued using the title ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ on its civic coins until the last decade of the first century BC.

With the introduction of the coins bearing the imperial portrait, no change is noted in the title inscribed on the coins. Coins with the portrait of Augustus at Apamea are only known for the year 4/3 BC. Two types were minted: the Nike type bearing the full legend ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ and the Tyche type which reads ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ only. No particular reason can be given for the use of the 'short' title on the second type, as this is the only case where this variety is noted. The coins minted by Augustus' successor continued using the 'longer title' (see below). The coins minted under Augustus were later followed by the issues of Tiberius minted in 14/15 AD. Two types were issued, both of which are known by this year alone and utilise the ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ title.

A complete change was introduced for the title and status of Apamea on the coins minted in the reign of Claudius, keeping in mind that for the first and only time silver was also produced in this mint. The inscription on the obverse of the tetradrachms reads ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ and on the reverse ΚΛΑΥΔΙΕΩΝ ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ. It is apparent from the inscriptions on these coins that the emperor bestowed the title of 'Claudia Apamea', by which the traditional 'Sacred and Inviolable' titles were no longer used on these last issues of Apamea. It is interesting to note here that the title bestowed by Claudius was still in use in Apamea in the early third century AD, as is evident from an inscription dedicated to Caracalla

by ‘the Senate and the people of Claudia Apamea’,⁴¹ and by a second inscription dedicated to Julia Domna using the same title for the city.⁴²

3. Field marks

The coins minted in Apamea are all dated according to various systems. A chronological classification for all these coins was proposed and discussed in detail in the Production chapter above and therefore will not be repeated here. Regarding the field marks on these coins, their precise function or meaning is not clearly understood. However, upon a thorough tabulation of the field marks according to types and dates, certain patterns have emerged and are presented below:

Group 1	Zeus/ elephant	Tyche/ Nike	Demeter/ corn ear	Dionysus/ grapes
ζΑΣ=236=77/76 BC	?	-	-	-
ZΑΣ=237=76/75 BC	ΣΕ	?	-	ΣΕ?
ΘΑΣ=239=74/73 BC	-	-	ΣΕ	ΣΓ; ΣΕ
ΜΣ=240=73/72 BC	ΑΝ	-	-	-
ΒΜΣ=242=71/70 BC	ΔΙ	-	ΚΑ?	ΚΑ
ΓΜΣ=243=70/69 BC	ΜΝΑ; ΜΗ	?	ΑΝ	-
ΕΜΣ=245=68/67 BC	ΜΝΑ; ΜΑ	-	-	-
Z=7=60/59 BC	ΔΙ; ΜΗ	-	-	-
H=8=59/59 BC	ΚΑ; ΜΗ	-	ΚΑ; ΜΗ	-
ζΙ=16=51/50 BC	-	ΑΝ	-	-
Group 2	Dionysus/ thyrsus	Athena/ Nike	Demeter/ three corn	Tyche/ Athena
ΓΚ=23=44/43 BC	-	-	-	ΑΝ; ΜΗ; ΕΙ
ΔΚ=24=43/42 BC	-	ΑΝ; ΕΙ	-	-
ΒΟΣ=272=41/40 BC	-	ΑΝ; ΜΗ	-	-
B=2=40/39 BC	-	ΜΗ; ΕΙ	-	-
Γ=3=39/38 BC	-	ΕΙ	-	-
ΕΟΣ=275=38/37 BC	-	ΑΝ; ΜΗ; ΕΙ	ΑΝ; ζΙ	-
ζΟΣ=276=37/36 BC	-	ΑΝ; ΜΗ	-	ΑΝ?
ZOΣ=277=36/35 BC	-	ΜΗ	ΑΝ?	ΑΝ; ΜΗ; ΕΙ

⁴¹ *IGLS* vol. IV, no. 1346. It would be difficult to establish any evidence for the use of *iera* and *asylia* after the reign of Claudius in the city, since no coins were minted thereafter. Epigraphic evidence is also lacking in this respect.

⁴² Jalabert 1910, 344.

ΒΠΣ=282=31/30 BC	-	AN; MH?; EI	AN	AN; MH?
ΓΠΣ=283=30/29 BC	AN; MH?; EI?	AN; MH	AN?	EI
ΔΠΣ=284=29/28 BC	AN?	-	-	-
ΕΠΣ=285=28/27 BC	AN; MH	-	-	-
ςΠΣ=286=27/26 BC	-	AN?	-	AN; MH
ΖΠΣ=287=26/25 BC	-	?	-	-
Β9Σ=292=21/20 BC	NOY; EI; ΘE	NOY	NOY?; ΔI	EI
Γ9Σ=293=20/19 BC	NOY; EI; ΔI; XP	NOY?; ΔI; XP	-	-
Ε9Σ=295=18/17 BC	NOY; EI; ΘE	NOY; XP	-	ΘE
Group 3				
	Dionysus/ thyrsus	Dionysus/ Demeter	Dionysus/ cornucopia	Zeus/ Tyche seated
T=300=13/12 BC(?)	-	AN	-	-
ΓT=303=10/9 BC	-	-	MA; ΔI	-
ΔT=304=9/8 BC	NOY; MA	-	-	-
HT=308=5/4 BC	-	MA?; ME	-	ME; AN; MΣ
Augustus				
	Nike	Tyche		
HK=28=4/3 BC	ΔH	ΔH		
Tiberius				
	Nike	Athena		
ςKT=326=14/15 AD	-	-		
Claudius				
	Tyche seated	Nike		
ETO A	-	-		
ETO B	-	-		

Table 39: Table listing all known field marks on Apamene bronze coins.

It can be noticed from the above table that some particular field marks found on a specific group continue to be used on the subsequent group as well. For example, regarding Group 1 the field mark ΣE dominates the initial issues of the mint and is later followed by MNA, KA, AN and MH, where the latter two continue to be used on the early issues of the following Group 2. Subsequently, during the later phase of Group 2, new field marks were introduced: NOY, ΔI and XP, of which some continued to be used in Group 3. However, it has also been observed that certain field marks were exclusive to a particular group, such as EI, which is reserved for the issues of Group 2 alone. Some field marks, such as ςI, can be found exclusively on a single type minted on a specific date only (Demeter/three corn ears). It may be argued that the field marks represent a system of enumeration, which could seem to be the

case at first glance; however, this is unlikely since some do not represent consistent dates, such as MNA, NOY, ΘE and ΔH. A system of enumeration is also unlikely due to the existence of wide gaps in the sequence, for example between ΔI, KA, MA, MH and AN, which represent the numbers 14, 21, 41, 48 and 51 respectively. Thus, the above observations indicate that the field marks on the bronze coins of Apamea are most probably signatures or control marks of families representing magistrates or moneyers.⁴³

It has been noted that several coins of the Dionysus/thyrsus type have a ligatured ME inscribed on the obverse behind Dionysus' head. This aspect occurs only on coins dated ΔT=304=9/8 BC. A die study has also shown that more than one obverse die with this field mark was prepared.

Of the bronze issues with imperial portraits, only those of Augustus bear field marks (ΔH). The tetradrachms of Claudius bear the field mark EΛ, which according to Seyrig signifies ἐλευθερία, a privilege associated with the minting of silver.⁴⁴ However, after having consulted the corpus on Syro-Phoenician tetradrachms,⁴⁵ no similar cases have been noticed. Therefore, it is likely that the field mark on the tetradrachms of Apamea represents a signature or control mark, which would be in line with the cases presented above for the bronzes.

No monograms are present on the civic issues of Apamea.

⁴³ It seems unlikely that they represent the symbol of individuals, since some remain in use for a long period of time, for example MH.

⁴⁴ Seyrig 1950, 20.

⁴⁵ Prieur and Prieur 2000.

B. Larissa

The coins of this city were minted before the civic issues of Apamea appeared in 77/76 BC. But unlike the civic issues of Apamea, which were produced for several decades, the issues of Larissa were minted in the year 86/85 BC alone, during a period preceding the Roman presence in the region.

1. Types (Cat. nos. 20-21)

The issues of Larissa are known by two types only: Zeus/throne and Tyche/horse. The first type is most likely a reference to the chief deity of the city and a representation of his throne. It is known from ancient sources that Larissa fell under the sphere of influence of its more powerful neighbour Apamea,⁴⁶ where the worship of Zeus Belos was prominent (see above). Perhaps this deity's influence spread south to Larissa. However, without archaeological evidence, this remains unverified. Documented inscriptions from Larissa are few and irrelevant to the time period under study, and therefore do not add to the history of the pre-Roman period.⁴⁷

Whereas the first type clearly represents the city's religious facet, the second type depicting the head of Tyche and a prancing horse pertains to Larissa's civic identity. The turreted bust of Tyche as a representation of a city's autonomy and communal identity has been discussed above. The depiction of a horse on the reverse is a direct reference to Larissa's origins. As a colony settled by residents of Larissa in Thessaly famed for horse breeding,⁴⁸ it is not surprising that this aspect of the city's

⁴⁶ Strabo 16.2.10.


⁴⁷ *IGLS* vol. IV, no. 1377ff.

⁴⁸ Diodorus 33.4-5.

identity was depicted on the coins as a symbol of pride, keeping in mind that the coins of Larissa in Thessaly also depict horses.⁴⁹

2. Legends and field marks

The inscriptions on both types read ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ, representing the city as holy and sacred. No reference is made to it being inviolate or autonomous, unlike its more powerful neighbour to the north. The absence of these titles may be an indication that even by the early first century BC Larissa was still under the influence of Apamea.

The reverse of both types bear identical dates represented by the Seleucid era ΖΚΣ. The field mark, monogram  over M, is also present on both types. The meaning of this monogram is unknown. It should be noted here that this same monogram is known on numerous issues of the Seleucid kings minted in Antioch, the meaning of which also remains unclear.⁵⁰

C. Raphanea

The minting activity of Raphanea seems to have been spontaneous and short-lived (see Die Studies chapter). The reason for the initiation of a coinage in this city remains uncertain, though the coins are clear evidence that the city had gained the status of a *polis*. It is well known that it was in this city that Elagabalus was proclaimed emperor by the army in AD 218,⁵¹ which perhaps prompted minting. But history has recorded that the Legio III Gallica stationed there was disbanded soon

⁴⁹ *BMC Thessaly*, p. 24-32, Pls. IV-VI. For a prancing horse see in particular coin no. 79, Pl. VI no.11.

⁵⁰ Newell 1917, 137-151.

⁵¹ Dio 79.31; Herodian 5.3.11.

after Elagabalus' accession to power, due to an insurgency by its commander Verus.⁵² A more probable reason for minting may have been the proclamation of Severus Alexander as Caesar in AD 221. This hypothesis is based on the existence of the dates ΒΛΦ = 532 = AD 220/221 and ΛΓΦ = 533 = AD 221/222, in addition to the results of the die studies conducted on these issues, which conclude that the issues of Elagabalus were minted concurrently with those depicting the bust of Severus Alexander. Thus, until earlier dates become available, it may be surmised that minting was initiated in the last years of Elagabalus' reign.

1. Types (Cat. nos. 22-25)

The dominant type of this mint is the image of what is often referred to as the genius of the army.⁵³ The presence of this iconography is not surprising, for it is known that Raphanea was the legionary base for Legio XII Fulminata, Legio VI Ferrata and Legio III Gallica (see Introduction chapter). On the larger denomination the figure is depicted seated or standing, with a naked torso, but wearing a himation covering his waist and legs. He also wears a turreted headdress, similar to a top hat, and not the usual depiction of a turreted crown often worn by civic Tychai. The figure is accompanied by attributes associated with the army, for he holds a patera in his right hand, from which he pours libation over a bull standing at his feet. The figure is also flanked by an eagle at each side, along with a cornucopia in the right field.⁵⁴ The smaller denomination depicts the bull alone.

⁵² Dio 80.7.1; Gschwind (2009, 280-282) states that this legion was reinstated in Raphanea during the reign of Severus Alexander, based on coins issued there in his reign. However, this is inaccurate since the coins were minted during Alexander's caesarship.

⁵³ Augé 2000.

⁵⁴ Some authors (Ronde 2007, 167 and Gschwind *et al.* 2009, 281) state that the cornucopia is held by the figure, but this is not the case.

Certain parallels have been drawn between the ‘genius’ of Raphanea and the figure depicted on some imperial coins of Gabala. In the words of Rey-Coquais “le monnayage de Raphanée présente des analogies avec celui de Gabala”.⁵⁵ However, the figure on the coins of this coastal city is a seated female holding in her hands a long sceptre and corn ears, with an animal at her feet. This deity is in fact Astarte depicted with a sphinx,⁵⁶ and the headgear she wears is not a turreted crown and therefore should not be identified with Tyche. The main confusion in the paralleling of these coins and those of Raphanea is due to a coin erroneously attributed to Gabala in the coin catalogue of the British Museum (*BMC Syria*, p. 245, no. 9). The coin, issued during the reign of Septimius Severus, depicts on the reverse a standing female figure wearing a turreted crown and holding a long sceptre and cornucopia, with a bull at her feet. The coin, as stated above, is erroneously listed under Gabala and should hereby be reattributed to the mint of Gaza, based on the Marnas symbol in the right field, as well as the similarity of the reverse type with other imperial issues of this mint.

The figure depicted on the coins of Raphanea is a representation of the city’s civic identity. The garrison at Raphanea undoubtedly had a significant influence on the region and the identity of the city. Its inhabitants were certainly affected by the military presence there, for the city flourished as a consequence of

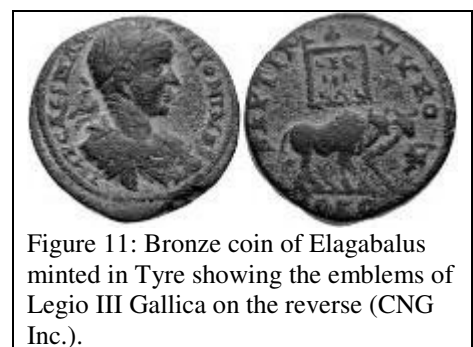


Figure 11: Bronze coin of Elagabalus minted in Tyre showing the emblems of Legio III Gallica on the reverse (CNG Inc.).

⁵⁵ Rey-Coquais 1974, 111. See also Dussaud 1903-1905, 48 and note 5.

⁵⁶ At times referred to as a lion in the literature.

the military fort (see Introduction chapter). The figure on the coins of Raphanea represents the male genius of the city,⁵⁷ who is depicted along with attributes associated with the military stationed there. Thus, the depiction of the genius on the coins is a combination of a) Raphanea's civic identity, represented by the headdress and the cornucopia, and b) the military garrison of the city, represented by the eagles (as *aquilae*) and the bull, which is particularly associated with the Legio III Gallica.⁵⁸ The bull as an emblem of Legio III Gallica also appears on the coins of Tyre, minted during Elagabalus' reign, where the reverse depicts two bulls and a military standard reading LEG III GAL (Figure 11).⁵⁹

2. Legends

The obverse legend on the coins depicting the portrait of Elagabalus reads: Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (AVTKMAVPANTΩNEINOC), and those with the bust of Severus Alexander present him as Marcus Aurelius Alexander (MAVPAΛEΞANΔPOC), with no mention of his title, as these coins were minted during his caesarship under Elagabalus (see above). The reverse legend simply states the ethnic of the city presented in two variants: PEΦANEΩN and PEΦANEΩTΩN.⁶⁰ Die study analyses on these coins have shown that both versions were minted concurrently and interchangeably, with no transition noted from one variety to the other. This observation holds true for both issues with the busts of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander (see Die Studies chapter). It is only the coins with a seated genius

⁵⁷ Wroth refers to these coins as having “a somewhat unusual type, apparently the Genius of the city” (*BMC Syria*, p. lxx). Gschwind (2009, 281) describes the figure as ‘*genius Raphanearum*’. Ronde (2007, 167) prefers to define the figure as the Genius of the Roman People and the eagles and bull as symbols of the army stationed in the city.

⁵⁸ Le Bohec, 1994, 247; Dabrowa 2000, 309; Augé 2000, 167; Ronde 2007, 167.

⁵⁹ *BMC Phoenicia* 274, no. 394.

⁶⁰ A variety reads only PEΦANEΩT (BNF-Y23879.237).

reverse that use the longer ΠΕΦΑΝΕΩΤΩΝ variety alone. This type however is known by a few coins (8 specimens); future finds may bring to light the second variety as well. The smaller bull type (Cat. no. 25) is known by a single specimen with a partially legible reverse legend and therefore it remains uncertain which legend variety is inscribed.

No explanation can be found for the use of these two forms.⁶¹ The inscriptions from Raphanea are not useful in this respect, since they mostly relate to the troops stationed there, and no mention is made of the city's name.⁶² However, it seems that several variants were used in denoting the city's name in ancient texts. Josephus (*BJ*, 7.1.3 and 7.5.1) uses the forms: Ῥαφαναΐαις, Ῥαφανέαις and Ῥαφανέας, whereas Ptolemy (*Geography* 5.15.16) uses Ραφανέαι.⁶³ Stephanus of Byzantium, in his work on ethnics, presents the name of the city in the following manner: Ῥαφάνεια, Ῥαφανεῶται, Ῥαφανέας, Ῥαφανεώτης.⁶⁴ These of course are similar to both variants inscribed on the coins.

Eckhel, in his catalogue, refers to coins of Raphanea with the inscription ΠΑΦΑΝΕΩΤΩΝ.⁶⁵ However, this variety with an Α, instead of an Ε, was not encountered on any of the specimens documented for this mint (see *Die Studies* chapter).

Regarding dates, in the exergue of the reverse of some of the coins, Seleucid era dates of ΒΛΦ and ΛΓΦ are inscribed.⁶⁶ No other field marks are present on the

⁶¹ Such variations in the ethnic, although extraordinary, are not unknown in the region, see Nacrassa in Lydia (*BMC Lydia*, lxxvii).

⁶² *IGLS* vol. IV, nos. 1397-1401.

⁶³ See also Gschwind *et al.* 2009, 235, note 1.

⁶⁴ Steph. Byz. *Ethnicorum* (ed. Meineke, 1849), p. 13, line 16; p. 256, line 9; p. 274, line 17; p. 543, line 16.

⁶⁵ 1828, vol. 3, 323.

⁶⁶ A possible reading of ΑΛΦ remains unconfirmed.

coins of Raphanea, although it should be noted that on one of the reverse dies a symbol resembling a star is found in the exergue.⁶⁷

D. Emesa

Silver

When the Romans inherited the remains of the Seleucid Empire, the standard silver currency in the region was the tetradrachm. The Romans found it prudent to continue the use of this currency without introducing any changes, so much so that even the type minted under Philip Philadelphus, depicting a seated Zeus on the reverse, was continued without any significant modifications. The first two Roman emperors continued to use this type, but starting with the reign of Nero, the standard type for tetradrachms became an eagle. A few exceptions, however, did exist: Augustus and Trajan used the seated Tyche type first introduced by Tigranes the Great, and Tyre minted tetradrachms depicting the bust of Melqart.⁶⁸ As for the production of these tetradrachms, Antioch and perhaps Tyre are where these silver coins were initially minted, with Septimius Severus adding Laodicea ad Mare as a third. During his fourth consulship, Caracalla launched the production of tetradrachms in numerous mints of the Syro-Phoenician territories. Macrinus continued his predecessor's system of multiple mints, but Elagabalus abandoned it entirely.

⁶⁷ *Lindgren I*, no. 2115 (Elagabalus) and *Lindgren III*, no. 1210 (Severus Alexander). The portrayal of a star on other coins of Elagabalus is not unknown, for example: *RIC IV* nos. 61 (aureus) and 46 (denarius).

⁶⁸ Bellinger 1940, 5-7.

Emesa was among the 28 cities taking part in the region-wide scheme initiated by Caracalla.⁶⁹ As the vast majority of these tetradrachms utilised a universal reverse type –depicting a standing facing eagle with spread wings and legs– each mint employed a specific symbol on the reverse as a form of identification of the issuing city. The unique symbol of Emesa was the left-facing radiate bust of the sun god, placed between the legs of the eagle.⁷⁰

The tetradrachms with the symbol of the radiate sun god were initially attributed to Heliopolis by Imhoof-Blumer⁷¹ and Wroth,⁷² but this was refuted by Dieudonné, who was right to point out that the sun god did not appear on any of the coins of that mint.⁷³ Attribution to Palmyra, where the worship of Shamash the sun god was prominent, seems unlikely because the city did not minted coins with the bust or the name of any Roman emperor.⁷⁴ Knowing that the radiate bust of a sun god was also portrayed on the bronze coins of Antoninus Pius and Elagabalus minted in Emesa, in addition to the ‘reformed tetradrachms’ of Uranius Antoninus, it seems highly likely that these tetradrachms were the product of Emesa. Although the above propositions do not unequivocally show that these tetradrachms were the product of Emesa, it remains the most likely candidate, as there is more evidence in favour of this city than any other mint.

⁶⁹ Bellinger 1940.

⁷⁰ A single specimen in the British Museum has a facing bust (*BMC Syria*, p. 291, no. 10, classified under Heliopolis). The style of this tetradrachm is unlike all other Emesene tetradrachms.

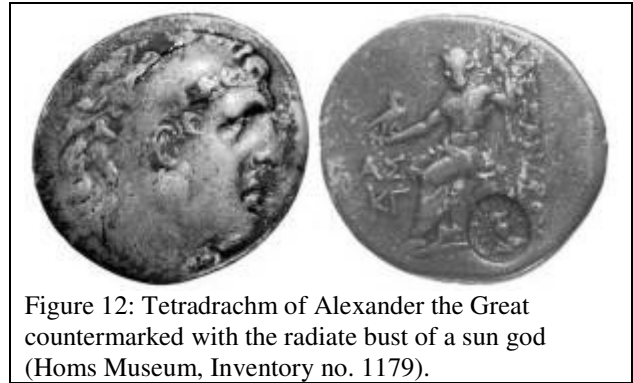
⁷¹ Imhoof-Blumer 1890, 767, see also p. 233-243.

⁷² *BMC Syria*, p. 291, nos. 5 (Julia Domna) and 7-10 (Caracalla). See also the discussion in Bellinger 1931, 10.

⁷³ Dieudonné 1906 and also 1909. Dieudonné erroneously attributes tetradrachms of Marcus Aurelius to Emesa as well (1906, p. 137, Plate IV, no. 5; 1909, 473-474).

⁷⁴ Bellinger 1940, 10; Krzyżanowska 1982 and 2002.

It is noteworthy that the baetyl is not the symbol used on the tetradrachms, which are of a higher denomination than the bronzes. Keeping in mind that silver coins were intended for a wider circulation than the bronzes, which were primarily confined for local use, the deliberate choice of the sun god over the baetyl is significant. The baetyl as an aniconic representation of the cult may have been only recognizable by the locals, but a generic representation of a radiate bust to symbolise a sun god may have had a wider recognition in the region.



It is worth noting that a number of Alexandrine tetradrachms bear a countermark depicting a radiate bust.⁷⁵ Price, following Seyrig, proposed that the countermark, most of which were applied on tetradrachms of Aspendus, was struck somewhere in Syria after 172 BC.⁷⁶ During the process of this research a similar tetradrachm of Aspendus with a radiate bust countermark was documented in the Homs Museum (Inventory no. 1179). The coin was said to have been found in Homs and donated to the museum in 1981 (Figure 12). Based on the provenance of this coin, it is tempting to suggest that this countermark was applied in Emesa, but as Millar has rightfully stated, “there is nothing to show that Emesa or its cult even existed in the Hellenistic period proper.”⁷⁷ In any event, a single coin is not sufficient to determine the location in Syria where these tetradrachms were countermarked, but it may be

⁷⁵ Price 1991, p. 70, nos. 2863, 2896a, 2903a, 2905b and 2930b.

⁷⁶ Seyrig 1973, 58.

⁷⁷ Millar 1987, 129.

surmised that the cult of the sun god did exist in the general region, perhaps even before the domination of the Emeseni tribe of the Samsigeramus dynasty.

The legends on the tetradrachms of Emesa need not be discussed in detail, since they are of the standard inscriptions found on the general tetradrachms of the Syro-Phoenician territories (see Catalogue entries). The only noteworthy exception is the use of the legend ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΞΥΠΙΑΤΟCTOB on two known specimens of Macrinus.⁷⁸ The 'TO B' formula on these tetradrachms of Macrinus is not known in any other mint.⁷⁹ Evidently, these tetradrachms were minted during Macrinus' second consulship starting in January 218.⁸⁰ But history tells us that Macrinus rejected the title of a second consulship on the basis of the consular rank that he already had.⁸¹ Based on this fact, Clay proposes that Macrinus' coins of the Roman mint bearing the title COS II were discontinued, reverting back to COS.⁸² This case also seems to have occurred at Emesa concerning these short-lived issues dated to the Emperor's second consulship (known thus far by two specimens only). However, Prieur disagrees with this viewpoint and proposes that these rare coins were minted at the very end of Macrinus' reign, during the ensuing conflict with Elagabalus, when he proclaimed his son emperor and perhaps also reclaimed his second consulship.⁸³

Another anomaly regarding the reverse legend on the tetradrachms of Macrinus is the inscription ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΞΥΠΙΑΤΟCTOΔ,⁸⁴ where obviously a reverse die of Caracalla was employed. Other specimens of Macrinus with a ΠΠΠ engraved

⁷⁸ Prieur no. 977 and the second in a private collection.

⁷⁹ Personal communication with Michel Prieur.

⁸⁰ Kienast (1996, 169) places the Emperor's second consulship after December 31 of AD 217.

⁸¹ Dio 79.13.

⁸² Clay 1979.

⁸³ Prieur 1985a.

⁸⁴ *Forvm Ancient Coins*, no. 9032.

over TOΔ are also known.⁸⁵ This implies that reverse dies of Caracalla were (initially) used to mint tetradrachms of Macrinus, and some were re-cut to accommodate the new emperor's title. The use of Caracalla's reverse dies to strike tetradrachms of Macrinus was not unknown elsewhere, for it also occurred in Antioch, Carrhae and Beroea.⁸⁶

Regarding the field marks on the reverse of the tetradrachms of Emesa, in the form of Greek letters or crescents, scholars such as Bellinger and Prieur consider them as *officina* symbols, although both have expressed their doubts.⁸⁷ Die studies on these silver coins have shown the absence of systematic links between these '*officinae*', implying that minting was done with no apparent interaction between the various symbols (see discussion in Die Studies chapter).

Regarding the silver issues of Uranius Antoninus, the base silver 'pre-reformed' tetradrachms followed the style of their contemporary counterparts minted in Antioch. This similarity of styles has led some numismatists to raise the question whether the tetradrachms of this emperor may have been minted in Antioch.⁸⁸ However, there is no reason why engravers from Antioch may not have been hired to cut the dies in Emesa. After all, minting in this city had ceased for more than thirty years and a new generation of die carvers may have been commissioned from surrounding regions, Antioch being the most likely candidate.

The 'pre-reform' tetradrachms depict on the obverse the laureate or radiate bust of Uranius facing either right or left. At times the Emperor is depicted with a

⁸⁵ Prieur 1015.

⁸⁶ Prieur nos. 246A, 828, and 889-894 respectively.

⁸⁷ Bellinger 1940, p. 64. Michel Prieur proposes that the symbols may signify magistrates' names or that of wealthy and influential families of Emesa (personal communication).

⁸⁸ Prieur and Prieur 2000, 125.

raised hand (in a gesture of prayer or as a form of greeting),⁸⁹ or in military attire holding a spear and shield (compare Prieur nos. 1041 and 1043). A rare type depicts the Emperor's bust supported by an eagle. The reverse invariably portrays a standing facing eagle with spread wings with the city's name EMICA inscribed in the exergue and the letters SC placed in various locations of the reverse field.⁹⁰

The 'reformed' tetradrachms of this emperor were minted using a variety of reverse types reminiscent of the iconography commonly reserved for aurei and denarii. These types are: Fortuna standing or seated holding cornucopia and rudder, Moneta standing holding scales and cornucopia, a saddled dromedary, the radiate bust of a deity placed on a crescent, Minerva seated with spear and shield,⁹¹ and Victory holding palm and wreath. The obverse depicts the radiate bust of the Emperor on all the above mentioned types, with the exception of the sun god type on which he is interestingly laureate, with the radiate crown reserved for the deity on the reverse.⁹² The field mark SC is commonly inscribed on the reverse field of these coins.⁹³

Bronzes

The iconography on the bronze coins of Emesa is dominated by the cult of Elagabal, a name which is derived from the Aramaic 'LH'GBL or *Elahagabal*,

⁸⁹ Prieur (1985b, coin no. 5) tentatively suggests that tetradrachms of Elagabalus with a similar posture (normally attributed to Antioch) may be the product of the mint of Emesa. Although Prieur is right in noting that these tetradrachms are somewhat 'strange' in style and dissimilar to the tetradrachms of Antioch, attribution to Emesa seems unlikely.

⁹⁰ A variety not listed by Baldus lacks EMICA on the reverse and has BSC inscribed in the exergue, a reference to the Emperor's second consulship (CNG-87.882).

⁹¹ It is uncertain if the seated figure represents Minerva or Roma. Both figures are known on the aurei, where the former is depicted standing holding a spear and shield with inscriptions reading MINERVA VICTRIX (Baldus nos. 51-52), and the latter is depicted seated holding Victory and a spear and reads ROMAE AETERNAE (Baldus no. 46). In the case of the silver issues the figure is not labelled, however Minerva is preferred due to the absence of Victory.

⁹² This coin shares an obverse die link with a 'pre-reform' tetradrachm of Uranius (Butcher 1989).

⁹³ Baldus 1975; Prieur 1062-1086.

meaning ‘god’ and ‘mountain’.⁹⁴ The deity was also conceived as a sun god and was referred to as ‘Theos Hēlios Elagabalos’,⁹⁵ an appellation known from an inscription found on the tell of Homs. The name was later converted to Heliogabalus.⁹⁶ It is unclear if this deity was associated with a specific mountain in the region, or whether it was worshiped as a generic mountain god. This deity’s aniconic cult image was an ovoid baetyl depicted with an eagle either perched on top or standing in front.⁹⁷

Objects of veneration in the form of baetyls (derived from the Semitic word *byt-* ‘l, meaning ‘house of god’) were certainly known in the ancient Near East, where religious anthropomorphic images were mostly absent, unlike in the Graeco-Roman world.⁹⁸ Emesa was not unique in displaying a baetyl on its coinage, for coins of Seleucia in Pieria also depict an ovoid stone placed within a shrine, at times with an eagle perched on top, and labelled Zeus Kasios (of Mount Casius, south of the city).⁹⁹ Although the stone is not labelled on the coins produced in Emesa, the coins minted in Rome depicting the baetyl explicitly state the deity’s name: SANCT DEO SOLI ELAGABAL.¹⁰⁰

1. Types

a. Antoninus Pius (Cat. nos. 26-28)

⁹⁴ Millar 1993, 301.

⁹⁵ Millar 1993, 304.

⁹⁶ Millar (1993, 304) stresses that the form Heliogabalus is only known from the fourth century AD and therefore was not contemporaneous.

⁹⁷ For the iconography of the perched eagle on the baetyl of Emesa and the cult of Elagabal, see *LIMC* vol. III, 705-708. For a discussion of baetyls in the religious life of the Near East see Millar 1993, 13-15, and Gaifman 2008.

⁹⁸ Gaifman 2008.

⁹⁹ *CRS* 229, 414, and Pls. 21-23. See coin no. 88 in particular for the perched eagle.

¹⁰⁰ *RIC* no. 143.

The most common type issued under this emperor represents an eagle perched on an ovoid stone. Herodian (5.3.5-6) describes this baetyl as an “enormous stone, rounded at the base and coming to a point on the top, conical in shape and black” and having on it “some small projecting pieces and markings that are pointed out, which the people would like to believe are a rough picture of the sun, because this is how they see them”. In fact, on some well preserved coins of this city minted in the reign of Antoninus Pius, the baetyl is depicted with astrological symbols such as stars and crescents in relief (Figure 13). It is worth noting that depictions of the baetyl on the coins do not show it conical in shape, with a pointed tip as Herodian describes it, but rather ovoid with a rounded top.

The earliest known imagery of the stone with a perched eagle on top comes from a limestone relief located 75 kilometres south-east of Homs, dating to a period roughly a century before the above mentioned coins



Figure 13: Bronze coin of Antoninus Pius minted in Emesa showing the baetyl with a star (*BMC Syria* 6, 11.55 gr, 23.5 mm).

were minted.¹⁰¹ This would place the relief in the later period of the Samsigeramus Dynasty. History tells us that Emesa as a city came into being sometime after Actium and that it was annexed by the Roman Empire in the Flavian period (see Introduction chapter). The fact that Emesa was minting during the reign of Antoninus Pius shows that it had attained the status of a city. The above mentioned relief indicates that the cult of Elagabal existed when the region was under the power of the Emeseni tribe and, as the coins show, continued to be the prominent religion even after the annexation. Shahîd proposes the interesting idea that the tribe brought this old Arab

¹⁰¹ Millar 1993, 301.

religion of the sun god to the region, but unfortunately he does not verify it with historical evidence.¹⁰² Icks is also of the opinion that Elagabal was a local deity and that the sun god was introduced by Samsigeramus,¹⁰³ as evident by the ruler's name, which derives from the words *shams* (the sun) and *karam* (venerate): the sun has venerated.¹⁰⁴

Regarding variations in the iconography of this baetyl, a specimen in the BNF (Inv. no. 979) depicts the stone with a feature on top resembling a pedestal (Figure 14).¹⁰⁵ The exact identification of this

feature is unknown, but the style in which the eagle is portrayed is not similar to any other reverse of this type. However, despite this anomaly, die studies have shown that this coin has an obverse die link with two other

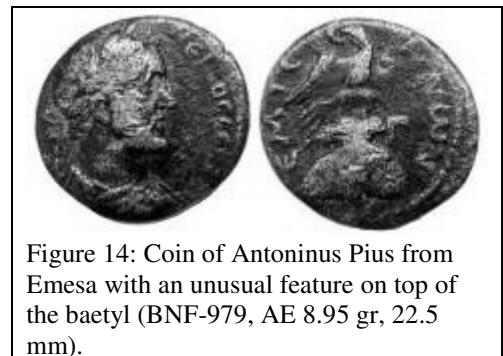


Figure 14: Coin of Antoninus Pius from Emesa with an unusual feature on top of the baetyl (BNF-979, AE 8.95 gr, 22.5 mm).

specimens,¹⁰⁶ both of which have different reverse dies depicting the 'usual' stone and eagle. It is noteworthy that all three specimens have the field mark 'T' (see Die Studies chapter for details). Thus, because all three coins have a common obverse die but different reverse dies, in addition to sharing a common field mark, it follows that the above mentioned coin was struck approximately at the same time and place as the others, and that it is not a forgery.

The second most common type of this city minted during the reign of Antoninus Pius depicts the radiate bust of a sun god on the reverse. It is known that

¹⁰² Shahîd 1984, 13.

¹⁰³ Icks 2011, 49.

¹⁰⁴ Ball 2000, 37.

¹⁰⁵ A second specimen in a private collection is reported to have a similar design (information from RPC online database).

¹⁰⁶ Vienna-GR 21666 and BNF-978.

Julia Domna was the daughter of the high priest of the sun, Iulius Bassianus, in most probability the ruling family of Emesa into which Septimius Severus married.¹⁰⁷ Here there seems to be an association or confusion between the two deities: the sun god and the mountain god. Perhaps this confusion was the result of the conversion of the term Elagabal into Heliogabalus as discussed above. As Millar rightfully points out, Herodian may have been instrumental in creating this confusion: “the stone with its eagle has changed meaning and – rather improbably – has come to be interpreted as a symbol of the sun (‘Helios’)”.¹⁰⁸ It may simply be the case that both deities coexisted in Emesa, and were connected, by which the ‘priests of the sun’ were the keepers of the ovoid stone sent from heaven (a meteorite?) representing *Elahagabal*. Butcher sees composite deities as the creation of socio-political strategies and draws a possible link between the Samsigeramus Dynasty and Elagabal.¹⁰⁹ The name Samsigeramus derives from the Semitic word *shams*, meaning the sun, implying a connection with a sun cult. When the Dynasty settled in Emesa, this cult perhaps merged with the existing cult of the mountain god, crafting the amalgamated ‘Sun God Elagabalus’. This scenario, although difficult to prove, seems likely, for it cannot be contested that the two cults were combined. It is irrefutable that the baetyl of Elagabal was associated with the sun, based on aurei and denarii of Elagabalus with inscriptions reading SANCT DEO SOLI ELAGABAL.¹¹⁰ In fact, there is an even more direct association between the baetyl, representing the mountain god and the sun. Astrological symbols were seen on the baetyl by the locals, a feature which is also depicted on the coins. Interestingly, Herodian cynically states that the people would

¹⁰⁷ Millar 1993, 119.

¹⁰⁸ Millar 1993, 305. Dieudonné (1906, 136) also implies a probable connection of the two.

¹⁰⁹ Butcher 2003, 343-344.

¹¹⁰ *RIC* nos. 143-145 and 195-197 respectively.

have *liked to believe* that they were rough pictures of the sun, since *this is how they wanted to see them*. It may have been the case that these astrological features were a creation of the local priests to emphasise the connection between the baetyl and the sun, the product of the above mentioned socio-political strategies.

Here a discussion should also be included regarding the sun god Shamash of Palmyra, who played a significant role in the city's religion, as attested by the coin types minted there.¹¹¹ It is known that Emesa and Palmyra shared a common border and were undoubtedly connected through trade routes running from the Syrian coast to the inland steppe, and both came into being as urban centres sometime in the first century BC.¹¹² However, there is no evidence that the Palmyrene Shamash was also worshiped in Emesa. Despite the relation of the two cities, it would be incorrect to refer to the radiate figure on the coins of Emesa as Shamash, which is the case in some publications dealing with this subject.¹¹³ Therefore, it is preferable to refer to the deity depicted on the coins of Emesa simply as a 'sun god' without assigning a specific name. In any event, both the sun god and the baetyl of Elagabal are depicted on the coins of Antoninus Pius, implying that both cults were practised in the city nearly a century before the reign of Elagabalus and his elevation of the cult to a state level.

The third type on the coins of Antoninus Pius is represented by a seated Tyche with her feet placed on a swimming torso representing the Orontes River. The iconography of Tyche on civic issues is a common theme and has been discussed in detail above (see Apamea) and therefore need not be repeated here. What is noteworthy is that whereas the first two types relate to the city's religion, this third

¹¹¹ Krzyżanowska 2002, 173, nos. i, iv, ix, xi, xiv, xviii.

¹¹² Millar 1993, 34, 319-320.

¹¹³ Seyrig 1971; Prieur and Prieur 2000.

type is undoubtedly a representation of Emesa's civic identity. As stated above, Emesene coins are the earliest evidence indicating that by the reign of Antoninus Pius, Emesa was fully recognised as a *polis* and was no longer a tribal entity.

b. Caracalla (Cat. nos. 31-36)

Although it was after a gap of several decades that Emesa began minting in the reign of Caracalla, no major changes were introduced in the iconography chosen for these coins, which continued to focus on the cult of Elagabal. The only significant change was the portrayal of the great temple. This temple was either shown in perspective view or the façade alone. This latter view depicts a flight of steps leading up to a balustraded platform on top of which rests the baetyl with an eagle standing in front.¹¹⁴ The connection of the eagle with the baetyl of Elagabal should not be linked to the association of this bird of prey with Zeus, but rather to the eagle's relationship with solar characteristics and its relations to the sun god (Helios). Naturally, no astrological symbols are found on the ovoid stone due to the eagle standing in front of it, although these symbols were placed in the pediment of the temple in the shape of a crescent, a circular disc or a square. Whereas the religious significance of the latter is uncertain (a window?),¹¹⁵ the disc and crescent are clear references to the sun, planets and moons.¹¹⁶

It is worth noting that the temple is not depicted on the coins of Antoninus Pius, perhaps indicating that the construction of the sanctuary was conducted after the

¹¹⁴ The eagle is not carved on the baetyl, but stands in front of it. A specimen in the Homs Museum (Inventory no. 992) has an eagle noticeably larger than the stone itself.

¹¹⁵ Temples from the Roman Near East are known to have stairs leading up to a second floor and having windows in the pediment (Butcher 2003, 358).

¹¹⁶ Delbrueck (1948, 23) states that the crescent represents the female goddess Aphrodite Urania-Astarte.

mid-second century. If true, this would coincide with the intense construction activity that took place during the second and early third centuries AD in the cities of the Roman East. However, if an analogy is drawn with the temples at Heliopolis, Damascus, Palmyra and Jerusalem, its construction would have been earlier. Unfortunately, without epigraphic and archaeological evidence, it is difficult to specify a date for the construction of the temple.

Julia Domna is represented by two types on Emesene coins. On the first, she is depicted with Caracalla and on the second she is portrayed in association with the great altar of Elagabal. Although the first type does not have a direct connection with the cult of the city, the depiction of Julia Domna undoubtedly relates to her status as the daughter of the high priest of the sun, thus boasting her connection with the cult of the city. The second type is a direct reference to the great temple represented by its altar. This structure seems to have been an impressive monument, for it is depicted with two rows of niches with statues inside and a flame burning on top.¹¹⁷ Unfortunately, this structure has undergone the same fate as the temple, for its remains have not been located.¹¹⁸ However, from nearby Heliopolis, a multi-story altar with a staircase inside leading to the top still stands to this day in front of a massive temple; such monumental altars are not unknown in the region.¹¹⁹ It may have been the case that the altar at Emesa was multi-storied, with sacrifices conducted on the roof, but it is difficult to confirm this without any archaeological evidence (see discussion below).

¹¹⁷ The specimen in *SNG Glasgow*, no. 3161, has two arches on top of the altar instead of a burning flame.

¹¹⁸ Leverton (1966, 184-186) suggests that the structure may have been a pyre where the body of Julia Domna was cremated, although he entertains the idea of it being an altar also.

¹¹⁹ Butcher 2003, 355-356.

The significance of the perched eagle and seated Tyche (left and front) types of Caracalla need not be repeated here, since the iconography is identical to the issues of Antoninus Pius discussed above.

c. Macrinus (Cat. nos. 39-40)

Two types have been minted under this emperor at Emesa showing the great temple of this city. The imagery on both types is the same as those under Caracalla, discussed above. The symbol in the pediment on these coins is a crescent, and no other shapes have thus far been noted.

It is remarkable that the only two types minted under this emperor depicted the temple. This structure was naturally the centre of focus for the worship of the cult and must have been an impressive sight, for it was “richly ornamented with gold and silver and valuable stones”.¹²⁰ Herodian states that the cult extended to adjacent territories and was frequented by Roman soldiers garrisoned nearby in Raphanea, and nobles from the surrounding region outdid one another in sending dedications to the temple and its cult.¹²¹ Based on the existing imagery of the temple on the coins of Emesa, it is worth discussing Ball’s proposal that the great temple of the sun was not located in Emesa, but rather that it was the Jupiter temple of Heliopolis.¹²² This seems highly unlikely, since the temple of Elagabal depicted on the Emesene coins is a hexastyle temple (as depicted on both types), whereas the temple of Jupiter at Heliopolis, the largest known in the Roman world, is decastyle.¹²³ For the engravers the space available on the coins certainly did not inhibit the number of columns they

¹²⁰ Herodian 5.3.4.

¹²¹ Herodian 5.3.4-5, 9.

¹²² 2000, 38-42. See Young 2003 for a convincing argument invalidating Ball’s hypothesis.

¹²³ Jidéjian 1975, 24 and fig. 75; *BMC Syria*, p. 290, Plate XXXVI, no. 2.

could place, since the coins of Heliopolis clearly depict ten columns at the entrance, keeping in mind that the coins of this city are by no means larger than those of Emesa. Although the temple of Elagabal was an important sanctuary and was known throughout the region according to Herodian (5.3.4-5), it may not necessarily have been an enormous edifice, as can be discerned from it being hexastyle. It may have been the case that although the temple itself was not a huge structure, the *temenos* may have been; thus its fame. It is true that the fourth century AD writer Avienus describes the temple of Emesa as higher than the mountain peaks of Lebanon,¹²⁴ but his portrayal is clearly poetic in nature and certainly an exaggeration of gross proportion.

Ball also proposes that the altar of the temple of Emesa depicted on the coins is the same as the altar of Heliopolis, since both are ‘cuboid’ in shape, without presenting any other similarities.¹²⁵ Emesene coins depict an altar with two rows of niches with statues inside. However, the altar depicted on the coins of Emesa is not similar to the two altars at Heliopolis. The first of these altars, still standing today, has only a single niche in each side. The second and larger ‘tower’ altar has been destroyed over the ages, but drawings of its reconstruction do not display any niches.¹²⁶ In conclusion, the temple of Emesa should not be equated with the one at Heliopolis, based on the available iconography of the sanctuary and its altar.

d. Elagabalus (Cat. nos. 41-48)

The Roman emperor Elagabalus, as his nickname implies, associated himself with the cult practised in Emesa. He entirely devoted himself to the worship of

¹²⁴ Avienus *Descriptio orbis terrae*, 1083.

¹²⁵ Ball 2000, 43.

¹²⁶ Jidéjian 1975, 25-26, Figs. 39-42; Collart and Coupel 1951, plate LXII-LXIII.

Elagabal, which resulted in animosity against him. Herodian's description of the Emperor's 'ecstatic and orgiastic' religious fervor is the most vivid:¹²⁷ The Emperor, covered in make-up and adorned with jewels, would dress in special silken garments of Phoenician style and participate in processions accompanied by music and dancing.¹²⁸ Upon his arrival in Rome, the Emperor-priest constructed a temple dedicated to this new religion and continued practicing the rites, forcing officials to dress in oriental garb and participate in the rituals. He executed numerous notables who disapproved of his way of life. The Emperor constructed a second temple in the suburbs of Rome where his god would be taken to on a chariot every summer. He would accompany this chariot on foot running backwards throughout the entire journey. After Elagabalus and his mother were executed by the army, Severus Alexander became emperor and dissociated himself from the worship of Elagabal by returning the stone to its native city and restoring traditional Roman life and beliefs.

Regarding the types issued under Elagabalus at Emesa, a new theme was introduced connected to the Pythian Games. Two types are known: the first depicts a prize-crown flanked by two laurel branches, and the second, known by a single specimen, shows a laurel wreath within which is inscribed HIAA (*sic*) flanked by two small laurel branches. The legend on the reverse of this unique coin is partially legible of which only ΛΟ...MHTP is visible. Although the name of the city is not present on the coin, attribution to Emesa has been confirmed by an obverse die link with the temple façade type,¹²⁹ in addition to the iconography of the reverse.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ See Herodian 5.5.3ff and also Dio 80.8-11 for what follows.

¹²⁸ The reason Herodian on several occasions presents the cult as having Phoenician characteristics may be due to Emesa having been included in the province of *Syria Phoenice* in the Severan period (see Millar 1987, p. 129, and also *CRS* p. 12, note 23).

¹²⁹ *BMC Syria*, Plate XXVII, no. 14 (reverse illustrated only).

¹³⁰ A similar reverse type under Elagabalus is also known for Damascus (*BMC Syria*, p. 286, no. 21).

The Pythian Games, dedicated to Apollo, originated in Delphi and spread throughout the Greek world and later the Roman East.¹³¹ The festival, which was held once every four years, revolved around athletic and musical competitions and was performed in a number of cities of Roman Syria. The games were known in Antioch and were introduced in Laodicea ad Mare by Caracalla.¹³² The above mentioned coins clearly show that these games were known in Emesa as well, most probably introduced by Elagabalus, for there is no reference to these games on the coins of his predecessors. Keeping in mind that Apollo was the sun god, it does not at all seem surprising that the Pythian Games were inaugurated by Elagabalus in honor of his eastern sun god at Emesa. Just as the cult preceded the competitions in Delphi, this also seems to have been the situation in Emesa. The Pythian Games were renowned for musical competitions as Apollo was also the god of music. Apparently, the cult of Elagabal was also associated with music, for Herodian describes rituals involving various instruments, including cymbals and drums.¹³³ The prize awarded to the victors in the original Pythian Games was an honorific laurel wreath, a feature which made its way on the coins as well. In this respect, the two branches depicted on the prize-crown type should be considered laurel rather than palm branches, as is often referred to in descriptions of this type.¹³⁴ Additionally, the shoots of the branches resemble laurel leaves and not palm fronds.¹³⁵ The prize-crown first appears in the reign of

¹³¹ Kyle 2007, 137-139, see also 337-338. For a discussion on the iconography of festivals and prizes on coins of the Roman East see Klose 2005.

¹³² Millar 1993, 259. More than 30 imitations of the Pythian Games are known from coin inscriptions of the Roman East (Klose 2005, 126).

¹³³ Herodian 5.8.9.

¹³⁴ A single specimen in a private collection is documented having a prize-crown which is not flanked by any branches.

¹³⁵ This is not to say that palm branches are not unknown in conjunction with prizes and festivals on coins minted in Roman Syria (*CRS* 40).

Commodus and becomes the most commonly represented prize on coins from the time of Septimius Severus onwards.¹³⁶

The remaining types of this emperor minted in Emesa depict the façade of the great temple with the ovoid stone inside, the seated Tyche with a torso of a river god at her feet, the perched eagle on the stone of Elagabal, a standing facing eagle, the great altar and the bust of the sun god. Each type has been individually discussed above, with the exception of the facing eagle type, but this too is not new imagery used on the coins of this mint. On the temple façade type the eagle with spread wings is depicted standing facing in front of the baetyl and not perched on it. Additionally, the connection of the eagle with the cult of Elagabal and the sun god was discussed above, and thus this type too is in line with the general iconography relating to the worship of this deity at Emesa.¹³⁷

The baetyl is often depicted flanked by objects commonly referred to as parasols in the literature.¹³⁸ However, the exact significance of these objects is unclear. If indeed parasols, it would be odd to shade the baetyl from solar rays, particularly when the cult is associated with the sun.

Similarly, the ovoid stone, placed inside the temple, would not need to be covered from the

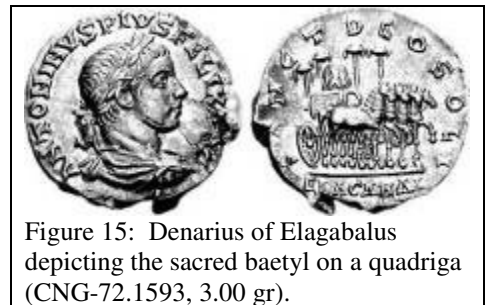


Figure 15: Denarius of Elagabalus depicting the sacred baetyl on a quadriga (CNG-72.1593, 3.00 gr).

sunlight. Prieur disagrees with the idea of parasols for the above mentioned reasons and prefers to identify them with palm trees, as symbols of fertility.¹³⁹ It is more

¹³⁶ Klose 2005, 128-129.

¹³⁷ For the iconography on the coins of Elagabalus, refer also to Laurent Hernandez's PhD thesis: *Essai d'iconographie religieuse d'après le monnayage syrien d'Héliogabale (218-222): approche numismatique* (Université de Perpignan, 1992), which I was unable to access.

¹³⁸ *BMC Syria*, p. 239, no. 15-17 and p. 241, no. 24; Baldus 1971, 67-69, 143-144.

¹³⁹ Prieur and Prieur 2000, 116. Delbrueck (1948, 12) describes them as 'fans'.

likely that these objects represent religious standards. Rowan,¹⁴⁰ following Frey,¹⁴¹ prefers to identify these objects as *semeia*, religious cultic standards best known from Hierapolis and elsewhere in the Near East.¹⁴² On the temple façade type, where the baetyl is depicted frontally, two standards are shown. However, on denarii of Elagabalus depicting a quadriga carrying the sacred stone four standards are depicted. On well-preserved denarii, the objects are neither parasols nor palm trees, but rather standards with hanging tassels or perhaps jingles, which would tinkle in the wind or when the chariot was in motion (Figure 15). As mentioned above, the processions of this sacred stone were accompanied with music and dancing, perhaps to the tune of the sounds made by these standards with jingles. The iconography of a chariot transporting the baetyl is also known from the mint of Rome¹⁴³ and a number of provincial mints, such as Antioch,¹⁴⁴ Hierapolis-Castabala,¹⁴⁵ Aelia Capitolina¹⁴⁶ and Alexandria.¹⁴⁷ Interestingly, this imagery was not used by the Emesenes, perhaps because processions were not part of the ritual practised in the city itself, or because of resentment for having their sacred relic removed to Rome.

e. Uranius Antoninus (Cat. nos. 57-58)

After a gap of three decades, Emesa resumed minting during the rule of Uranius Antoninus, and interestingly the same two types minted under Macrinus were once again continued without any change.

¹⁴⁰ 2006, 115.

¹⁴¹ 1989.

¹⁴² For a discussion of *semeia* from the region see Millar 1993, 246-247.

¹⁴³ *RIC* nos. 143-144, Pl. II no. 19 (aurei).

¹⁴⁴ *RIC* nos. 195-197, Pl. III no. 2 (denarii). Butcher (1988) suggests a mint in the Balkans for these denarii.

¹⁴⁵ *SNG Levante*, 1594.

¹⁴⁶ *BMC Palestine*, p. 97, nos. 85-89, Pl. X nos. 12-13.

¹⁴⁷ *BMC Alexandria*, no. 1520, Pl. XXV.

Delbrueck considers that the different representations of the temple relate to a seasonal cycle of worship, by which the sacred stone was transported to a ‘summer residence’, similar to the case in Rome discussed above, and returned to the main temple in autumn. Thus, he considers that the temple perspective view type, which does not depict the baetyl, was minted earlier in the summer of AD 253, and later was followed by the temple façade type in the autumn of AD 253, when the baetyl was then placed in the temple.¹⁴⁸

Baldus rightfully disputes Delbrueck’s hypothesis by showing that the two types were minted concurrently, based on his die studies, and therefore not sequentially or seasonally. Baldus considers that the different views of the temple were due to mere convention, in line with generic representations of temples on coins. However, Baldus states that Delbrueck’s hypothesis –that the minting of these coins was based on a religious aspect related to the cult– may have some weight when considering that the bronze coins of Uranius Antoninus were minted during a very short period of time in late AD 253, and at the latest by early AD 254. Thus, according to Baldus’ proposal, because the bronze issues were minted immediately after the new year of the Seleucid calendar, they probably were related to the festival associated with the worship of this cult in Emesa.¹⁴⁹

2. Legends

All three types minted under Antoninus Pius are inscribed with the ethnic of the city ‘EMICHNWN’. These coins also have field marks employing a system of enumeration ranging from 1 to 7, with the following Greek numerals noted: A, B, Γ,

¹⁴⁸ Delbrueck 1948, 24.

¹⁴⁹ Baldus 1971, 68-70.

Δ, Ε, ς, Ζ. The precise significance and function of these numerals remains uncertain despite a die study conducted on all types of this emperor; however, certain results and explanations have been achieved (see Die Studies chapter for these findings).

After a break of more than half a century, minting resumed in Emesa under Caracalla, with a change in the title of the city now clearly presented as a colony. This new title 'EMICΩN KOΛΩNIAC' is in line with the fact that Caracalla granted the status of *colonia* to Emesa, his mother's native city.¹⁵⁰ All the types are inscribed with the above mentioned legend and its variants (see Catalogue entries), with the exception of the type depicting Julia Domna, the reverse of which reads IOVΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ ΑΥΤ. On all the types under Caracalla, the Seleucid date ΖΚΦ or ΗΚΦ is placed in the various fields of the reverse.

The reverse inscriptions on the coins of Macrinus continue from those of his predecessor: 'EMICΩN KOΛΩNIAC' and the date ΗΚΦ.¹⁵¹

A noteworthy change in the title of the city took place in the reign of Elagabalus, by which the legends then read ΜΗΤΡΟΚΟΛ ΕΜΙCΩΝ. This new title was most probably bestowed by the Emperor, who had a special attachment to the city due to the religious cult practised there. Rey-Coquais proposed that the title *metropolis* was given to cities which were centres of the provincial imperial cult.¹⁵² Butcher, however, on the basis that each eparchy had a chief or official metropolis, expresses his doubts that Emesa may have been a metropolis due to it being situated in the territory of *Syria Phoenice*, where Sidon was the metropolis during this

¹⁵⁰ Ulpian, *Digest* 50.15.1.4; Millar 1990, 41 and 1993, 143; Rey-Coquais, 1978, 55.

¹⁵¹ At times blundered legends (ex: ΚΟΛΩΝCΙΑC) and retrograde dates have been noted for Caracalla, Macrinus and Elagabalus.

¹⁵² Rey-Coquais 1978, 54. Although it should be noted that the author's discussion is for the Antonine period.

emperor's reign.¹⁵³ It is uncertain if the inscriptions on the coins specifically state that the city was a colony *and* a metropolis, or rather a *metrocolonia*.¹⁵⁴ Millar, in his study of *coloniae* in the Roman Near East, points out that *metrocolonia* was a 'hybrid Greek-Latin term' also attested in Palmyra,¹⁵⁵ by which the title was not unique to Emesa. The concept of 'hybridization' seems probable when taking into account that bilingual coins of Elagabalus were also minted in this city (see below). In any event, it seems that Elagabalus wished to elevate the city's status by adding yet another title, as attested by the coins, perhaps connected to Emesa being his mother city.

A unique feature regarding the inscriptions on Emesene coins is the use of bilingual inscriptions for the reign of Elagabalus. This is attested for the prize-crown and seated Tyche types, which have Latin inscriptions on the obverse and Greek on the reverse. The former type, however, is also known for having obverse inscriptions in Greek.¹⁵⁶ No other Latin inscriptions are known for coins of Emesa. Perhaps the reason for the use of Latin can be explained by the fact that Emesa had become a colony. However, the status of *colonia* did not necessarily promote the use of Latin, as was the case for Antioch.¹⁵⁷ Bilingual inscriptions from the region are rare, with the only direct parallel found in Paltus, where issues of Severus Alexander (and those with the portrait of Julia Mamaea) have Latin inscriptions on the obverse, but Greek on the reverse. All other issues of this coastal city, both before and after the reign of

¹⁵³ *CRS*, 220-221. Unless, as the author points out, if the title *metrocolonia* does not denote a metropolis.

¹⁵⁴ Although most of the coins read ΜΗΤΡΟΚΟΛΙΑ ΕΜΙCΩΝ and its variants, ΜΗΤΡΟ ΕΜΙCΩΝ is also attested without reference to the title of colony (see the relevant Catalogue entries for all the known varieties).

¹⁵⁵ Millar 1990, 41.

¹⁵⁶ The seated Tyche type is thus far known by four specimens only and future finds may provide a Greek/Greek inscription as is the case for the prize-crown type.

¹⁵⁷ Millar 1990, 41. See *CRS* coin nos. 474-482 for the colonial coinage of Elagabalus using Greek legends.

Alexander, have Greek legends only.¹⁵⁸ Some bilingual inscriptions are also noted at Antioch and Laodicea ad Mare, but these seem to have been due to die-sharing, resulting in the unintentional combination of dies having Latin inscriptions with those having Greek.¹⁵⁹

Regarding field marks, the prize-crown, seated Tyche and standing facing eagle types of Elagabalus bear the field mark E on the reverse, the significance of which is unclear, for it does not seem to be part of a sequential enumeration. A small number of coins bear the Seleucid date $\Phi\Lambda = 530 = \text{AD } 218/219$ in the exergue.

The title on the bronze coins of Uranius Antoninus reverts to the ‘standard’ $\text{EMIC}\Omega\text{N KO}\Lambda\Omega\text{N}$, further backing the argument that the title of metropolis was bestowed by Elagabalus and was discontinued later on. These coins bear the Seleucid date $\text{E}\Xi\Phi$ in the exergue.

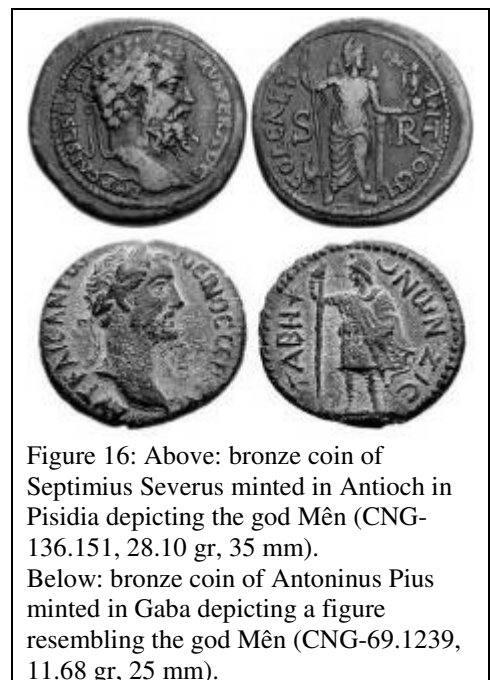


Figure 16: Above: bronze coin of Septimius Severus minted in Antioch in Pisidia depicting the god Mên (CNG-136.151, 28.10 gr, 35 mm). Below: bronze coin of Antoninus Pius minted in Gaba depicting a figure resembling the god Mên (CNG-69.1239, 11.68 gr, 25 mm).

E. Laodicea ad Libanum

The coins of Laodicea ad Libanum, the iconography of which is dominated by the Phrygian god Mên, present an intriguing case. As a Phrygian god, originating from Persia and worshipped in western Asia Minor, no explanation can be found for his presence in southern Syria. Historical and literary sources are silent regarding the

¹⁵⁸ Meyer-Zwiffelhofer 1994, p. 106-108, nos. 19-25. It would have been interesting to see if any dies with Latin legends were shared between Emesa and Paltus, but since the latter did not mint under Elagabalus this option is unavailable.

¹⁵⁹ For details see *CRS* 243-244, 336, 384, 447.

worship of this deity in the city. Nonetheless, there is no doubt that the deity depicted on the coins is Mên, since he is clearly labelled MHN in the exergue of the reverses.

The complex and multi-faceted god Mên was presented with various attributes and powers. This lunar god was primarily known as a god of fertility and healing, as well as an arbitrator of disputes, protector of communities, and guardian of families and victims of wrongdoing.¹⁶⁰ Thus, the cult of Mên was concerned with family life, agricultural fertility and farming. The deity is presented with a crescent on his back, wearing a tunic and Phrygian hat, and holding a variety of objects including a patera, a staff, a pine cone and a torch. He is often depicted on horseback and in association with rams, chickens, roosters and at times bulls.

Numerous temples and shrines have been identified in Asia Minor dedicated to Mên,¹⁶¹ but none have been recorded in the archaeological record at Tell Nebi Mend. Similarly, dozens of cities in south-west Asia Minor minted coins depicting Mên and his cult, with more than 40 types having been recorded from Nysa alone,¹⁶² yet it seems that Laodicea ad Libanum presents an isolated case for the presence of Mên as a coin type outside Asia Minor. However, some imperial coins of Gaba, further south of Laodicea ad Libanum, have a deity resembling Mên. The deity of Gaba also holds a long staff, wears a Phrygian hat and a knee-length chiton with a cloak, and is thus portrayed in many ways similar to the depictions of Mên on coins of Asia Minor. However, the only difference noted is that the crescent is not placed on

¹⁶⁰ A comprehensive study of this deity can be found in the multi-volume work by Lane (1971-1978). See also *LIMC* vol. VI, 462-473.

¹⁶¹ For a list see Lane 1976, vol. 3, p. 44.

¹⁶² Lane 1976, vol. 3, p. 44. See also Lane 1975, vol. 2, for the 'Distribution Map of the Coins'.

his back but rather in the field behind his shoulder (Figure 16).¹⁶³ Lane does not refer to these coins of Gaba in his corpus.

The reason for the existence of this deity at Laodicea ad Libanum remains unknown. Several hypotheses may be explored: It is generally believed that the Tell is named after a Muslim holy man, to whom the small mosque on the summit is dedicated. However, Claude Conder, who was the first to identify the site with Qadesh, mentions that locally Nebi Mendeh or Mendau was said to have been a son of Jacob.¹⁶⁴ He also suggested that there might have been a connection with the Egyptian war-god Mentu or Mando whom, according to Conder, Ramses II invoked during his great battle there with the Hittites. It is also tempting to find a connection between the name of the deity 'Mên' and the modern name of the site 'Tell Nebi Mend', but without evidence this suggestion remains unconfirmed. A second reason for the worship of Mên at Laodicea ad Libanum may be based on the deity's powers as a healing god, in addition to his attribute as a river god controlling irrigation, inundations and floods.¹⁶⁵ It is known that in classical times the city was referred to as Laodicea Skabiosa,¹⁶⁶ indicating that the region was diseased due to malarial conditions, perhaps resulting from swampy conditions of the river and its tributary.

Lane proposes that perhaps a local Semitic god having mythological and iconographical similarities with the Phrygian Mên was associated with him in Laodicea ad Libanum.¹⁶⁷ However, this does not seem to have been the case, since the deity is clearly labelled as MHN on the coins of this Syrian mint. Thus, the label

¹⁶³ *BMC Syria*, p. 300, no. 1.

¹⁶⁴ Conder 1885, 29-30. My gratitude to Peter Parr, director of excavations at Tell Nebi Mend, for bringing this to my attention.

¹⁶⁵ Lane 1976, vol. 3, p. 44-45.

¹⁶⁶ Ptolemy 5.14.16.

¹⁶⁷ Lane 1976, vol. 3, p. 100.

explicitly points to the fact that the deity *is* Mên, and therefore should not be confused with any other deity.

1. Types

a. Septimius Severus (Cat. nos. 59-62)

On the coins of Laodicea ad Libanum, which were initiated during the reign of Septimius Severus, Mên is depicted standing in front of a horse holding the bridle with his right hand and a staff in his left. The remaining types minted under this emperor present the entire imperial family. The issues portraying a young Caracalla have on the reverse Nike crowning a seated Tyche depicted with two swimming river gods, undoubtedly representing the Orontes and the Mukadiyeh, as the ancient site was located at a fork between the two rivers. Although some descriptions refer to a single river god on these coins, this false impression is due to the second being either off the flan or too worn to be distinguished; die studies have confirmed that all known dies were engraved with two river gods (see Die Studies chapter). Cohen in his description of the coins of this mint refers to ‘water urns’ placed on either side of Tyche,¹⁶⁸ but no such vessels have been noted on any coin of this type. Apparently, he was perpetuating Mionnet’s description, who does not say that Tyche is flanked by water urns, but rather that below her and on either side there are rivers (i.e. the torsos) with urns: “de chaque côté, un Fleuve, avec des urnes.”¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ Cohen 2006, 117, note 5.

¹⁶⁹ Mionnet 1837, *Supplement* vol. 8, p. 213, no. 87.

For issues depicting on the obverse either the portrait of Julia Domna or Geta, a common reverse type was chosen displaying the turreted and veiled bust of Tyche.

Thus, on the issues of Laodicea ad Libanum minted under Septimius Severus, Mên was chosen as the primary type for the coins depicting the Emperor's portrait, with the Tyche of the city reserved for members of the imperial family.

b. Caracalla (Cat. nos. 63-64)

In Caracalla's reign two issues were minted. The first depicts the Emperor on the obverse and Mên on the reverse. The second type has the Emperor's mother Julia Domna on the obverse and the bust of Tyche on the reverse. Coins of this second type were previously classified only under this emperor. However, based on the hairstyle of Julia Domna, it can now be divided into two separate issues, one minted under her husband and the other her son. Coins of Julia Domna minted under Septimius Severus depict the Empress' hairstyle with an elongated vertical bun behind the head, whereas under Caracalla she has wavy hair with no bundle (Figure 17).¹⁷⁰

¹⁷⁰ For the different hairstyles of Julia Domna depicted on Roman imperial coins see *RIC IV*: Plate IX nos. 1-18 for coins minted under Septimius Severus, and Plate XIII nos. 16-20 for coins minted under Caracalla.

c. Macrinus and Elagabalus (Cat. nos. 65-66)

A single type was minted under Macrinus and Elagabalus depicting Mên on the reverse. No other types have thus far come to light. However, a minor variation is noted in the depiction of the reverse type. The object held by Mên is at times described as a sceptre or a torch in the literature. Based on the imagery of the coins, the object resembles a sceptre on the early coins of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (Figure 18), whereas it appears to be a torch on the coins of Macrinus and Elagabalus (Figure 19).



Figure 17: Coins of Laodicea ad Libanum depicting the bust of Julia Domna. Note the difference in hairstyles. Above: minted under Septimius Severus (Wildwinds-34.63623, AE 6.96 gr, 23 mm). Below: minted under Caracalla (CNG-162.267, AE 5.97 gr, 21 mm).

2. Legends

The reverse legends on the coins of Laodicea ad Libanum read ΛΑΟΔΙΚ ΠΡΟC ΛΙΒΑΝΩ, by which this city is clearly distinguished from other Laodiceas in the region, and it is well attested that in the Classical period the city was known as Laodicea ad

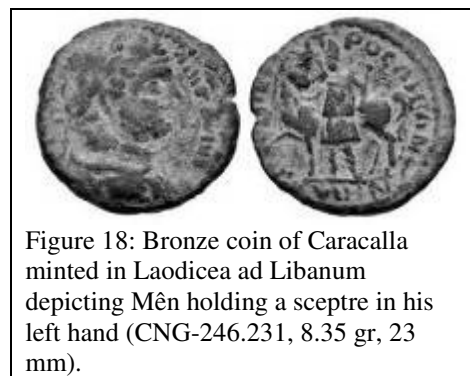


Figure 18: Bronze coin of Caracalla minted in Laodicea ad Libanum depicting Mên holding a sceptre in his left hand (CNG-246.231, 8.35 gr, 23 mm).

Libanum.¹⁷¹ On some of the coins which represent Tyche, whether portrayed seated or as a bust, the legend reads ΤΥΧΗ ΛΑΟΔΙΚ ΠΡΟC ΛΙΒΑΝΩ, again a clear identification of the city and its Tyche.

¹⁷¹ Pliny *NH* 5.82; Strabo 16.2.18.

As mentioned earlier, the inscription MHN can be found in the exergue of the reverses depicting Mên, minted under both Septimius Severus and Caracalla. However, on the coins of Macrinus and Elagabalus, both of which have a single type representing Mên with a horse, the inscription 'MHN' is no longer engraved in the exergue.

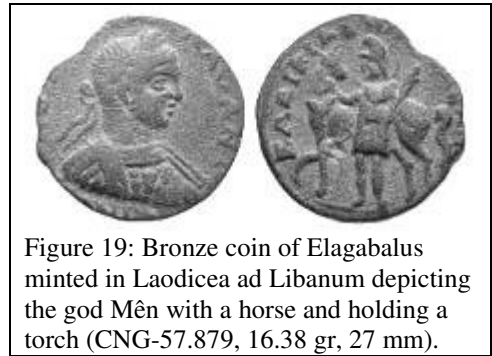


Figure 19: Bronze coin of Elagabalus minted in Laodicea ad Libanum depicting the god Mên with a horse and holding a torch (CNG-57.879, 16.38 gr, 27 mm).

CHAPTER VII

DIE STUDIES

A. Output

Examining proportions of issues represented in hoards is undoubtedly one of the best ways to determine output,¹ but hoards (particularly for bronze coins) relevant to the time period covered in this study are almost non-existent in Syria in general and the Orontes Valley in particular. A *general* idea about the output may be gathered by referring to the number of specimens surviving in collections, the market, and site finds. However, each of these categories is prone to biases and pitfalls as shall be demonstrated below (regarding site finds, the biases are explained in detail in the Circulation chapter).

The more a coin of a certain type has been produced, the more chances of it having survived in the present. In practical terms, this means that by composing a comprehensive database of coins from collections (public and private), site finds and those in the trade (auctions and the market), a reasonably reliable idea can be composed of the output of a particular mint at a particular time. To explain this, coins of Antoninus Pius from Emesa, which come in three main types –perched eagle, bust of the sun god and a seated Tyche– will be discussed as a case study. A quick glance at the total number of specimens of each type, including their varieties, clearly shows that the perched eagle type is by far the most common in the surviving record (81 specimens, 38 reverse dies). It may be safely surmised that it was produced in significant quantities. Regarding the remaining issues of this emperor at Emesa, the

¹ *CRS*, 134.

number is significantly smaller for the sun god type (13 specimens, 9 reverse dies), which itself is higher than that of the seated Tyche type (6 specimens, 5 reverse dies). This would seemingly imply that the sun god type was produced in greater quantities than that of the seated Tyche. In fact, the die studies do not confirm the above observations, since it has been estimated that an equal number of reverse dies (standing at 30) were prepared for each of the sun god and Tyche types (see statistics below). Therefore, these results indicate that the number of surviving specimens do not necessarily represent the true number of coins minted in the past when dealing with smaller numbers. An issue may have been produced in great quantities, but due to decommissioning it may have been recalled from the market and recycled, resulting in only a small number of the original output surviving in the record today. A second prejudice involves preferences of individual collectors or museums.² When coin collections are formed, certain periods, regions or themes are preferred over others, and therefore distort the ratio between output in the past and the number of coins actually surviving in the present. Although, this is more the case for private collections than public. However, in the case of many museum collections, such as the British Museum and the Bibliothèque nationale de France, these collections themselves were initially formed from private collections.

Another major factor which may govern our understanding of output is related to denominations. It would be wrong to assume that all denominations in use at a particular time and place were produced in equal amounts. A certain denomination may have been in greater demand for everyday use over another, which would naturally result in it being produced in greater numbers. A good example for

² *CRS*, 139. See also the discussion in *RPC II*, 14.

this hypothesis is Apamea. In the case of the first issues of Apamea, four denominations have been noted: Zeus/elephant, Tyche/Nike, Demeter/corn and Dionysus/grapes (Cat. nos. 1-4). It is quite apparent that the output is directly proportional to the denomination/value of the coin.³ The largest denomination has survived in greater numbers than the smaller denominations. This observation may indicate that during the first half of the first century BC the larger denominations were in greater demand in Apamea and therefore produced more than the lighter. Of course, the size of a coin may govern the factors under which it may be retrieved in the present (see Circulation chapter), but the smaller denominations of this group are by no means minute and therefore it is unlikely that the size played a major role in their low survival rate. This same trend, where the larger denomination is produced in greater quantities at Apamea, also holds true for Groups 2 and 3, but does not hold true for the issues with imperial portraits. The numbers produced are small indeed, which indicates that output was considerably lowered and denominations no longer seemed to affect volumes of production; the die studies have also confirmed this observation (see below). The issues of Larissa, concurrently issued in the same year and known by two denominations, follow the trend of Apamea's civic coins, in which the larger Zeus/throne type (Cat. no. 20) is present in greater numbers than the smaller Tyche/horse type (Cat. no. 21). Once again, the die studies have confirmed this observation, where six reverse dies have been recorded for the former and only a single die for the latter.

In the case of Raphanea, the larger denomination was produced in great quantities. From a total of 107 specimens, 15 obverse and 42 reverse dies were

³ Keeping in mind that the numbers are based on the number of specimens collected from various sources.

identified (from the well preserved specimens). The smaller bull type is known by a single specimen and therefore had a very trivial output. In the case of Emesa, however, the denominations do not seem to have played a direct role in the output, as can be discerned from the metrology tables prepared for each emperor and type. Concerning Laodicea ad Libanum, the general trend whereby the bigger denomination was produced in greater quantities than the smaller holds true. This observation can be demonstrated from both the tabulated data (see Metrology and Denominations chapter) and the die studies (see below).

Thus, to avoid the above discussed drawbacks, a relatively reliable method of determining the volume of production of a particular coin issue is by conducting a die study, through which an approximate number of coins produced may be estimated from determining the number of dies used.⁴

B. Die studies

Several methods have been proposed for the estimation of the size of a coinage, the original number of dies produced, and the coverage of a sample by using mathematical formulae.⁵ Each method, however, provides an *estimate*. Therefore, it is preferable to apply more than one method and correlate the results. Die identities are established by comparing coins using casts or, more recently, digital photographs, which may not always be of the required quality. This inevitably causes mistakes in the identification process, which can be minimised by checking and rechecking, but which can never be completely void of errors.⁶ The reader should also be aware of the fact that interpretations are based on the results obtained from the available sample,

⁴ Carter 1983; Esty 1986 and 2006.

⁵ Good 1953; Carter 1983; Esty 1986 and 2006.

⁶ See Bracey 2009 for a good discussion on the methodology of die studies.

and therefore are limited in results and not fully comprehensive. Thus, the higher the coverage of a sample, the better the results. It is always preferable to include as many specimens as possible when conducting a die study, but time restrictions dictate a cutoff point where the researcher has to suffice with the assembled data and proceed with the study. Due to the poor condition of a coin, or the inadequate quality of a photograph, some specimens must be omitted from the study and therefore are not included in the statistical analyses.

To compose a better understanding of the output of coins in the Orontes Valley, it was decided to conduct die studies on particular issues which would yield the most useful information. Therefore, what follows should be considered selective die studies. A comprehensive study was conducted on the issues of Raphanea, Laodicea ad Libanum and Larissa. In the case of Emesa, only certain issues were chosen: the tetradrachms (with the portraits of Caracalla, Julia Domna, Macrinus and Diadumenian), the bronze coins of Antoninus Pius, and issues of Elagabalus with bilingual inscriptions. Regarding Apamea, a die study was conducted on all the coins issued under the emperors (Augustus, Tiberius and Claudius). A table representing all the identified dies has been provided at the end of each relevant section, in addition to die charts with illustrated coin images. Regarding the analytical section, Esty's method of calculating the original number of dies produced is used, since it is currently one of the better known and refined methods.

let: n = the total number of coins in the sample

d_o = the number of obverse dies identified in the sample

d_r = the number of reverse dies identified in the sample

D_o = the estimated total number of obverse dies produced

D_r = the estimated total number of reverse dies produced

e = the number of die combinations (number of connecting lines in a chart)

where: $D_o = (nd_o) / (n-d_o)$ and $D_r = (nd_r) / (n-d_r)$

thus: d_o / D_o and d_r / D_r provide the coverage of the dies in the sample

and: n/d_o and n/d_r provide an index number measuring the average number of coins per die in the sample. This index number is usually between 2 and 5; if less than 2 the sample available is not adequate for a good study, if above 10 the sample is almost complete.

Once the original number of dies for both the obverse and reverse has been estimated, their ratio can be obtained by dividing D_r by D_o . This will show how many reverse dies were used for every obverse die.⁷

1. Apamea

a. Augustus

During the reign of this emperor two reverse types were minted: Nike advancing and the bust of Tyche. From the sample collected thus far, two reverse dies have been identified for the former and four for the latter. Both the number of surviving coins of the Tyche type (12) and the number of reverse dies identified implies that this type was minted in greater quantities than the Nike type, known by

⁷ My gratitude to Robert Bracey (British Museum) for describing the concepts involved in die studies.

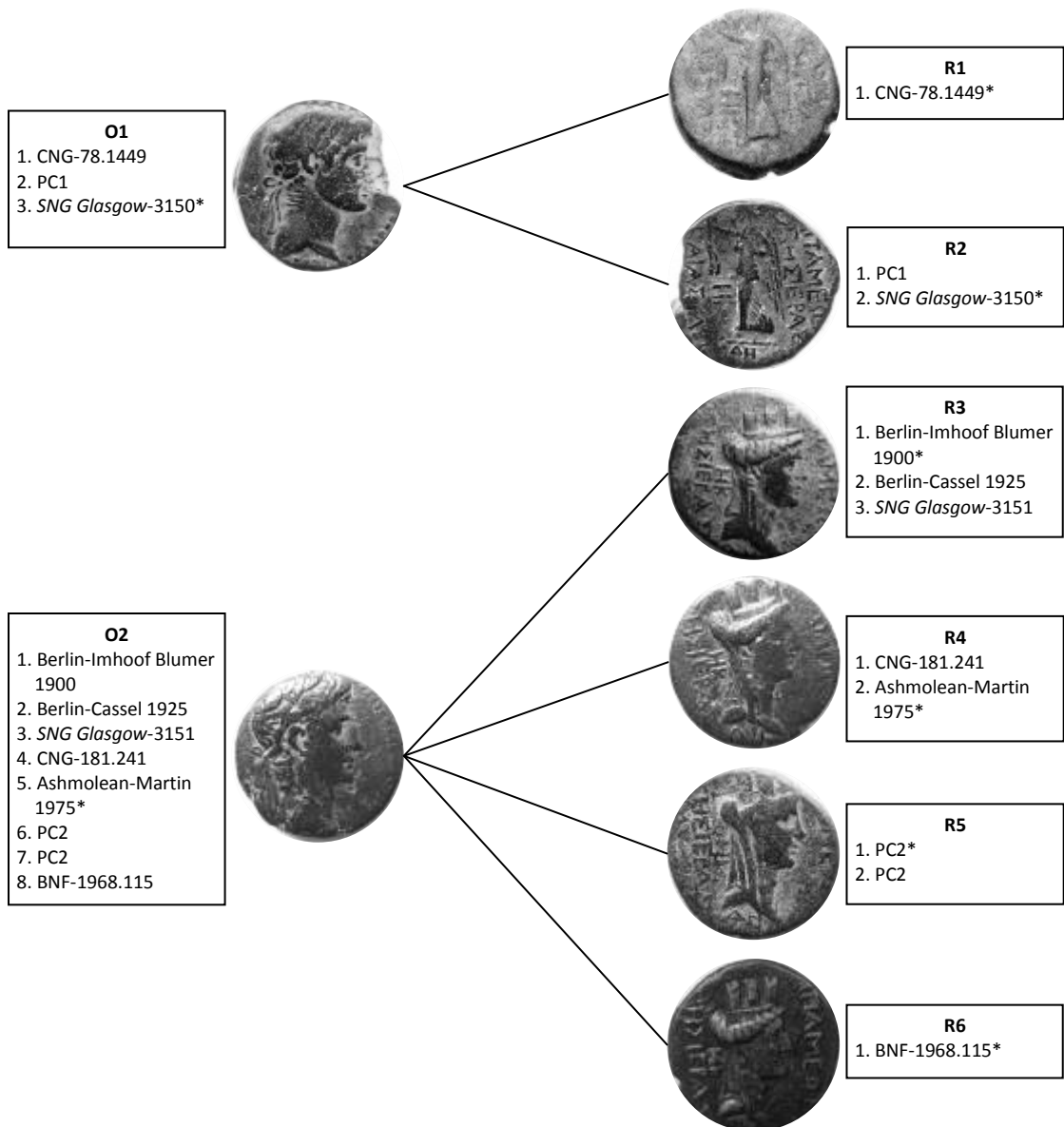
three specimens only. Two obverse dies were identified; one which was used exclusively with the Nike type and the other with the Tyche type.

Because the Nike and Tyche types were minted concurrently (based on the dates they bear) all the coins have been treated as a single sample, since a die study should not differentiate between different types of a particular issue. In total, 11 coins (3 Nike and 8 Tyche) were used in the study, with four coins of the Tyche type excluded due to their worn condition or poor quality of the images:

n	d _o	d _r	D _o	D _r	d _o /D _o	d _r /D _r	n/d _o	n/d _r	D _r /D _o	e
11	2	6	2.44	13.2	82%	45%	5.5	1.83	5.41	6

The sample was collected from public and private collections, publications and online sources, but because the number of coins is rather small some of the statistics obtained above may be distorted. Nonetheless, the data shows that a good deal of the obverse dies has been documented, whereas less than half of the reverses are available so far.

The below chart shows all the die combinations recorded for both types. Regarding the coin images, the best preserved specimen from each die is depicted and denoted with an asterisk in the list of coins struck from that particular die. Note that the depicted coins are not to scale; for the size and weight of each individual coin refer to the Catalogue.



The below table presents a numerical rendering of the above chart:

Apamea/Augustus			
Specimen	Reverse type	Obverse die no.	Reverse die no.
CNG-78.1449	Nike	1	1
PC1	Nike	1	2
<i>SNG Glasgow</i> -3150	Nike	1	2
Berlin-Imhoof Blumer 1900	Tyche	2	3
Berlin-Cassel 1925	Tyche	2	3
<i>SNG Glasgow</i> -3151	Tyche	2	3
CNG-181.241	Tyche	2	4
Ashmolean-Martin 1975	Tyche	2	4
PC2	Tyche	2	5
PC2	Tyche	2	5

BNF-1968.115	Tyche	2	6
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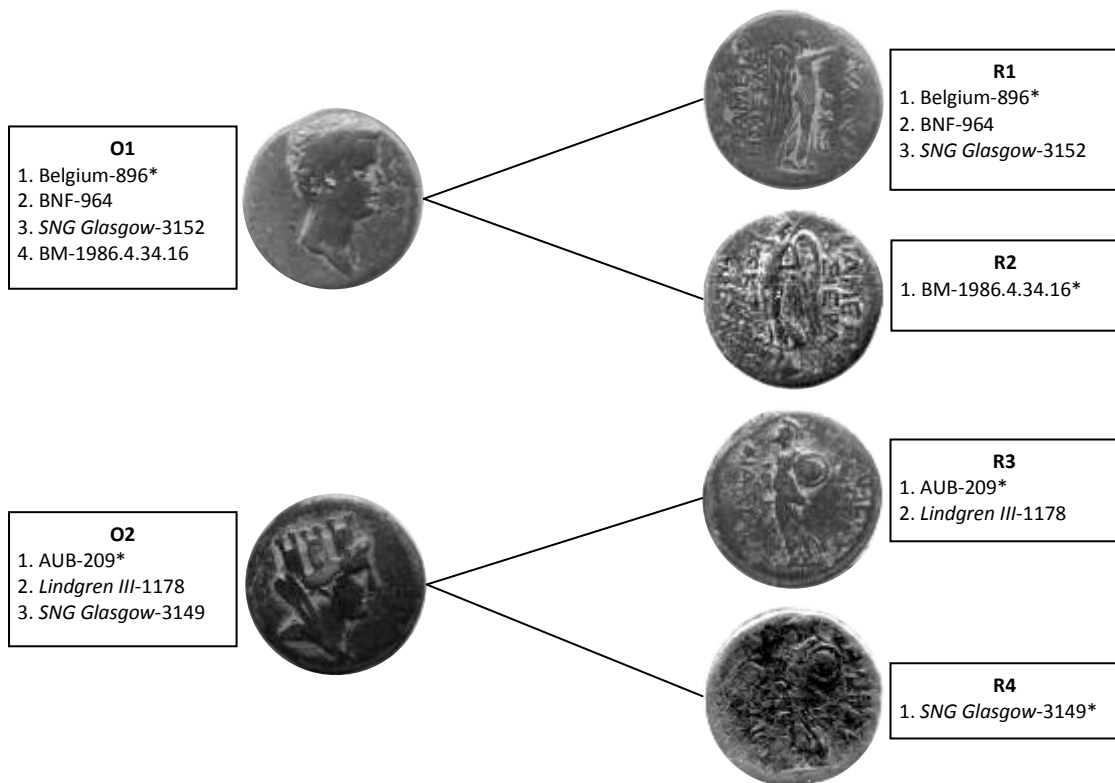
Table 40: List of obverse and reverse dies for the coins of Augustus minted in Apamea.

b. Tiberius

Apamea minted two types under Tiberius: Nike and Athena. The former is known by two varieties depicting Nike advancing either left or right. The obverse of all these coins depicts the bust of the Emperor. The Athena type is known by four coins struck from one obverse and two reverse dies. Only one obverse die was recorded for the Nike type, which was used to strike both varieties mentioned above. One reverse die for each of the two varieties was recorded. In total, seven coins (Nike right 3; Nike left 1; Athena 3) were used in the study with two (Nike left 1; Athena 1) excluded due to their poor condition:

n	d _o	d _r	D _o	D _r	d _o /D _o	d _r /D _r	n/d _o	n/d _r	D _r /D _o	e
7	2	4	2.8	9.33	71%	43%	3.5	1.75	3.33	4

The results for the issues of Tiberius are quite similar to those of Augustus, keeping in mind that the statistics were derived from a small sample and therefore should not be considered a comprehensive overview of the coinage. A separate obverse die was used for each reverse type – that is, no obverse die link was recorded between the two types.



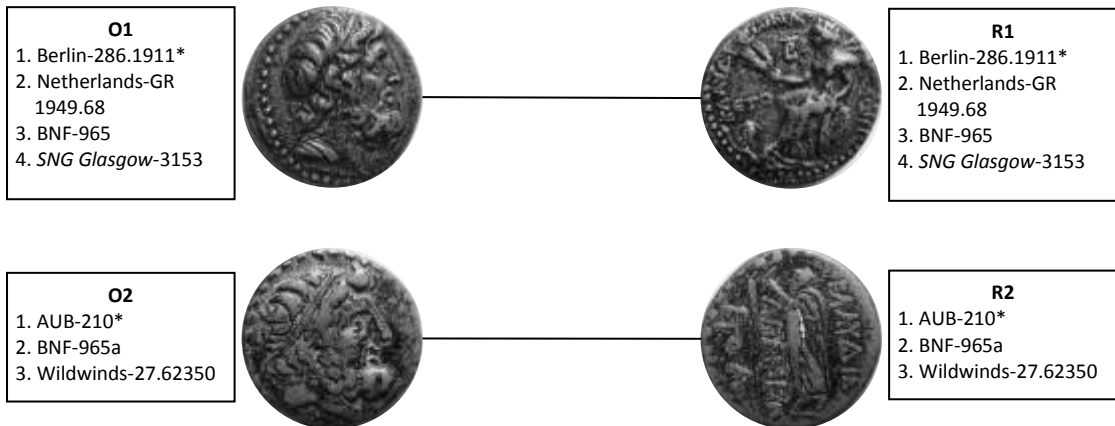
Apamea/Tiberius			
Specimen	Reverse type	Obverse die	Reverse die
Belgium-896	Nike right	1	1
BNF-964	Nike right	1	1
<i>SNG Glasgow</i> -3152	Nike right	1	1
BM-1986.4.34.16	Nike left	1	2
AUB-209	Athena advancing	2	3
<i>Lindgren III</i> -1178	Athena advancing	2	3
<i>SNG Glasgow</i> -3149	Athena advancing	2	4

Table 41: List of obverse and reverse dies for the coins of Tiberius minted in Apamea.

c. Claudius

Similar to the two emperors above, Apamea minted two types under Claudius: Zeus/seated Tyche and Zeus/Nike. Four coins have been documented for the former and three for the latter. A statistical analysis was not conducted on the issues of this emperor, since only a single pair of dies has been recorded for each type. Once again, a separate obverse die was used with each reverse type. The two issues

are stylistically different from one another, implying that the engraver of the two was not the same person, despite the fact that there was a lapse of only a single year between the two issues. The issues under Claudius, for both silver and bronze, are quite rare and it may be very likely that only a single pair of dies was used for each type.



Apamea/Claudius			
Specimen	Type	Obverse die	Reverse die
Berlin-286.1911	Zeus/Tyche	1	1
Netherlands-GR 1949.68	Zeus/Tyche	1	1
BNF-965	Zeus/Tyche	1	1
<i>SNG Glasgow</i> -3153	Zeus/Tyche	1	1
AUB-210	Zeus/Nike	2	2
BNF-965a	Zeus/Nike	2	2
Wildwinds-27.62350	Zeus/Nike	2	2

Table 42: List of obverse and reverse dies for the coins of Claudius minted in Apamea.

2. Larissa

Two types were minted in Larissa –Zeus/throne and Tyche/horse– both of which were marked by the same Seleucid date $ZK\Sigma = 227 = 86/85$ BC, indicating that it was a relatively short-lived production not exceeding the span of a year. This observation is also corroborated by the results of the die study, whereby only one obverse die was noted for each of the two types. Additionally, the small number of

surviving specimens also shows the above to be true. Sixteen specimens of the Zeus/throne type and only five of the Tyche/horse type were collected.

a. Zeus/throne

Only 12 of the 16 documented specimens of the Zeus/throne type were used in this study, as four coins were excluded due to their poor quality. A single obverse die and six reverse dies were identified:

n	d _o	d _r	D _o	D _r	d _o /D _o	d _r /D _r	n/d _o	n/d _r	D _r /D _o	e
12	1	6	1.09	12	92%	50%	12	2	11	6

b. Tyche/horse

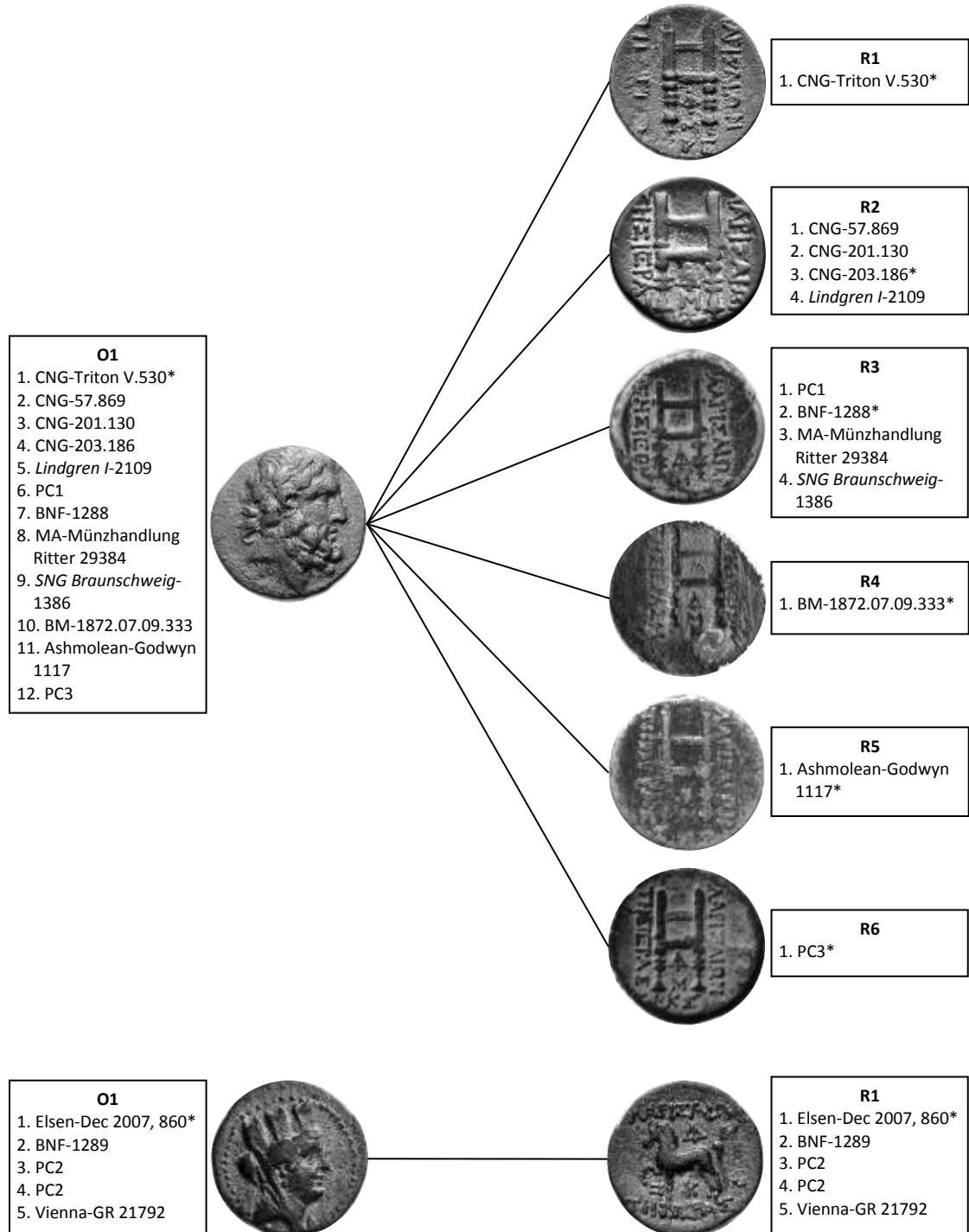
For the Tyche/horse type five specimens struck from the same pair of dies were recorded, all of which were included in the study:

n	d _o	d _r	D _o	D _r	d _o /D _o	d _r /D _r	n/d _o	n/d _r	D _r /D _o	e
5	1	1	1.25	1.25	80%	80%	5	5	1	1

The above estimates show that in most likelihood only one obverse die was used for the Zeus/throne type. This obverse die seems to have lasted for a relatively long time, for it was used with at least six reverse dies. In fact, the index measuring the average number of coins struck from the obverse die is considerably high at 12 coins per die.

For the sake of completeness, a statistical analysis was conducted on the smaller type also, but the fact that this type was struck from only a single pair of dies shows that it had a significantly smaller production than its heavier counterpart. It should be reminded here that because the samples used for both analyses are small, some of the results obtained may be distorted. But even though the margin of error increases when a small number of coins are used, the above statistics show that the

available sample is quite complete and the original population seems to have been small indeed. This observation is also backed by the fact that all the coins are dated to a single year only.



Larissa			
Specimen	Type	Obverse die	Reverse die
CNG-Triton V.530	Zeus/throne	1	1
CNG-57.869	Zeus/throne	1	2
CNG-201.130	Zeus/throne	1	2
CNG-203.186	Zeus/throne	1	2
<i>Lindgren I-2109</i>	Zeus/throne	1	2
PC1	Zeus/throne	1	3
BNF-1288	Zeus/throne	1	3
MA-Münzhandlung Ritter 29384	Zeus/throne	1	3
<i>SNG Braunschweig-1386</i>	Zeus/throne	1	3
BM-1872.07.09.333	Zeus/throne	1	4
Ashmolean-Godwyn 1117	Zeus/throne	1	5
PC3	Zeus/throne	1	6
Elsen-Dec 2007, 860	Tyche/horse	1	1
BNF-1289	Tyche/horse	1	1
PC2	Tyche/horse	1	1
PC2	Tyche/horse	1	1
Vienna-GR 21792	Tyche/horse	1	1

Table 43: List of obverse and reverse dies for the coins of Larissa.

3. Raphanea

Raphanea minted coins only during the reign of Elagabalus. The obverse of these coins depicts the laureate or radiate bust of the Emperor and, less commonly, the bare head of Severus Alexander (as Caesar under Elagabalus). The reverse depicts the standing or seated genius of the city. A smaller unique coin has a bull on the reverse and the bust of Elagabalus on the obverse. The ethnic of the city is inscribed using two varieties: $\text{PE}\Phi\text{ANE}\Omega\text{N}$ and $\text{PE}\Phi\text{ANE}\Omega\text{T}\Omega\text{N}$. In total, 80 coins were used in the study with another 20 excluded due to their unsatisfactory condition:

n	d_o	d_r	D_o	D_r	d_o/D_o	d_r/D_r	n/d_o	n/d_r	D_r/D_o	e
80	15	42	18.46	88.42	81%	48%	5.33	1.90	4.79	51

The statistics indicate that a good deal of the obverse dies has been accounted for, but only half of the reverse dies have thus far been documented. The ratio of reverse to obverse dies stands at nearly 5 to 1.

Initially, die studies of each of the above types –Elagabalus, Severus Alexander, seated genius and standing genius– were conducted separately, since it was believed that each was an independent issue representing different denominations or that they were chronologically separate issues. However, based on the die link results (see chart below) it soon became evident that all of the above types were minted more or less at the same time and place. For this reason, all the coins of Raphanea, regardless of the obverse and reverse images, were treated as a single sample in the statistical analysis (with the exclusion of the unique bull type).

Regarding the obverses, the die links establish that the dies engraved with the busts of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander were used interchangeably when minting the coins, and for the reverses the same held true for the seated and standing genius types. The same observation is also true for both ethnic varieties. The use of different portraits, ethnics and reverse types interchangeably is best seen in the die group from O9-R21 to O15-R42.

The above observation shows that traditional approaches to the classification of a particular coinage by type may not necessarily reveal the structure of that coinage. When two separate types are noted for a particular mint, it is often assumed that they either represent two different denominations or that they indicate a chronological sequence, with one type replacing the other. The die links of Raphanea clearly show that the two reverse types were not differentiated and that one did not follow the other chronologically. The same argument holds true for the inscriptions, whereby both varieties were used concurrently, showing that both ethnics were simultaneously used in the city, at least on an official level. It is also customarily understood that types portraying members of the imperial family or appointed Caesars were reserved for smaller denominations. However, in the case of Raphanea, the

portrait of the Emperor and his Caesar were depicted on coins of the same denomination.⁸ Yet another random choice for these coins was the depiction of the Emperor either laureate or radiate. Once again, the two varieties seem to have been used indiscriminately. In the case of coins of northern Syria, it has been shown that the radiate imperial bust did not denote a difference in denomination;⁹ this also has been proven to be true in the case of Raphanea further south.

The case of Raphanea shows that although types do have significance, they are not necessarily denominational or chronological in nature. The choice of different varieties in the imagery may have been purely aesthetic. It may also have been the case that one was preferred over the other by a particular die engraver. On this note, an attempt was made to distinguish stylistic differences between the dies with the PEΦANEΩN variety and that of PEΦANEΩTΩN, but no distinguishing differences were found.

Although it has been established that all the types and varieties were minted at the same time and place, it is clear that the seated genius type and that of Severus Alexander were minted in smaller quantities based on estimates of the dies produced. Seven specimens of the seated genius have been documented struck from five dies:

n	d _r	D _r	d _r /D _r	n/d _r	e
7	5	17.5	29%	1.4	5

And only three dies have been noted from a total of 17 specimens depicting the bust of Severus Alexander:

⁸ This aspect is also true for the issues of Botrys, where coins depicting the bust of Elagabalus and those of Severus Alexander (as Caesar) minted concurrently in AD 221/222 are of the same denomination (Sawaya 2006, p. 173, Table 2).

⁹ *CRS*, 126.

n	d _o	D _o	d _o /D _o	n/d _o	e
17	3	3.64	82%	5.66	8

The data indicates that there is a small chance that more obverse dies of Severus Alexander may come to light, but the seated genius type seems to be underrepresented in the available sample and therefore more reverse dies are likely to emerge. The fact that obverse dies had a longer life span probably explains why less dies depicting Severus Alexander were prepared than those depicting a seated genius.

The information available thus far indicates that minting of coins in Raphanea commenced during the later years of Elagabalus' reign, perhaps to commemorate the appointment of Severus Alexander as Caesar. Two reverse dies (R34 and R42) bear the Seleucid date ΒΛΦ = 532 which places the coins in the year AD 220/221, when Severus Alexander was Caesar under Elagabalus.¹⁰ Ronde, discussing a coin with the portrait of Severus Alexander,¹¹ reads the date ΛΓΦ = 533 = AD 221/222, which again would not contradict the fact that the coins were minted during the caesarship of Severus Alexander. The die links also imply that minting occurred during the later phase of Elagabalus' reign. Two other coins struck from the same reverse die (R16) are also inscribed with a date in the exergue, perhaps ΑΛΦ = 531 = AD 219/220, but this remains unconfirmed. If future finds verify this date, then the hypothesis that minting commenced after Alexander's caesarship will no longer be valid.¹² In fact, the issues of Botrys under Elagabalus were minted in AD 218/219 (Elagabalus), 219/220 (Elagabalus), 220/221 (Elagabalus and Julia Soaemias) and

¹⁰ Alexander's caesarship is placed from June 221 to March 222 (Kienast 1996, 177).

¹¹ Ronde 2007.

¹² It may simply be the case that Raphanea started minting as part of the region-wide proliferation of minting in this period.

221/222 (Elagabalus and Severus Alexander), thus covering the entire span of the Emperor's reign, and not only the period after Alexander's caesarship.¹³

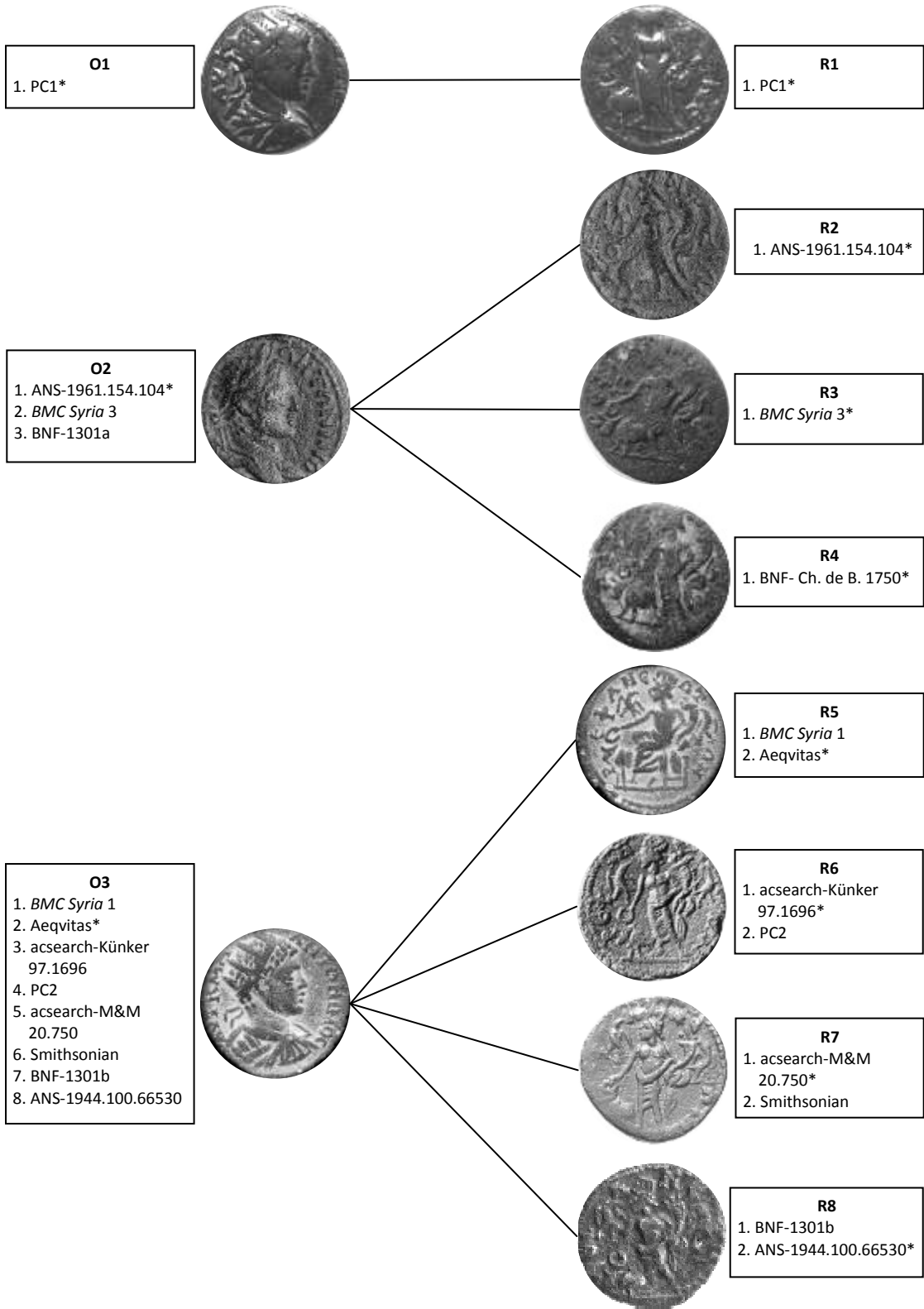
A number of authors have attributed coins of Raphanea to Caracalla.¹⁴ This attribution is of course incorrect and has been hereby disproved by the die links. For example, *BMC* attributes a coin of Raphanea to Caracalla (*BMC Syria*, p. 267, no. 1), but the die links have shown that the coin in question (O10-R24) is linked to several coins already attributed to Elagabalus.

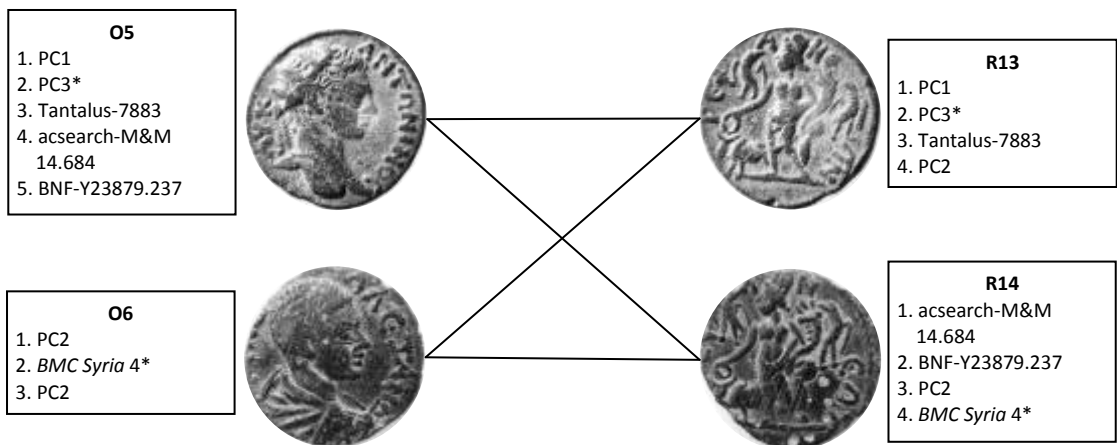
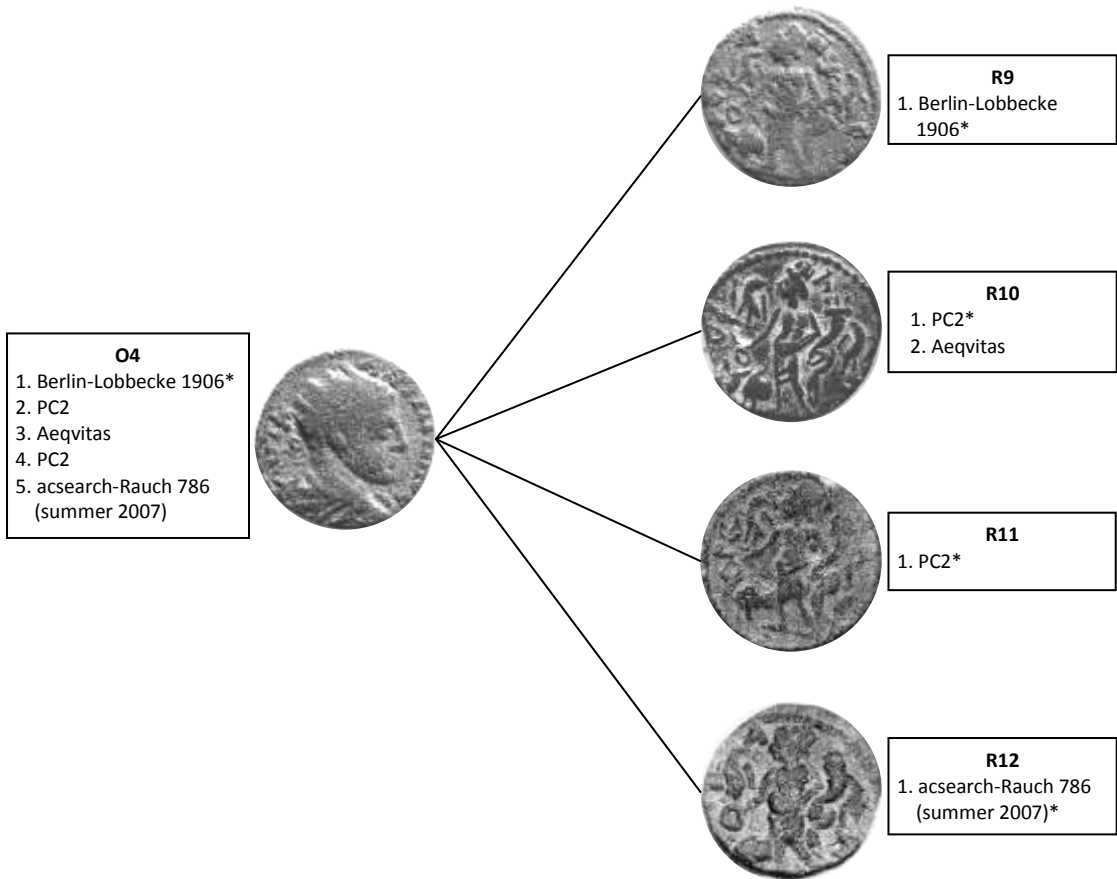
Of all the die studies conducted and presented in this chapter, those of Raphanea have the greatest number of links. For this reason, a line-drawing diagram has been prepared and displayed herewith to demonstrate the complex die link combinations and the relationship between the different varieties: seated/standing, laureate/radiate, ΠΕΦΑΝΕΩΝ/ΠΕΦΑΝΕΩΤΩΝ. A die chart with coin images has also been provided below. Note that a dashed line is used when connecting a die on one page to a die on the next page. An attempt has been made to display the links with the least number of lines crossing over one another. However, for some links this was unavoidable. These 'cross-overs' imply that two workstations were in use, an occurrence not uncommon for the time period.¹⁵

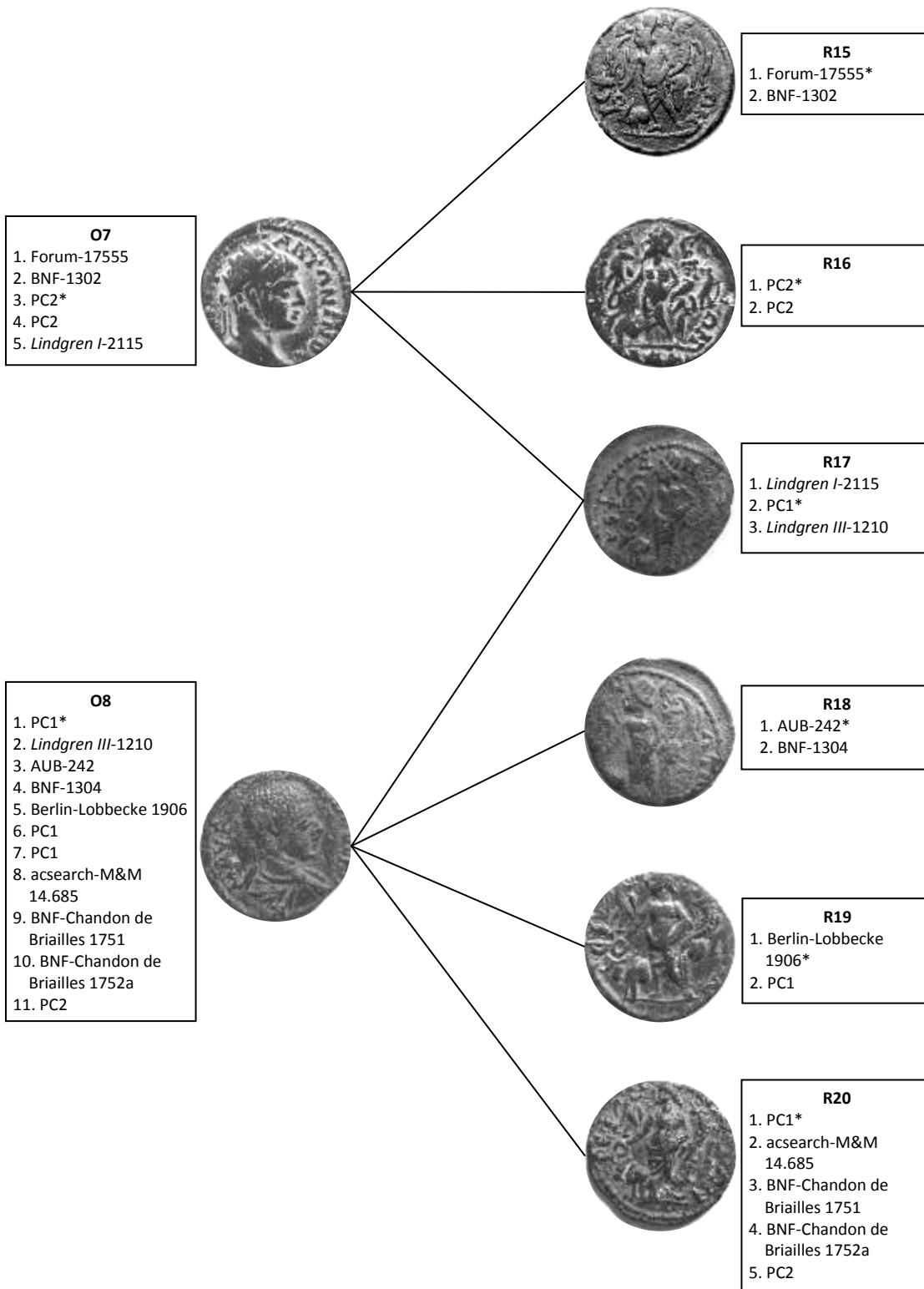
¹³ Sawaya 2006, 166.

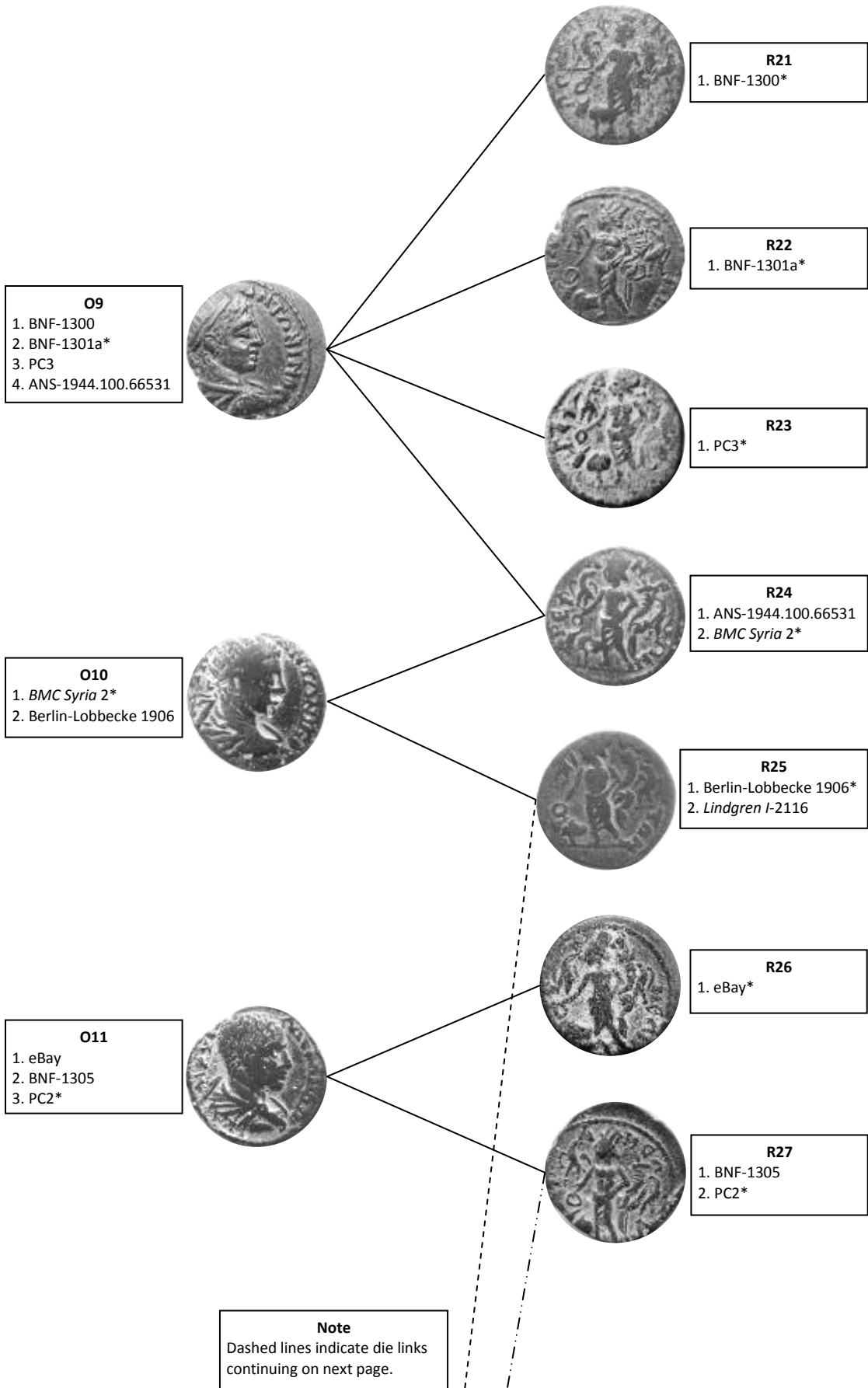
¹⁴ *BMC Syria*, 267; *SNG Righetti*, nos. 2129 and 2130; Augé 2000, 165; Ronde 2007, 167; Gschwind *et al.* 2009, 281.

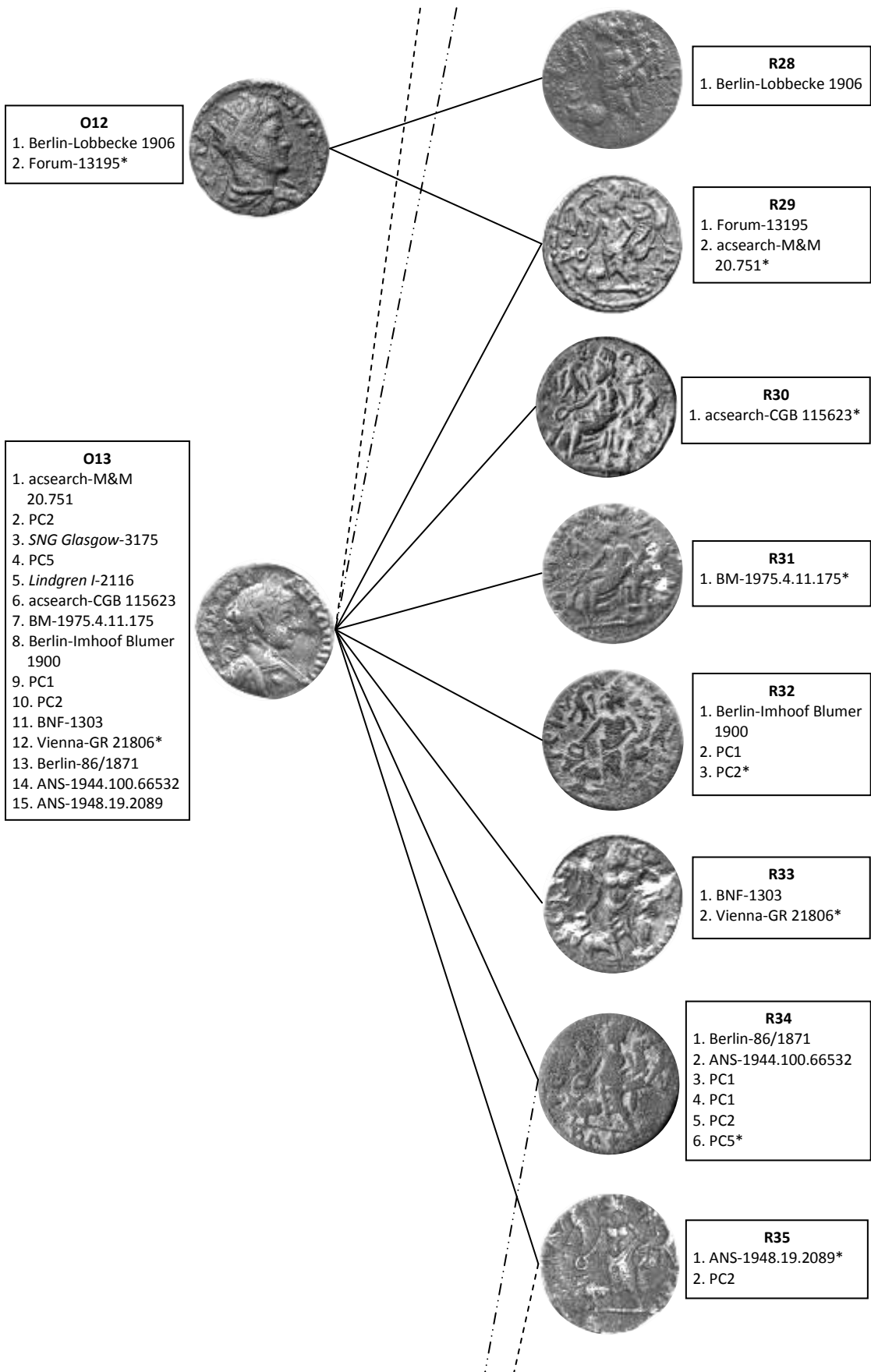
¹⁵ Personal communication with Robert Bracey.











- O14**
1. PC2
 2. BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1747
 3. Vcoins-Kovacs 4538*
 4. PC2



- R36**
1. BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1747
 2. Vcoins-Kovacs 4538*



- R37**
1. PC2*



- R38**
1. BNF-1301*



- R39**
1. PC5*

- O15**
1. PC1
 2. PC1
 3. PC2
 4. PC5
 5. BNF-1301*
 6. PC5
 7. acsearch-M&M 14.683
 8. BNF-1300
 9. Aeqvitas



- R40**
1. acsearch-M&M 14.683*



- R41**
1. BNF-1300*



- R42**
1. Aeqvitas*

Raphanea/Elagabalus				
Specimen	Obverse type	Reverse type	Obverse die	Reverse die
PC1	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	1	1
ANS-1961.154.104	Elagabalus/laureate	standing genius	2	2
<i>BMC Syria</i> 3	Elagabalus/laureate	standing genius	2	3
BNF- Ch. de B. 1750	Elagabalus/laureate	standing genius	2	4
<i>BMC Syria</i> 1	Elagabalus/radiate	seated genius	3	5
Aeqvitas	Elagabalus/radiate	seated genius	3	5
Künker 97.1696	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	3	6
PC2	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	3	6
acsearch-M&M-20.750	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	3	7
Smithsonian	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	3	7
BNF-1301b	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	3	8
ANS-1944.100.66530	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	3	8
Berlin-Löbbecke 1906	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	4	9
PC2	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	4	10
Aeqvitas	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	4	10
PC2	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	4	11
acsearch-Rauch 786	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	4	12
PC1	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	5	13
PC3	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	5	13
Tantalus-7883	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	5	13
acsearch-M&M 14.684	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	5	14
BNF-Y23879.237	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	5	14
PC2	Severus Alexander	standing genius	6	13
<i>BMC Syria</i> 4	Severus Alexander	standing genius	6	14
PC2	Severus Alexander	standing genius	6	14
Forum-17555	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	7	15
BNF-1302	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	7	15
PC2	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	7	16
PC2	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	7	16
<i>Lindgren I</i> -2115	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	7	17
PC1	Severus Alexander	standing genius	8	17
<i>Lindgren III</i> -1210	Severus Alexander	standing genius	8	17
AUB-242	Severus Alexander	standing genius	8	18
BNF-1304	Severus Alexander	standing genius	8	18
Berlin-Löbbecke 1906	Severus Alexander	standing genius	8	19
PC1	Severus Alexander	standing genius	8	19
PC1	Severus Alexander	standing genius	8	20
acsearch-M&M 14.685	Severus Alexander	standing genius	8	20
BNF- Ch. de B. 1751	Severus Alexander	standing genius	8	20
BNF- Ch. de B. 1752a	Severus Alexander	standing genius	8	20
PC2	Severus Alexander	standing genius	8	20
BNF-1300	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	9	21
BNF-1301a	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	9	22
PC3	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	9	23

ANS-1944.100.66531	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	9	24
<i>BMC Syria 2</i>	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	10	24
Berlin-Löbbecke 1906	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	10	25
eBay	Severus Alexander	standing genius	11	26
BNF-1305	Severus Alexander	standing genius	11	27
PC2	Severus Alexander	standing genius	11	27
Berlin-Löbbecke 1906	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	12	28
Forum-13195	Elagabalus/radiate	standing genius	12	29
acsearch-M&M 20.751	Elagabalus/laureate	standing genius	13	29
PC2	Elagabalus/laureate	standing genius	13	27
<i>SNG Glasgow-3175</i>	Elagabalus/laureate	standing genius	13	27
PC5	Elagabalus/laureate	standing genius	13	27
<i>Lindgren I-2116</i>	Elagabalus/laureate	standing genius	13	25
acsearch-CGB 115623	Elagabalus/laureate	seated genius	13	30
BM-1975.4.11.175	Elagabalus/laureate	seated genius	13	31
Berlin-Imhoof 1900	Elagabalus/laureate	standing genius	13	32
PC1	Elagabalus/laureate	standing genius	13	32
PC2	Elagabalus/laureate	standing genius	13	32
BNF-1303	Elagabalus/laureate	standing genius	13	33
Vienna-GR 21806	Elagabalus/laureate	standing genius	13	33
Berlin-86/1871	Elagabalus/laureate	standing genius	13	34
ANS-1944.100.66532	Elagabalus/laureate	standing genius	13	34
ANS-1948.19.2089	Elagabalus/laureate	standing genius	13	35
PC2	Elagabalus/laureate	standing genius	14	35
BNF-Ch. de B. 1747	Elagabalus/laureate	seated genius	14	36
Vcoins-Kovacs 4538	Elagabalus/laureate	seated genius	14	36
PC2	Elagabalus/laureate	standing genius	14	37
PC1	Elagabalus/laureate	standing genius	15	34
PC1	Elagabalus/laureate	standing genius	15	34
PC2	Elagabalus/laureate	standing genius	15	34
PC5	Elagabalus/laureate	standing genius	15	34
BNF-1301	Elagabalus/laureate	seated genius	15	38
PC5	Elagabalus/laureate	standing genius	15	39
acsearch-M&M 14.683	Elagabalus/laureate	standing genius	15	40
BNF-1300	Elagabalus/laureate	standing genius	15	41
Aeqvitas	Elagabalus/laureate	standing genius	15	42

Table 44: List of obverse and reverse dies for the coins of Raphanea.

4. Emesa

a. Antoninus Pius

The primary reason a die study was conducted on the bronzes of Antoninus Pius was to find an explanation for the numeral letters on the reverse of these coins:

A, B, Γ, Δ, E, ζ and Z. A secondary goal was to find the relationship between the three types –perched eagle, sun god and seated Tyche– minted under this emperor. The latter goal was immediately achieved as a result of the die study, whereby the die links revealed that the perched eagle and sun god types were initially minted together, after which the seated Tyche type replaced the sun god and continued to be minted concurrently with the perched eagle type. This finding, in addition to the results obtained from the metrological data of all three types (see Metrology and Denominations chapter), demonstrates that they all represent a single denomination. Regarding the main goal related to the numeral letters, no definitive explanation became evident from the die studies. However, the die links did provide some progress towards explaining their function.

Greek numeral letters were a common feature of second century coins of Syria, starting with the reign of Domitian and up to the reign of Caracalla.¹⁶ However, despite several studies, no definitive explanation has been provided (see the detailed discussion in the Production chapter). The die links indicate that the numeral letters on the coins of Emesa have a chronological significance and that they were produced in the same location (see explanation below). The study indicates that these numeral letters might represent batch numbers, perhaps as a means of controlling production.¹⁷ Certain die links (O2-R11 to O4-R13) have die combinations (linking lines) crossing over one another, which implies that more than one workstation was in use. Additionally, the fact that certain obverse die links exist between different batches (listed below) implies that the coins were produced in the same location. The idea that

¹⁶ *CRS*, 14, 35, 236.

¹⁷ Although this finding may hold true for Emesa, it may not necessarily be the case for all other mints where these numeral letters occur.

the numeral letters represent isolated *officinae* can also be excluded based on the case of the zeta, which seems to have originally been gamma (see below). It would only be reasonable to assume that new *officinae* were added to keep up with an increase in demand for production, and therefore it would be illogical to set up an entire ‘Zeta *officina*’ just to strike a few coins (known by two specimens only).

Some batches, such as B and Γ, had a relatively big production based on the number of surviving specimens and number of obverse/reverse dies produced. Other batches, such as ζ and Z, had a small production and seem to have been short-lived, as can be discerned from the table below:

Numeral letter	No. of specimens	No. of obverse dies	No. of reverse dies
A	13	1	8
B	24	5	13
Γ	12	8	11
Δ	13	3	9
E	12	3	6
ζ	3	2	2
Z	2	2	2

Table 45: List providing number of specimens and number of obverse and reverse dies for each batch group minted in Emesa under Antoninus Pius.

Table 45 indicates that production under Antoninus Pius began with a moderate output and then quickly increased, but subsided considerably towards the end. The gamma batch seems to have been the most prolific based on the number of obverse and reverse dies recorded, followed by the Beta batch. Interestingly, gamma has die links with delta (see O10-R25 to O11-R30) and stigma (O7-R22 to O8-R24), in addition to a particular case where a die with the gamma symbol was re-cut to accommodate a zeta (R24, Figure 20). A link was also established between beta and

zeta (O6-R20 and O6-R21), and also between stigma and zeta (O8-R23 and O9-R24).¹⁸

Thus, the links identified among the various numeral letters are: Γ with Δ ; Γ with ζ ; Γ with Z; B with Z; ζ with Z. These five links show a connection, either directly or indirectly, between B, Γ , Δ , ζ and Z, with the exclusion of A and E. It would not be surprising if future finds provide a link

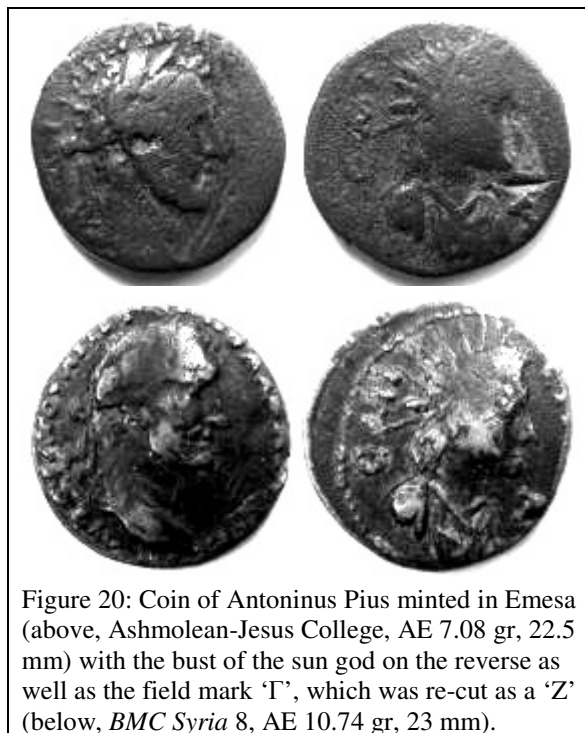


Figure 20: Coin of Antoninus Pius minted in Emesa (above, Ashmolean-Jesus College, AE 7.08 gr, 22.5 mm) with the bust of the sun god on the reverse as well as the field mark 'Gamma', which was re-cut as a 'Z' (below, *BMC Syria* 8, AE 10.74 gr, 23 mm).

between the latter two groups and the former five.

In total, 73 coins were used in the die study (perched eagle right 62, sun god 8, seated Tyche 3), with ten omitted due to their poor condition:

n	d _o	d _r	D _o	D _r	d _o /D _o	d _r /D _r	n/d _o	n/d _r	D _r /D _o	e
73	19	48	25.69	140.16	74%	34%	3.84	1.52	5.46	56

These statistics were obtained when all the coins were studied as a single sample. A significant number of the obverse dies have been recorded, but the number for the reverse dies is rather low at 34%. Due to this low percentage, it is worth statistically analysing the reverses of the sun god and seated Tyche types as separate samples. In fact, of the ten coins not used in the study, five are of the sun god type and 3 of the seated Tyche, indicating that these types are certainly underrepresented in the

¹⁸ A die study on the issues of Trajan from Beroea, inscribed with the numeral letters A, B, Γ , Δ , E, ζ , Z and H, has shown a link between gamma and delta, with no other links recorded (personal communication with Kevin Butcher).

analysis. Fortunately, it was possible to identify the reverse dies, though the obverse dies remain unidentifiable (hence the reason they were excluded from the overall sample of 73 coins).

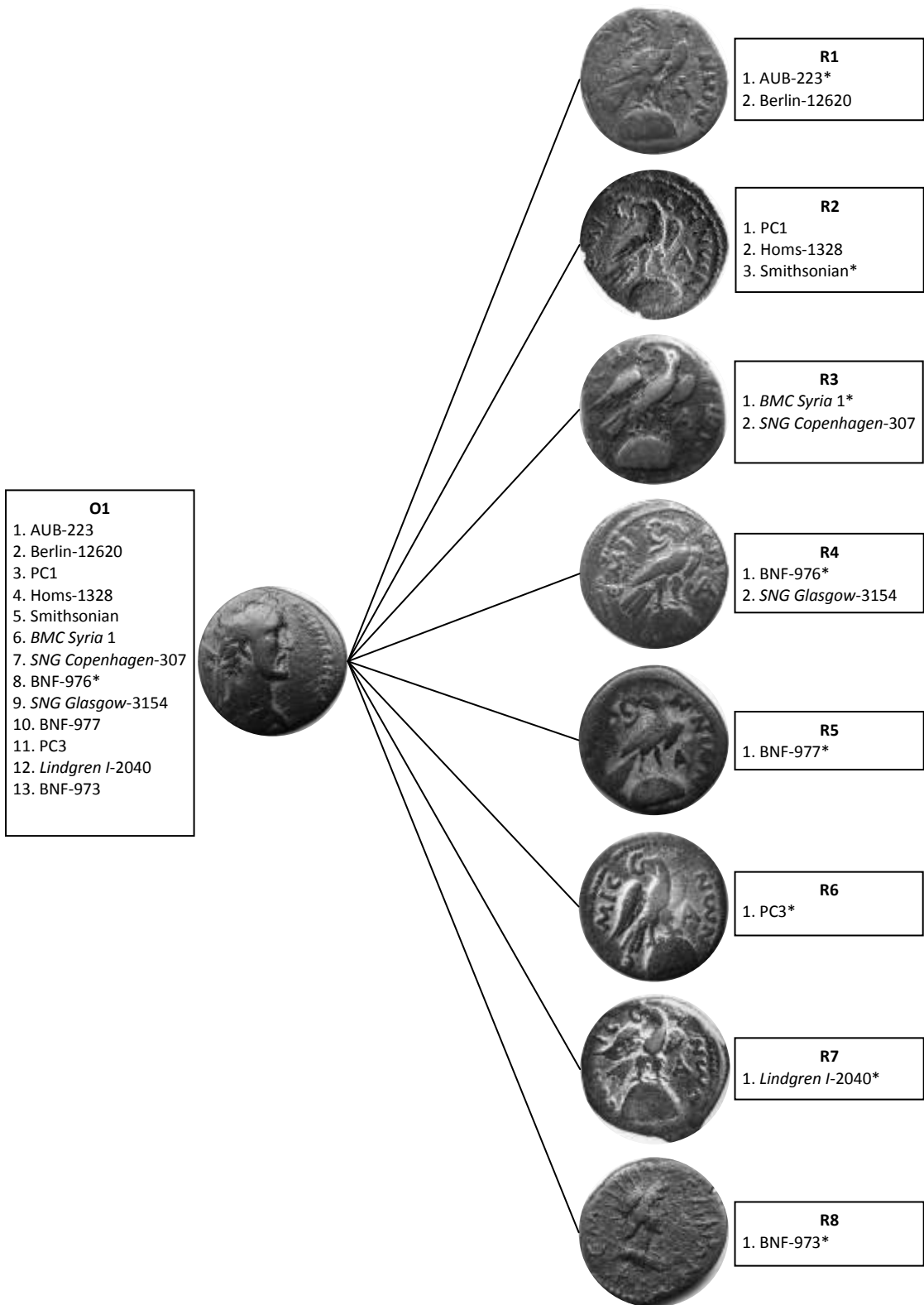
The sun god reverse has been analyzed as follows:

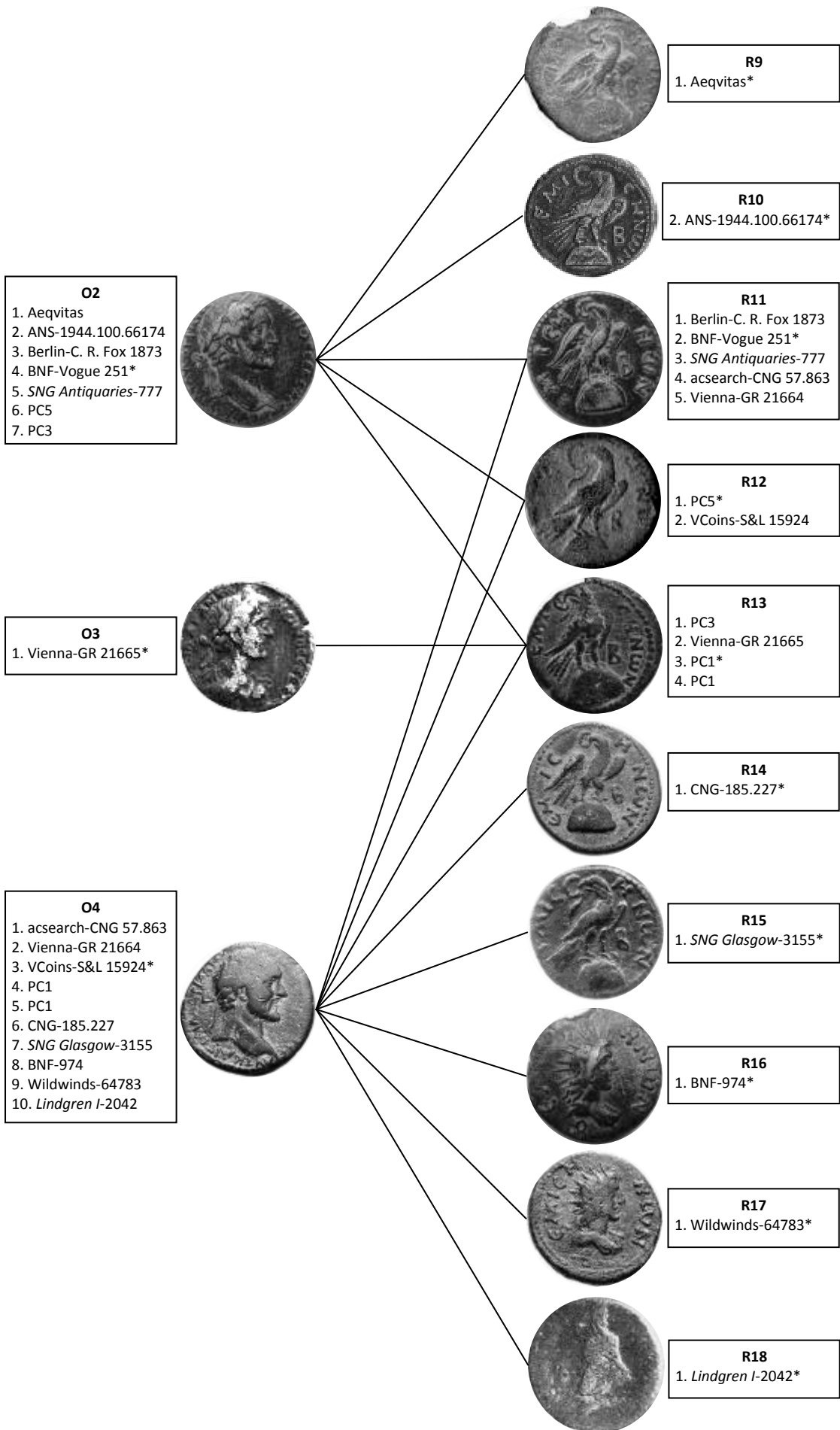
n	d_r	D_r	d_r/D_r	n/d_r
13	9	29.25	31%	1.44

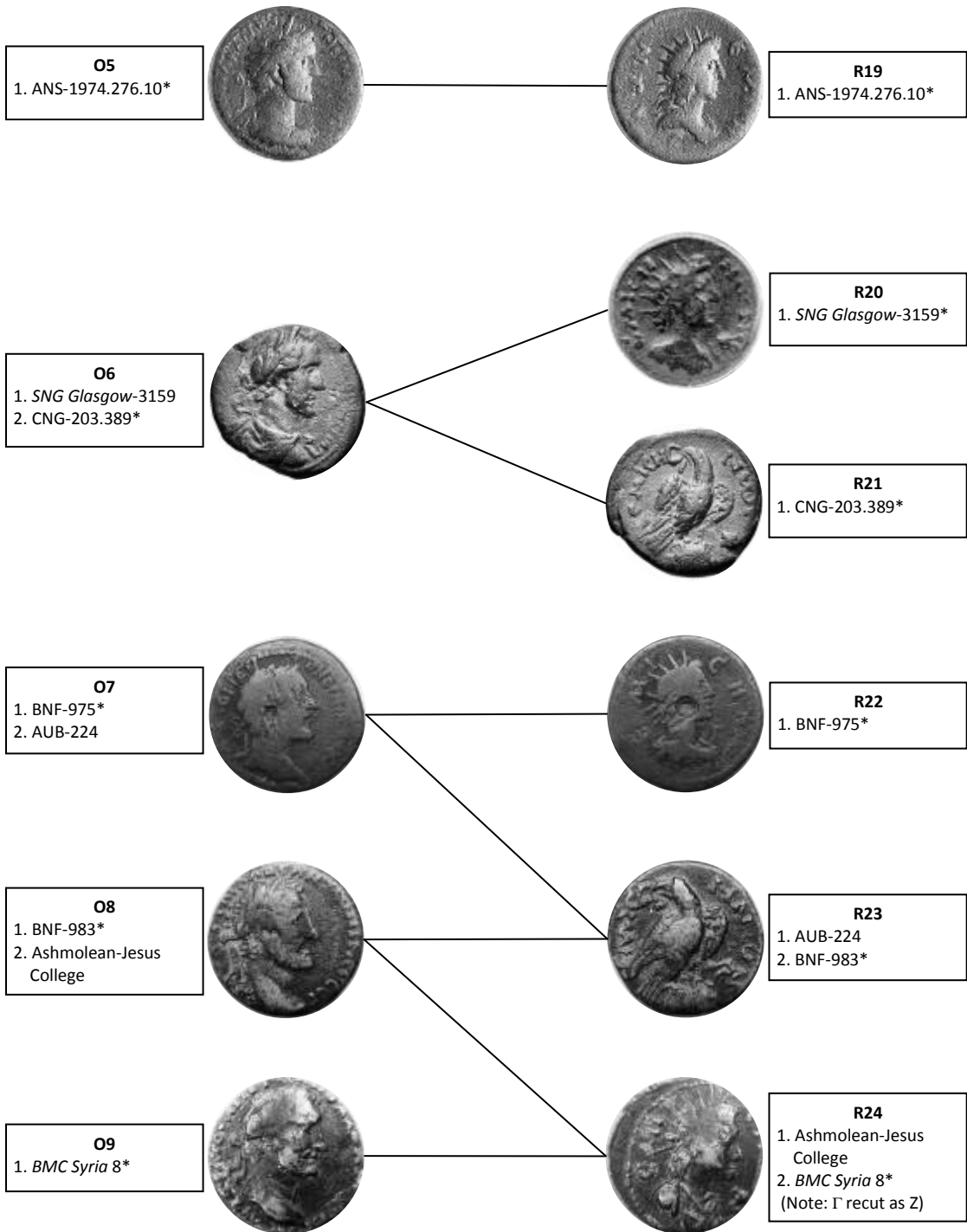
And the seated Tyche thus:

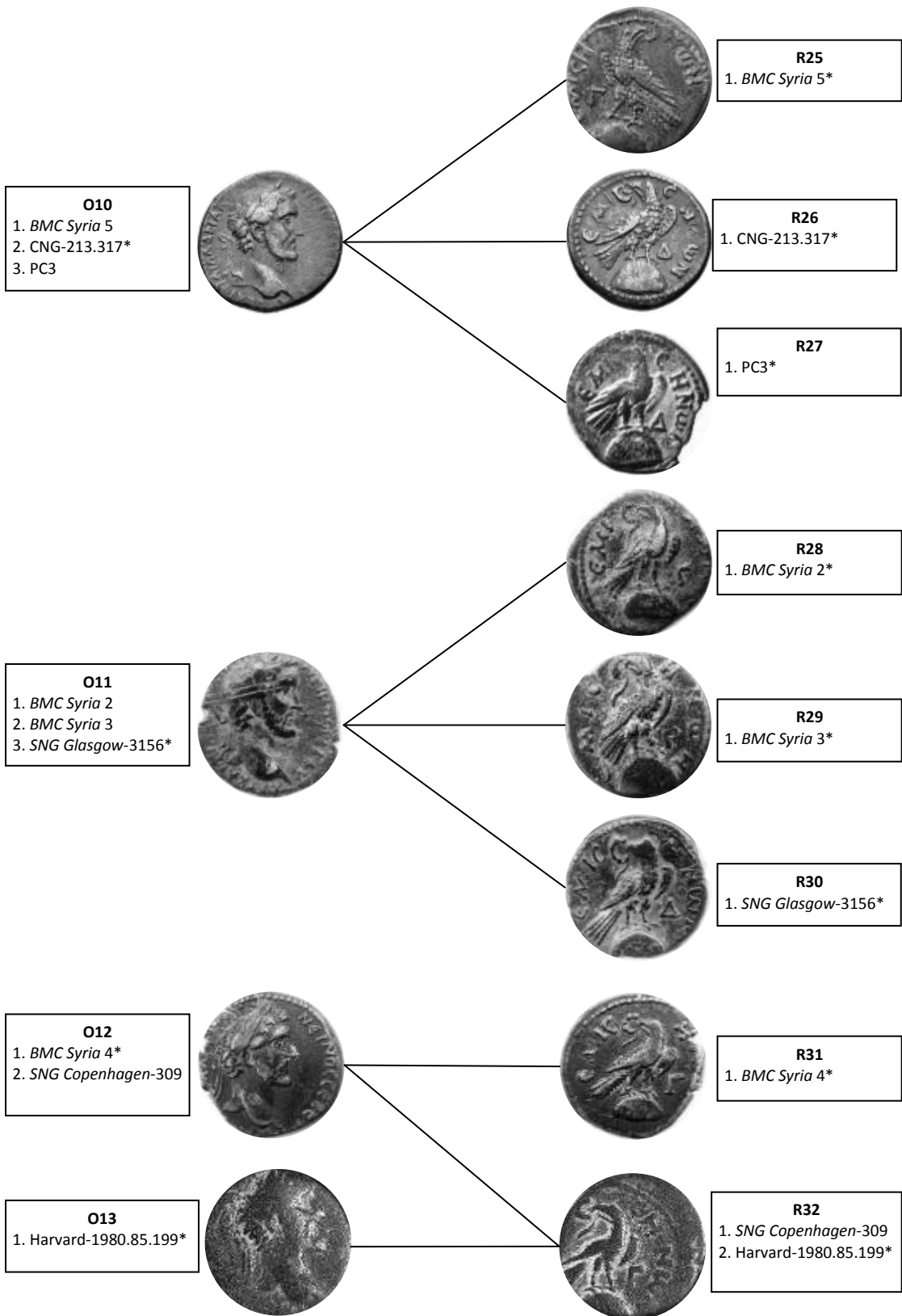
n	d_r	D_r	d_r/D_r	n/d_r
6	5	30	17%	1.2

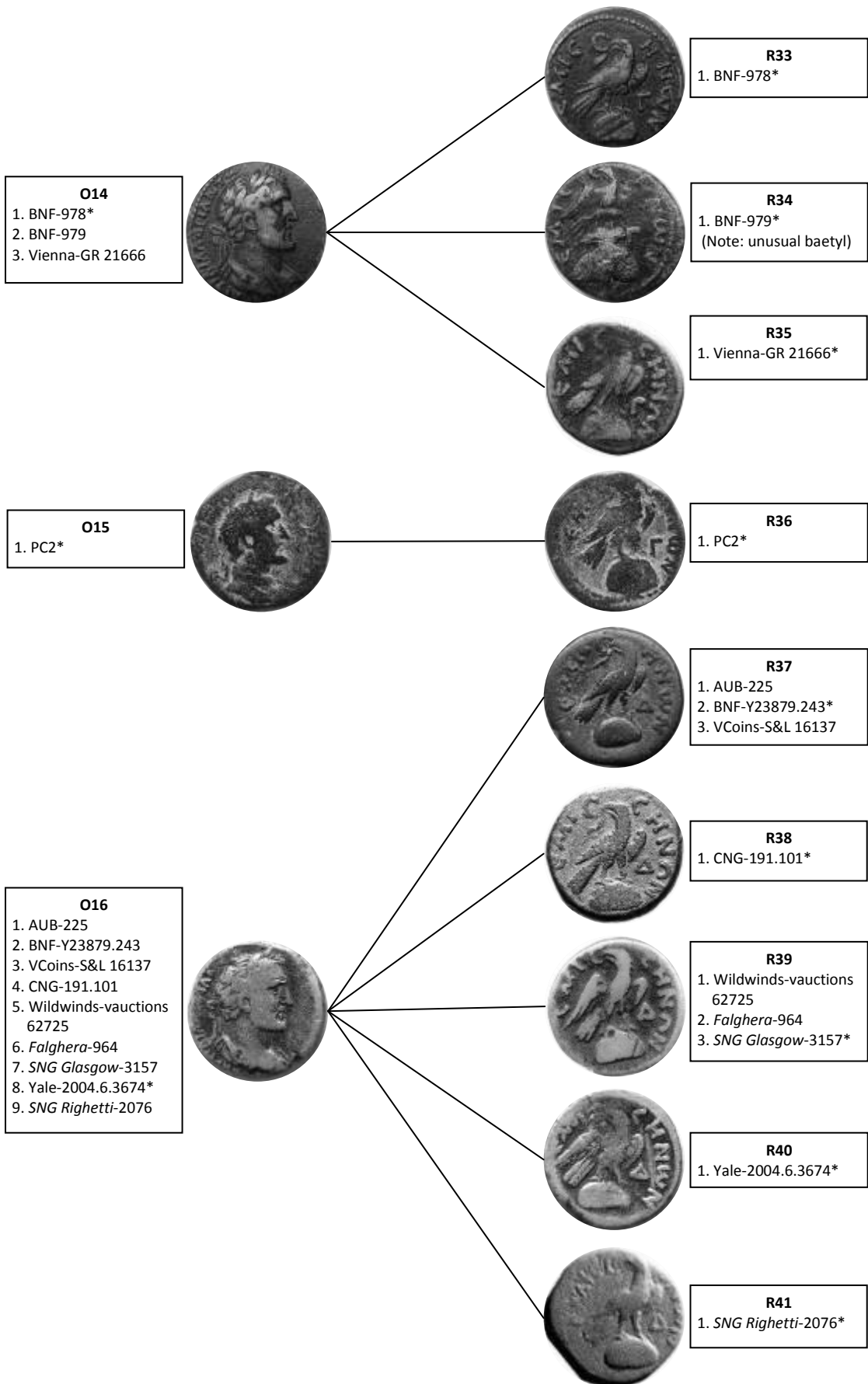
The statistics show that many more dies should be available and that both types seem to have been produced in similar quantities based on the estimated original number of reverse dies prepared. It is curious why both types survive in small numbers at present; the above statistics may be biased since the sample is small and therefore the results may not be a true representation of the actual number of dies produced.

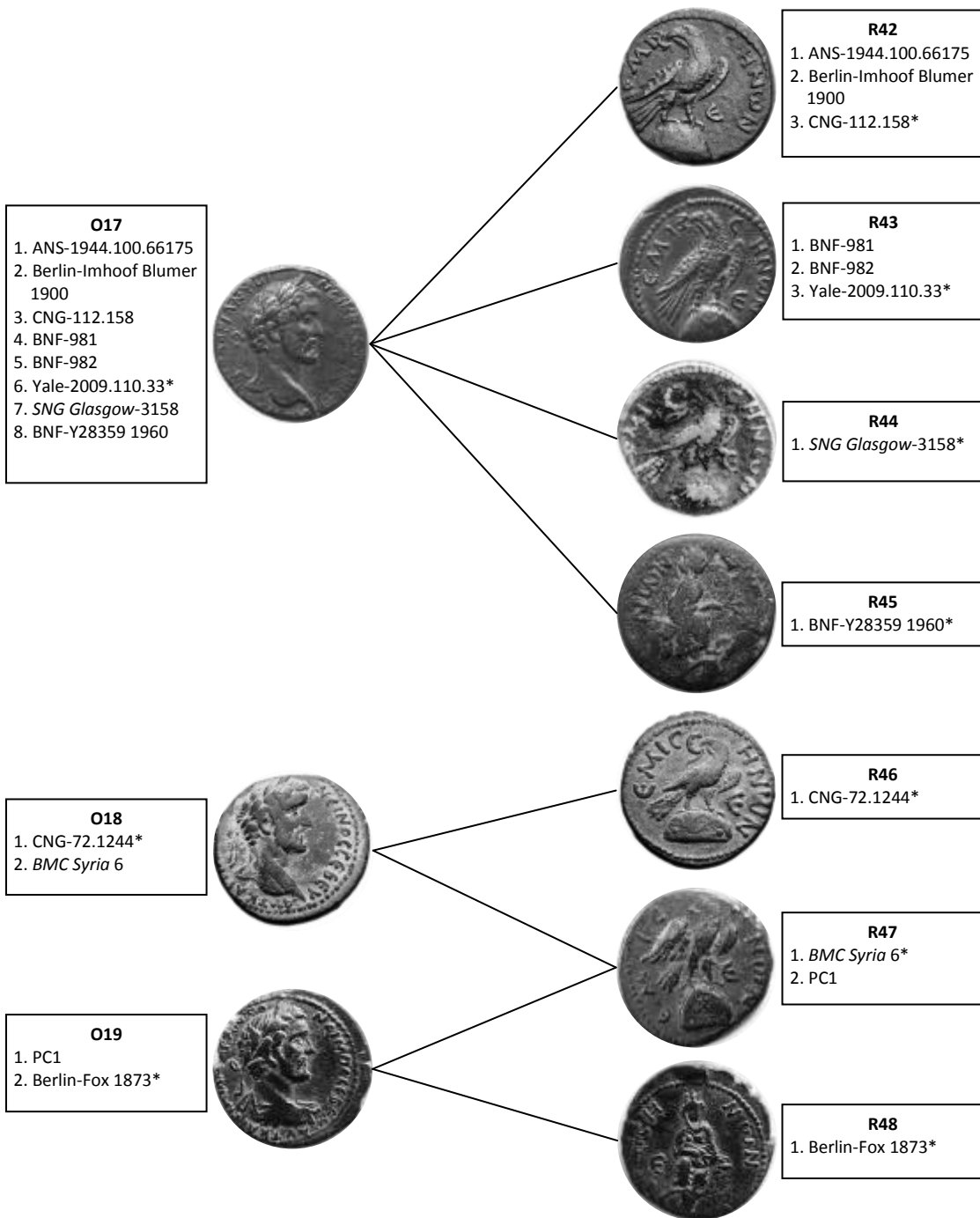












Emesa/Antoninus Pius				
Specimen	Symbol	Reverse type	Obverse die	Reverse die
AUB-223	A	perched right	1	1
Berlin-12620	A	perched right	1	1
PC1	A	perched right	1	2
Homs-1328	A	perched right	1	2
Smithsonian	A	perched right	1	2
<i>BMC Syria</i> 1	A	perched right	1	3

<i>SNG Copenhagen-307</i>	A	perched right	1	3
BNF-976	A	perched right	1	4
<i>SNG Glasgow-3154</i>	A	perched right	1	4
BNF-977	A	perched right	1	5
PC3	A	perched right	1	6
<i>Lindgren I-2040</i>	A	perched right	1	7
BNF-973	A	sun god	1	8
Aeqvitas	B	perched right	2	9
ANS-1944.100.66174	B	perched right	2	10
Berlin-C. R. Fox 1873	B	perched right	2	11
BNF-Vogue 251	B	perched right	2	11
<i>SNG Antiquaries-777</i>	B	perched right	2	11
PC5	B	perched right	2	12
PC3	B	perched right	2	13
Vienna-GR 21665	B	perched right	3	13
acsearch-CNG 57.863	B	perched right	4	11
Vienna-GR 21664	B	perched right	4	11
VCoins-S&L 15924	B	perched right	4	12
PC1	B	perched right	4	13
PC1	B	perched right	4	13
CNG-185.227	B	perched right	4	14
<i>SNG Glasgow-3155</i>	B	perched right	4	15
BNF-974	B	sun god	4	16
Wildwinds-64783	B	sun god	4	17
<i>Lindgren I-2042</i>	B	Tyche front	4	18
ANS-1974.276.10	B	sun god	5	19
<i>SNG Glasgow-3159</i>	B	sun god	6	20
CNG-203.389	Z	perched right	6	21
BNF-975	Γ	sun god	7	22
AUB-224	ς	perched right	7	23
BNF-983	ς	perched right	8	23
Ashmolean-Jesus College	Γ	sun god	8	24
<i>BMC Syria 8</i>	Z	sun god	9	24
<i>BMC Syria 5</i>	Γ	perched left	10	25
CNG-213.317	Δ	perched right	10	26
PC3	Δ	perched right	10	27
<i>BMC Syria 2</i>	Γ	perched right	11	28
<i>BMC Syria 3</i>	Γ	perched right	11	29
<i>SNG Glasgow-3156</i>	Δ	perched right	11	30
<i>BMC Syria 4</i>	Γ	perched right	12	31
<i>SNG Copenhagen-309</i>	Γ	perched right	12	32
Harvard-1980.85.199	Γ	perched right	13	32
BNF-978	Γ	perched right	14	33
BNF-979	Γ	perched right	14	34
Vienna-GR 21666	Γ	perched right	14	35
PC2	Γ	perched right	15	36
AUB-225	Δ	perched right	16	37
BNF-Y23879.243	Δ	perched right	16	37

VCoins-S&L 16137	Δ	perched right	16	37
CNG-191.101	Δ	perched right	16	38
wildwinds-vauctions 62725	Δ	perched right	16	39
<i>Falghera-964</i>	Δ	perched right	16	39
<i>SNG Glasgow-3157</i>	Δ	perched right	16	39
Yale-2004.6.3674	Δ	perched right	16	40
<i>SNG Righetti-2076</i>	Δ	perched right	16	41
ANS-1944.100.66175	E	perched right	17	42
Berlin-Imhoof Blumer 1900	E	perched right	17	42
CNG-112.158	E	perched right	17	42
BNF-981	E	perched right	17	43
BNF-982	E	perched right	17	43
Yale-2009.110.33	E	perched right	17	43
<i>SNG Glasgow-3158</i>	E	perched right	17	44
BNF-Y28359 1960	E	Tyche right	17	45
CNG-72.1244	E	perched right	18	46
<i>BMC Syria 6</i>	E	perched right	18	47
PC1	E	perched right	19	47
Berlin-C. R. Fox 1873	E	Tyche front	19	48

Table 46: List of obverse and reverse dies for the coins of Antoninus Pius minted in Emesa.

b. Elagabalus

The use of Latin on the coins of Elagabalus is not unusual since Emesa was a colony in this period. However, to test whether the use of Latin in conjunction with Greek was merely a case of happenstance or a systematic and intentional occurrence, a die study was conducted on the bilingual coins. In these cases, Latin was used for the obverse inscriptions and Greek for the reverse. Two types were noted having bilingual inscriptions: prize-crown and seated Tyche.

Seven obverse dies with Latin inscriptions have been recorded for the prize-crown type and three for the seated Tyche, with an additional obverse die (O8) shared between the two. The fact that the two types share a die is not surprising since both belong to the same denomination (see Metrology and Denominations chapter). In total, 21 coins with bilingual inscriptions were used in the sample:

n	d _o	d _r	D _o	D _r	d _o /D _o	d _r /D _r	n/d _o	n/d _r	D _r /D _o
21	11	15	23.1	52.5	48%	29%	1.91	1.4	2.27

Apparently, only half of the Latin obverses have been documented, with estimates that the original number was around twice (23) what has been recorded thus far. This clearly shows that Latin inscriptions on the coins of Elagabalus were certainly intentional. The study also shows that the seated Tyche type systematically utilised Latin, since it was struck with four different obverse dies and therefore could not have been an isolated occurrence. No other Latin obverses at Emesa have been noted on the remaining coins minted under Elagabalus or any other emperor.

Emesa/Elagabalus - bilingual inscriptions			
Specimen	Reverse type	Obverse die	Reverse die
eBay	prize-crown	1	1
acsearch-M&M 20.630	prize-crown	2	2
acsearch-M&M 20.631	prize-crown	3	3
acsearch-M&M 20.633	prize-crown	4	4
CNG-191.105	prize-crown	5	5
PC5	prize-crown	6	6
BNF-1001	prize-crown	7	7
<i>SNG Glasgow-3170</i>	prize-crown	7	8
<i>VCoins-Sayles & Lavender 15967</i>	prize-crown	7	8
<i>SNG Glasgow-3171</i>	prize-crown	7	9
BNF-993	prize-crown	7	10
PC1	prize-crown	8	10
Aeqvitas	prize-crown	8	11
CNG-174.151	prize-crown	8	11
<i>BMC Syria 21</i>	prize-crown	8	11
<i>Lindgren I-2047</i>	prize-crown	8	11
Wildwinds-VAuctions 30563	prize-crown	8	12
BNF-Y23879.250	seated Tyche	8	13
PC1	seated Tyche	9	14
<i>Lindgren I-2049</i>	seated Tyche	10	14
ANS-1944.100.51967	seated Tyche	11	15

Table 47: List of obverse and reverse dies for the coins of Elagabalus with bilingual inscriptions minted in Emesa.

c. Tetradrachms

A die study has been conducted on the tetradrachms minted in Emesa during the reigns of Caracalla and Macrinus to quantify their output and to understand the significance of the symbols on the reverses. These symbols are as follows:

Caracalla: A, H, o, crescent (left, right, upward), pellet, no symbol

Domna: A, H, o, crescent (left, upward), Γ

Macrinus: A, H, o, crescent (left, upward), no symbol

Diadumenian: A, H, crescent (left)

It would be easy to consider these symbols *officina* marks, but the preliminary results from the die study indicate that they are the control marks of the issuing authorities (see below).¹⁹ The ‘A’, ‘H’, ‘o’ and ‘crescent’ symbols seem to have been the most prolific and used under both emperors, whereas other symbols such as the ‘pellet’ and ‘Γ’ were noted only for Caracalla and Julia Domna respectively.

The estimates show that many more dies were prepared than those identified in the sample, and therefore the number of coins used in the current study was insufficient to provide a comprehensive overview of these issues. Despite these limitations, some results have been attained. However, it would be premature to draw finite conclusions, since more die links will certainly emerge as more finds come to light. The statistics will be provided first, followed by a discussion.

The tetradrachms depicting the bust of Caracalla and those of Julia Domna were treated as a single sample, since both were minted concurrently based on the die links observed between them. In total, 37 obverse (Caracalla 28 and Julia Domna 9)

¹⁹ Although at first Prieur identified these symbols as *officina* marks (Prieur and Prieur 2000), he now considers them as signatures of the ruling elite families or magistrates in Emesa (personal communication).

and 70 reverse (Caracalla 50 and Julia Domna 20) dies were recorded from a total of 86 specimens (Caracalla 57 and Julia Domna 29), with another 15 unusable:

n	d _o	d _r	D _o	D _r	d _o /D _o	d _r /D _r	n/d _o	n/d _r	D _r /D _o
86	37	70	64.94	376.25	57%	19%	2.32	1.23	5.79

The tetradrachms with the busts of Macrinus and his son were also treated as a single sample. A total of 85 coins (Macrinus 79 and Diadumenian 6) were used in the study, with the exclusion of 36 due to their poor condition. The coins in the sample were struck from 39 obverses (Macrinus 36 and Diadumenian 3) and 69 reverses (Macrinus 65 and Diadumenian 4):

n	d _o	d _r	D _o	D _r	d _o /D _o	d _r /D _r	n/d _o	n/d _r	D _r /D _o
85	39	69	72.06	366.56	54%	19%	2.18	1.23	5.09

The statistics for the issues under the two emperors are remarkably similar. Both seem to have had a similar output, although it should be mentioned that more tetradrachms with the portrait of Macrinus are known than those with Caracalla. At first, it was presumed that tetradrachms of Caracalla were melted down or overstruck under Macrinus (thus their relative scarceness). In reality, this difference is due to the fact that significantly more tetradrachms with the portrait of Julia Domna were minted (thus supplementing the issues with the portrait of Caracalla) than that of Diadumenian (which supplement the issues of Macrinus).

A diagram of the die links is not displayed since only a very few die combinations were recorded and because the identified dies represent only a small portion of what was produced. However, a number of observations are noted providing a useful insight into the production of these coins, presented below:

Caracalla

‘A’ symbol (15 coins, 8 obverse dies, 15 reverse dies):

- From the 15 documented specimens belonging to this group an equal number of 15 reverse dies was identified, implying that this group had quite a substantial output.
- A reverse die of Julia Domna with a legend reading ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΞΟΥΣΙΑC was used in striking the reverse of a coin of Caracalla (acsearch-Lanz 132.425). This observation verifies that tetradrachms of Caracalla were struck concurrently with those of Julia Domna (more similar cases listed below).
- A specimen in the BNF (Chandon de Briailles 1906) has a reverse legend ending in ΥΠΑΤΟCΙΠΙ. This title (ΠΑΤΗΡ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟC) on tetradrachms of Caracalla is not known at any other mint, except on a *single* specimen from Tyre.²⁰ It may be the case that the coin is a mule struck in the reign of Macrinus using a reverse of his and an obverse of his predecessor. An attempt was made to identify a tetradrachm of Macrinus struck from this reverse die to confirm the above proposition, but none was found in the available sample.
- A coin in the British Museum (1897.1.4.2) has a ‘Λ’ on the reverse, but it should be considered as an ‘A’ with a missing horizontal bar. This conclusion has been drawn since a number of similar cases have also been documented for Macrinus, where tetradrachms with a ‘Λ’ have obverse die links with the ‘A’ group (see details below).

²⁰ Prieur 1552.

‘H’ symbol (11 coins, 4 obverse dies, 9 reverse dies):

- One of the coins in this group was also noted to have been struck using a reverse of Julia Domna (eBay-260068851552).

‘o’ symbol (10 coins, 4 obverse dies, 9 reverse dies):

- An obverse die of this group was used to strike coins of the ‘H’ group above. Seven coins of the ‘o’ group (acsearch-CGB 173709; Künker 97.1629; CNG-240.332; Forum-10736; *BMC Syria* 8; Yale-1938.6000.1024) and two coins of the ‘H’ group (acsearch-CGB 173704; Yale-2009.110.131) were struck using this obverse die, proving that the detected link is not an isolated case. This is the only instance where a link has been found between two different symbols.
- A coin of this group was struck using a reverse of Julia Domna (private collection).

‘Crescent’ symbol (16 coins, 9 obverse dies, 14 reverse dies):

- A specimen belonging to this group in a private collection was struck using a reverse prepared for Julia Domna (ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΞΟΥΚΙΑΚ).
- A coin with no symbol on the reverse (acsearch-CGB 173697) has an obverse die link with four other coins of this group, all of which were struck from different reverse dies with a crescent (Yale-1938.6000.1011; Yale-1938.6000.1012; acsearch-CGB 173714; Ashmolean-Bodleian). This implies that a crescent was most probably forgotten to be engraved on the die in question. Fourteen reverse dies were documented out of a total of sixteen coins, implying that this group, too, had a significant output. Thus, it may have

been the case that at least on one of the numerous reverse dies prepared for this group the symbol was forgotten to be added.

- Two coins (BNF-1989.341; Yale-1938.6000.1012) struck from the same pair of dies have as a reverse symbol two

interlocking crescents referred to as

‘double crescents’ (Figure 21).²¹ These

two coins share an obverse die with

four other coins of this group, all of

which have a crescent, and therefore the two coins should not be considered as

belonging to a separate ‘double crescent’ group.

- One coin has a crescent facing right (BNF-Y19562), with all the others having a crescent pointing either upward or to the left. The latter two varieties share obverse dies, implying that all the coins with a crescent on the reverse, irrespective of its direction (left, right or upward), are part of the same group.

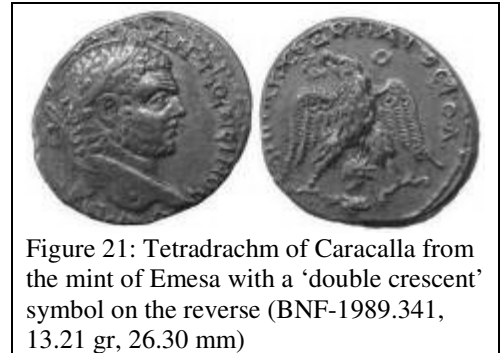


Figure 21: Tetradrachm of Caracalla from the mint of Emesa with a ‘double crescent’ symbol on the reverse (BNF-1989.341, 13.21 gr, 26.30 mm)

‘pellet’ symbol (2 coins, 1 obverse die, 1 reverse die):

- Two coins with two pellets on their reverses have been documented, struck from the same pair of dies (acsearch-CGB 173718; BNF-Y19566). It does not seem that the two pellets were engraved randomly or by mistake, since a single pellet is symmetrically placed on either side of the eagle’s head.

²¹ Prieur 1023.

No symbol (2 coins, 2 obverse dies, 2 reverse dies):

- Two coins of Caracalla have been documented with no symbol on the reverse, one of which has an obverse die link with the ‘crescent’ group (discussed above). No die links were found for the second coin (CNG-67.1143).
- A third coin in the British Museum (*BMC Syria* 10) with a facing sun god below the eagle does not seem to have a symbol on the reverse.²² No obverse die link was found between this coin and any other tetradrachm of Caracalla.

Julia Domna

‘A’ symbol (4 coins, 1 obverse die, 3 reverse dies):

- One specimen (CNG-79.650) was noted to be struck using a reverse of Caracalla, i.e., with a legend reading $\Delta\text{HMAPXEEYPIATOC}\Delta$, implying once again that tetradrachms of Julia Domna were struck concurrently with those of Caracalla.
- A specimen was noted to have the symbol Δ on the reverse (CNG-45.994), but the symbol is in fact an ‘A’. This deduction is based on an obverse link between this coin and 3 other tetradrachms of Julia Domna with the ‘A’ symbol (CNG-79.650; CNG-137.111; BNF-Y19567). Therefore, the symbol Δ does not exist; it is nothing other than an A engraved with a very low horizontal bar.

²² The coin is quite worn and therefore difficult to confirm if there is indeed no symbol on the reverse; therefore, it is tentatively placed under this category.

‘H’ symbol (6 coins, 4 obverse dies, 5 reverse dies):

- A specimen in a private collection was documented having an H on either side of the eagle’s head. This is the only case where two symbols are found on the reverse of Emesene tetradrachms (all the remaining reverse dies of this group have a single H). The coin unquestionably



Figure 22: Tetradrachm with the portrait of Julia Domna minted in Emesa with the symbol ‘H’ on both sides of the eagle’s head (private collection, metrology not available).

belongs to the ‘H’ group, since it has an obverse link with another specimen (BNF-Y19566) with a single H on the reverse. It should be noted that several forgeries of this coin have been circulating in the market, with the mold taken from the authentic coin in the private collection mentioned above (Figure 22).²³

‘o’ symbol (14 coins, 2 obverse dies, 8 reverse dies):

- No remarkable observations have been noted.

‘Crescent’ symbol (2 coins, 1 obverse die, 2 reverse dies):

- Only two coins have been documented with this symbol for Julia Domna, the first having a crescent facing left (acsearch-Numismatica Ars Classica 2048) and the second upward (acsearch-Künker 94.1990). Both coins share an

²³ My gratitude to Michel Prieur for providing the images.

obverse die showing that the direction of the crescent on the reverse was irrelevant, and accordingly they should not be classified as separate groups.

‘Γ’ symbol (2 coins, 1 obverse die, 1 reverse die):

- The Γ symbol is only known for Julia Domna. Two coins struck from the same pair of dies have been recorded (Boston-1971.391; Berlin-Imhoof Blumer 1900). The tetradrachms with this symbol seem to have had a small output, since this symbol has thus far been noted on only a single die.

Macrinus

‘A’ symbol (17 coins, 6 obverse dies, 13 reverse dies):

- One coin has a Δ on the reverse (CNG-225.288), but it should be considered as an A engraved with a low horizontal bar (see the case discussed under Julia Domna above).
- Six coins have been recorded with a Λ on the reverse, five of which have an obverse die link with coins of the ‘A’ group. This of course shows that there is no ‘Λ’ group and that it is none other than an A engraved without the horizontal bar (see similar case under Caracalla above).

‘H’ symbol (20 coins, 6 obverse dies, 15 reverse dies):

- Four out of the six obverse dies of this group depict a *draped* bust of the Emperor. This feature is also present on the ‘no symbol’ group (see below), but otherwise unknown.

‘o’ symbol (17 coins, 8 obverse dies, 14 reverse dies):

- Although for the issues of Caracalla an obverse die link was noted between the ‘H’ and ‘o’ groups, no such link has been detected under Macrinus.

‘Crescent’ symbol (13 coins, 8 obverse die, 12 reverse dies):

- A specimen of this group has the reverse legend ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΞΥΠΙΑΤΟCΤΟΒ.²⁴ The title of a second consulship on tetradrachms of Macrinus is not known at any other mint (for further details see discussion in the Types and Legends chapter).
- A single specimen was noted to have a reverse legend ending in ΤΟCΤΟΔ (Forum-9032). The most likely explanation is that a reverse of Caracalla was used in striking this coin.²⁵ The use of reverse dies of Caracalla is not surprising, since this occurrence is also known for other mints, particularly Beroea²⁶ (for further details see Types and Legends chapter). However, what is noteworthy is that both the ‘TO Δ’ and ‘TO B’ legend varieties belong to the ‘crescent’ group and do not occur in any other Emesene group.

No symbol (12 coins, 9 obverse dies, 10 reverse dies):

- Two coins in this group (CNG-94.119; BNF-Y19575) have an obverse die link with three coins of the ‘H’ group (Berlin-Imhoof Blumer 1928; Forum-278; Yale-1938.6000.63). It is also significant that two of the obverse dies (Boston-

²⁴ Private collection. See also Prieur no. 977 for the only other known specimen with this title.

²⁵ No link was found between the reverse of this coin and all other reverses with a crescent for Caracalla from the sample available.

²⁶ Prieur 889-894.

1973.190; eBay) in this group, in addition to the one mentioned above, have a draped bust similar to the coins of the 'H' group, since a draped bust is not present in the other groups of this emperor. Therefore, it is very likely that this group with no symbol is none other than the 'H' group.

Diadumenian

Three different symbols were recorded on the tetradrachms with the portrait of Diadumenian: 'A' (1 coin), 'H' (4 coins, 1 obverse, 2 reverses), 'crescent left' (1 coin). No links have been noted among the tetradrachms of Diadumenian or with those of his father.

Summary

The only link recorded among the different groups for these tetradrachms is between 'H' and 'o' under Caracalla. It seems likely that the symbols represent control marks or signatures of the issuing authorities. Other similar links between different groups are likely to emerge knowing that the currently available sample is not comprehensive. For the above noted case under Caracalla, it could have been that one official was replaced by another, hence the change in the symbol.

Butcher, in his discussion of the tetradrachms of Antioch minted in the 170s AD under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, has shown that it is possible for the same mint to use different symbols.²⁷ His hypothesis was demonstrated by the presence of obverse die links between the different symbols, a case also true for Emesa, albeit on

²⁷ CRS, 94-95.

a smaller scale due to the limited sample. Gilmore proposes that the letters at Emesa (A, H, o, etc.) are the initials of the responsible strikers and the symbols (crescent, pellet, etc.) are batch marks for their subordinates.²⁸ This proposal does not seem likely since many more ‘initials’ and ‘batch marks’ should have been documented on Emesene tetradrachms for his proposition to be plausible. Also, if the hypothesis is true, a large number of obverse die links should have been drawn between the coins of the ‘responsible strikers’ and their ‘subordinates’.

Several symbols which were identified as separate groups should now be disregarded based on the results of the die study: The coins with a Λ on the reverse should not be considered a separate group, since die links have shown that they belong to the ‘A’ group. The same case is true for Δ . Similarly, the coins with no symbol are not to be considered as a separate entity, since they too have obverse links with the ‘crescent’ group under Caracalla and the ‘H’ group under Macrinus.

Reverses of Caracalla and Julia Domna were shared showing that both were minted at the same time and place. These muled coins should not be considered contemporary forgeries, because they occur quite frequently: six specimens from five different dies have thus far been recorded from the limited sample.

There are currently no published die studies on tetradrachms of Caracalla and Macrinus. The current study, although incomplete, is a first step towards the understanding of Syro-Phoenician tetradrachms of Caracalla and Macrinus.

²⁸ Gilmore 1979, 287.

5. Laodicea ad Libanum

A die study has been conducted on all the issues of this mint. All the types under a particular emperor were treated as a single entity or output, since die studies should not differentiate between various types of a particular issue. Laodicea ad Libanum minted under four emperors: Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Macrinus and Elagabalus, with the most typologically and quantitatively prolific being that of the first emperor.

a. Septimius Severus

During the reign of Septimius Severus, four types were minted: Septimius Severus/Mên; Caracalla/Tyche seated; Julia Domna/Tyche bust; Geta/Tyche bust. A total of 34 coins were documented (Septimius Severus 6 coins, 4 obverses, 3 reverses; Caracalla 19 coins, 4 obverses, 10 reverses; Julia Domna 5 coins, 2 obverses, 2 reverses; Geta 4 coins, 2 obverses, 3 reverses) with 8 coins (3 Septimius Severus; 5 Caracalla) in an inadequate condition for the study.

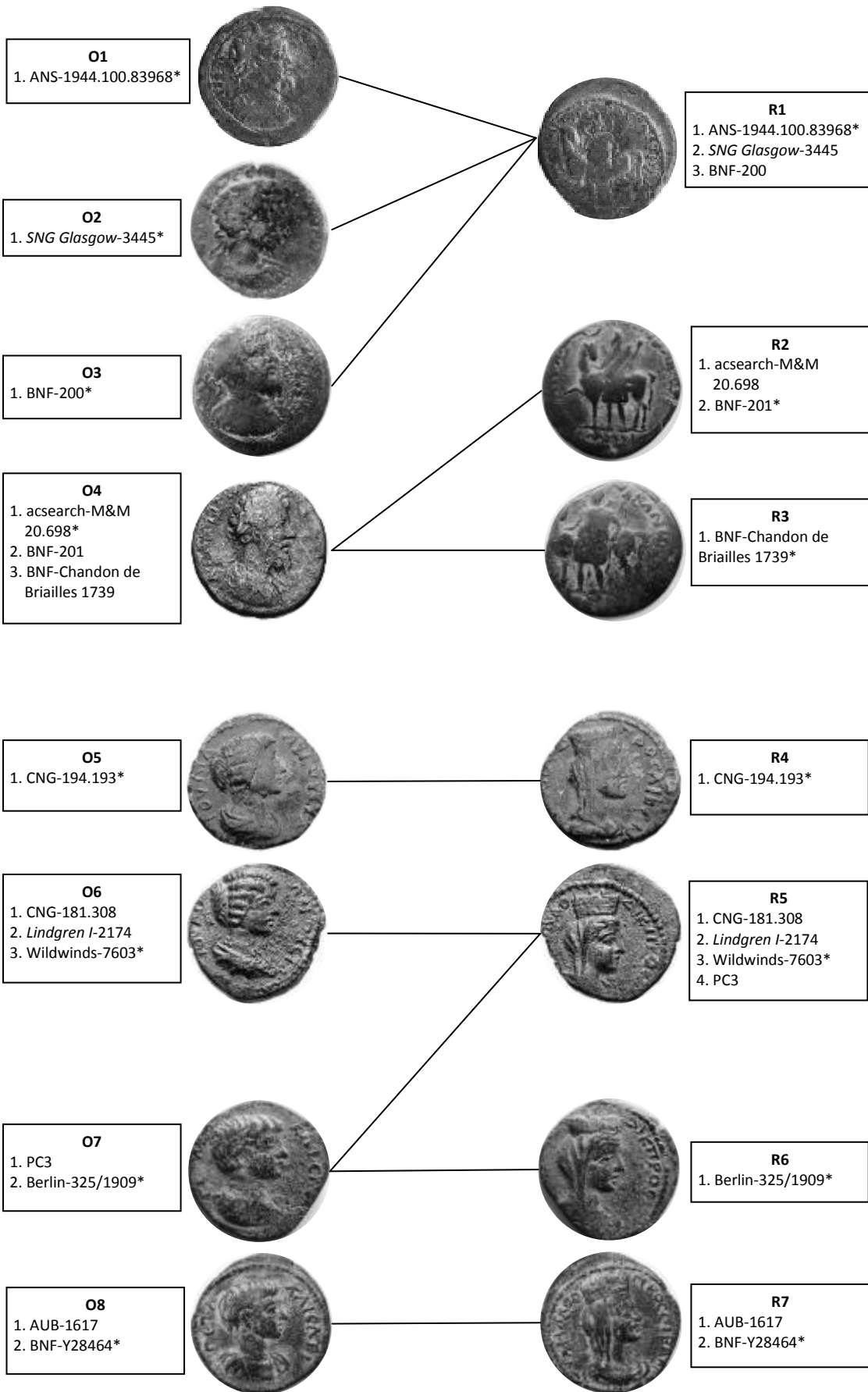
n	d _o	d _r	D _o	D _r	d _o /D _o	d _r /D _r	n/d _o	n/d _r	D _r /D _o	e
34	12	17	18.55	34	65%	50%	2.83	2.0	1.83	20

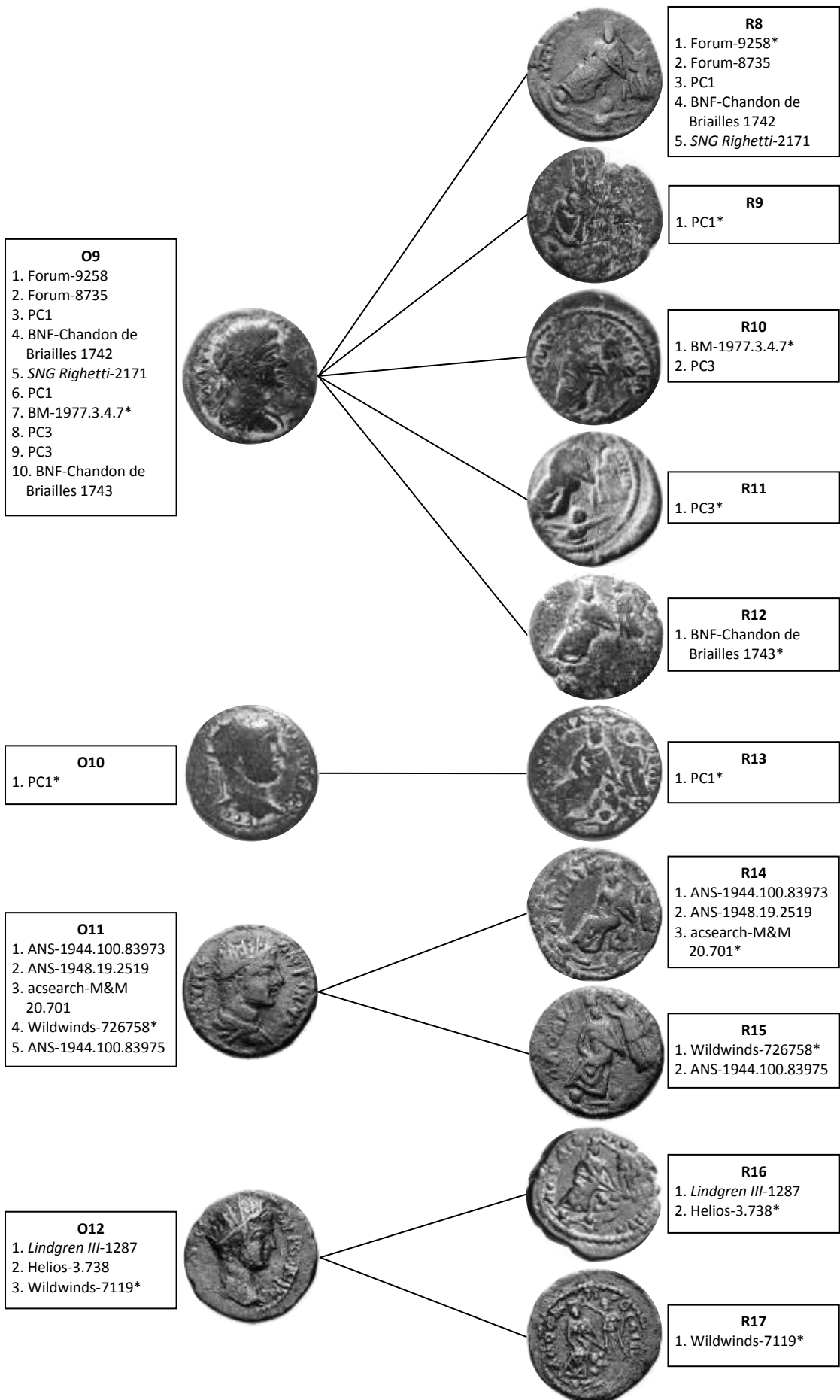
No die links between the types were recorded in this group, with the exception of a single reverse link between Julia Domna (O6-R5, CNG-181.308) and Geta (O7-R5, PC3). This die link confirmed the proposition that coins of Geta were minted under his father and not his brother. The same link also helped in confirming that the coins of Julia Domna which depict her hairstyle with an elongated vertical bun behind her head, as opposed to a wavy hair with no bundle, were minted in the reign of her husband (see Types and Legends chapter). Regarding Caracalla, he is

represented at times draped and either laureate or radiate;²⁹ however, no reverse die links were noted among these varieties.

Based on the number of obverse and reverse dies recorded for the members of the imperial family above, the issues depicting Caracalla seem to have been more abundant, followed by those of his father. The same observation is also true when taking into consideration the number of surviving coins.

²⁹ The radiate portraits depict an older looking Caracalla than the laureate ones.





Laodicea ad Libanum/Septimius Severus			
Specimen	Type	Obverse die	Reverse die
ANS-1944.100.83968	Septimius/Mên	1	1
<i>SNG Glasgow</i> -3445	Septimius/Mên	2	1
BNF-200	Septimius/Mên	3	1
acsearch-M&M 20.698	Septimius/Mên	4	2
BNF-201	Septimius/Mên	4	2
BNF-Ch. de B. 1739	Septimius/Mên	4	3
CNG-194.193	Domna/Tyche bust	5	4
CNG-181.308	Domna/Tyche bust	6	5
<i>Lindgren I</i> -2174	Domna/Tyche bust	6	5
Wildwinds-7603	Domna/Tyche bust	6	5
PC3	Geta/Tyche bust	7	5
Berlin-325/1909	Geta/Tyche bust	7	6
AUB-1617	Geta/Tyche bust	8	7
BNF-Y28464	Geta/Tyche bust	8	7
Forum-9258	Caracalla/Tyche seated	9	8
Forum-8735	Caracalla/Tyche seated	9	8
PC1	Caracalla/Tyche seated	9	8
BNF- Ch. de B. 1742	Caracalla/Tyche seated	9	8
<i>SNG Righetti</i> -2171	Caracalla/Tyche seated	9	8
PC1	Caracalla/Tyche seated	9	9
BM-1977.3.4.7	Caracalla/Tyche seated	9	10
PC3	Caracalla/Tyche seated	9	10
PC3	Caracalla/Tyche seated	9	11
BNF- Ch. de B. 1743	Caracalla/Tyche seated	9	12
PC1 ³⁰	Caracalla/Tyche seated	10	13
ANS-1944.100.83973	Caracalla/Tyche seated	11	14
ANS-1948.19.2519	Caracalla/Tyche seated	11	14
acsearch-M&M 20.701	Caracalla/Tyche seated	11	14
wildwinds-726758	Caracalla/Tyche seated	11	15
ANS-1944.100.83975	Caracalla/Tyche seated	11	15
<i>Lindgren III</i> -1287	Caracalla/Tyche seated	12	16
Helios-3.738	Caracalla/Tyche seated	12	16
Wildwinds-7119	Caracalla/Tyche seated	12	17

Table 48: List of obverse and reverse dies for the issues of Septimius Severus minted in Laodicea ad Libanum.

³⁰ Although Caracalla looks noticeably older on this singleton (O10-R13), it is placed under the issues of his father, since the reading of the obverse legend, and thus his title, is not clear.

b. Caracalla

In the reign of Caracalla, two types were issued: Caracalla/Mên (23 coins, 2 obverses, 11 reverses) and Caracalla/Julia Domna (2 coins, 1 obverse, 1 reverse). In total, 25 coins were documented, all of which were in identifiable condition:

n	d _o	d _r	D _o	D _r	d _o /D _o	d _r /D _r	n/d _o	n/d _r	D _r /D _o	e
25	3	12	3.41	23.08	88%	52%	8.33	2.08	6.77	13

Based on the number of dies used in the reign of this emperor compared to that of his father, it seems that output was generally reduced. A high portion of the obverses have been documented, but only half of the reverses have come to light. Of the two obverse dies, one depicts the Emperor draped and the other without the drapery. The fact that there are no coins depicting Geta implies that these issues were minted under Caracalla's sole reign.

A coin of Laodicea ad Libanum depicting Mên on the reverse (O14-R28, Wildwinds-John Noory 2003) has been classified as an issue of Severus Alexander due to its partial obverse legend reading MACEOV.... However, the die study has shown that it is none other than an issue of Caracalla having a blundered obverse legend, the full reading of which is MACEOVANTO...NOΓ,³¹ as Severus Alexander did not use the name Antoninus. The attribution is further confirmed by obverse and reverse die links between this coin and several other coins of Caracalla (O13-R26 to O14-R28).

³¹ This more complete reading of the legend was compiled from three other coins (AUB-1618; BM-1929.8.22.1; PC3) struck from the same obverse die.

- O13**
1. PC5
 2. M&M 20.700
 3. Berlin-Lobbecke 1906
 4. CNG-191.121
 5. CNG-194.194
 6. Ashmolean-Bouchier 1930
 7. BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1740
 8. ANS-1944.100.83969
 9. PC3
 10. BNF-203
 11. CNG-213.322*
 12. Wildwinds-7602
 13. VCoins-Jencek N1248
 14. BNF-202
 15. M&M 20.699
 16. AUB-1619
 17. CNG-246.231
 18. Lindgren III-1288



- R18**
1. PC5*



- R19**
1. M&M 20.700*



- R20**
1. Berlin-Lobbecke 1906*



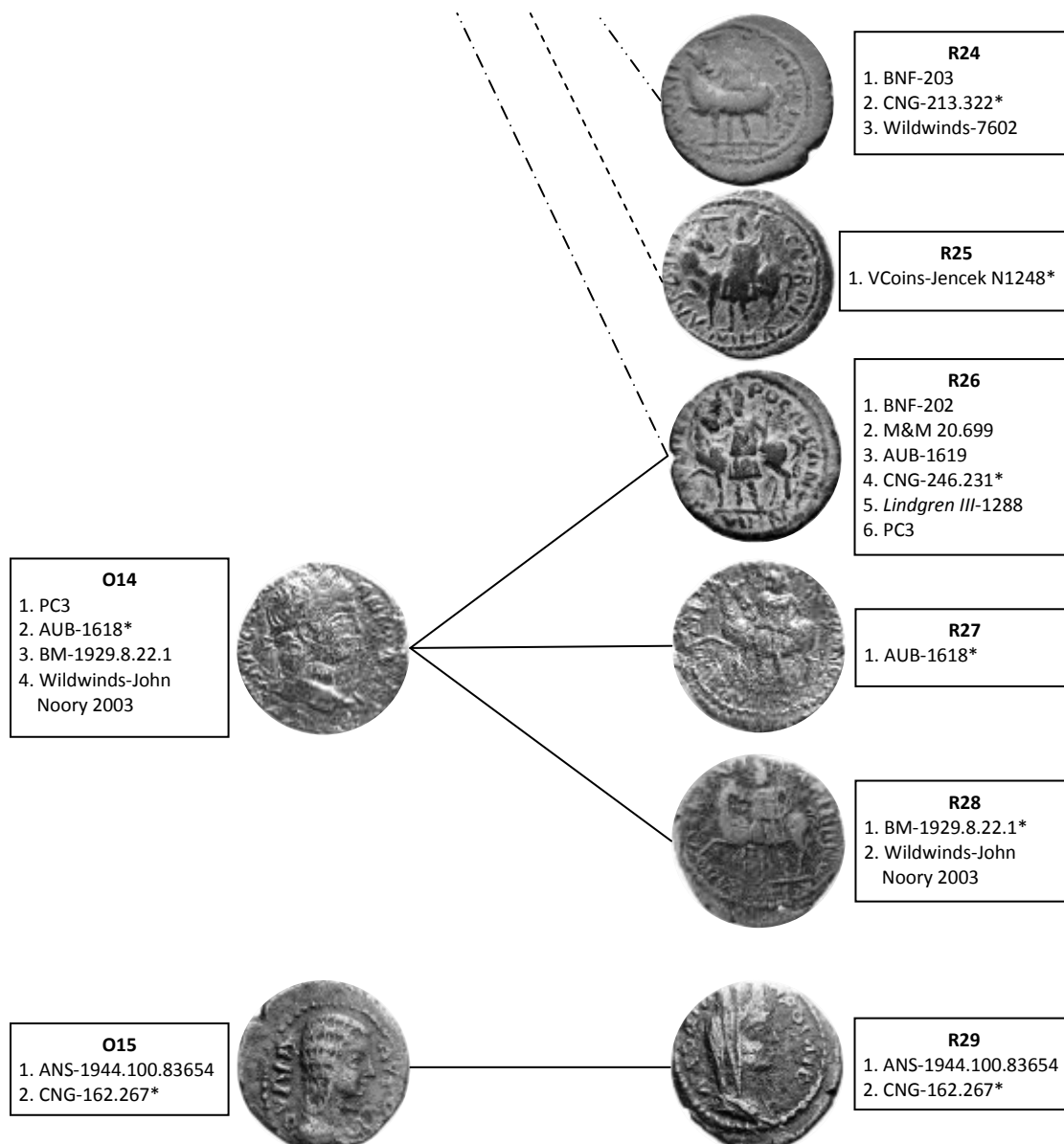
- R21**
1. CNG-191.121*



- R22**
1. CNG-194.194*



- R23**
1. Ashmolean-Bouchier 1930
 2. BNF-Chandon de Briailles 1740*
 3. ANS-1944.100.83969
 4. PC3



Laodicea ad Libanum/Caracalla			
Specimen	Type	Obverse die	Reverse die
PC5	Caracalla/Mên	13	18
M&M 20.700	Caracalla/Mên	13	19
Berlin-Löbbecke 1906	Caracalla/Mên	13	20
CNG-191.121	Caracalla/Mên	13	21
CNG-194.194	Caracalla/Mên	13	22
Ashmolean-Bouchier 1930	Caracalla/Mên	13	23
BNF-Ch. de B. 1740	Caracalla/Mên	13	23
ANS-1944.100.83969	Caracalla/Mên	13	23
PC3	Caracalla/Mên	13	23
BNF-203	Caracalla/Mên	13	24
CNG-213.322	Caracalla/Mên	13	24
Wildwinds-7602	Caracalla/Mên	13	24

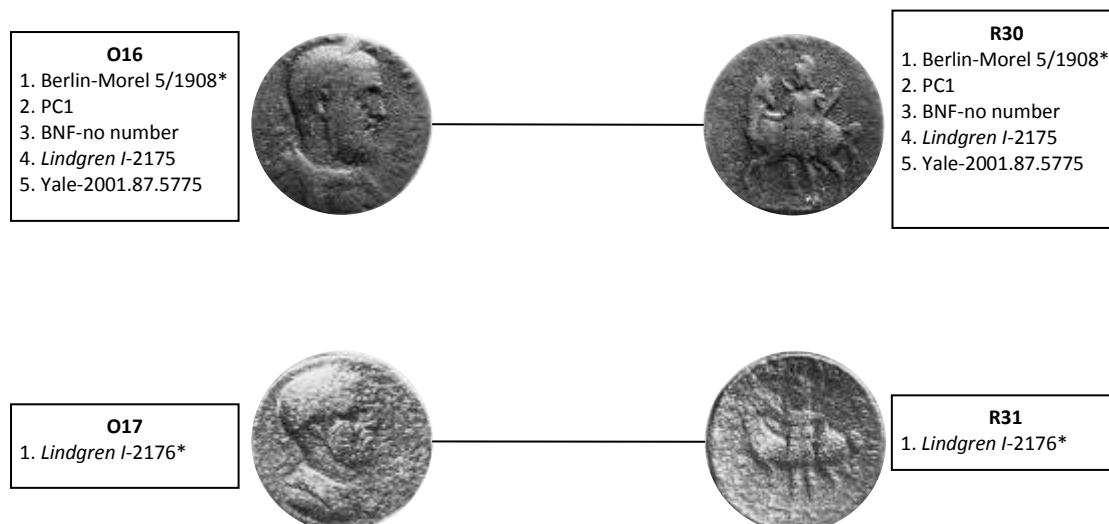
VCoins-Jencek N1248	Caracalla/Mên	13	25
BNF-202	Caracalla/Mên	13	26
M&M 20.699	Caracalla/Mên	13	26
AUB-1619	Caracalla/Mên	13	26
CNG-246.231	Caracalla/Mên	13	26
<i>Lindgren III-1288</i>	Caracalla/Mên	13	26
PC3	Caracalla/Mên	14	26
AUB-1618	Caracalla/Mên	14	27
BM-1929.8.22.1	Caracalla/Mên	14	28
Wildwinds-John Noory 2003	Caracalla/Mên	14	28
ANS-1944.100.83654	Domna/Tyche	15	29
CNG-162.267	Domna/Tyche	15	29

Table 49: List of obverse and reverse dies for the issues of Caracalla minted in Laodicea ad Libanum.

c. Macrinus

For Macrinus only a single type depicting Mên is known. The six documented coins are struck from two pair of dies:

n	d _o	d _r	D _o	D _r	d _o /D _o	d _r /D _r	n/d _o	n/d _r	D _r /D _o	e
6	2	2	3	3	67%	67%	3	3	1.0	3



Laodicea ad Libanum/Macrinus			
Specimen	Type	Obverse die	Reverse die
Berlin-Morel 5/1908	Macrinus/Mên	16	30
PC1	Macrinus/Mên	16	30
BNF-no number on ticket	Macrinus/Mên	16	30
<i>Lindgren I-2175</i>	Macrinus/Mên	16	30
Yale-2001.87.5775	Macrinus/Mên	16	30
<i>Lindgren I-2176</i>	Macrinus/Mên	17	31

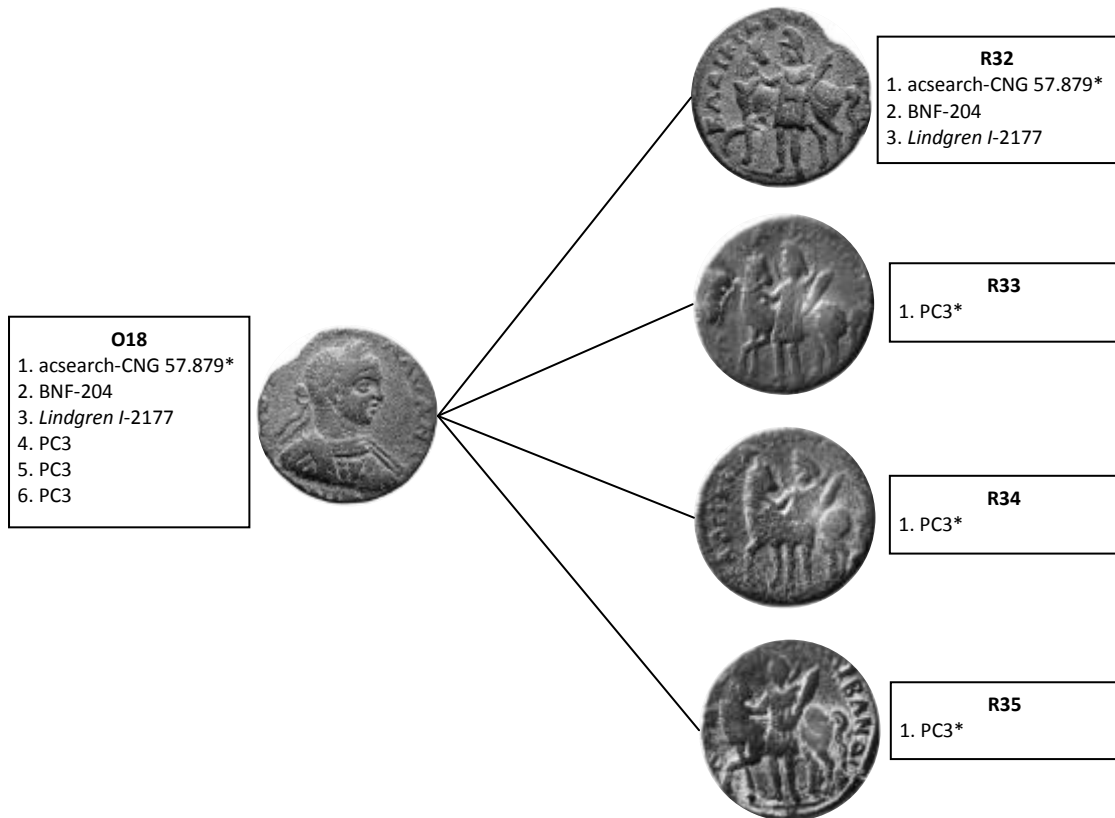
Table 50: List of obverse and reverse dies for the coins of Macrinus minted in Laodicea ad Libanum.

d. Elagabalus

A single obverse die has been recorded, struck in conjunction with four reverse dies. A total of seven coins, all of which depict the god Mên as a reverse type, have been recorded:

n	d _o	d _r	D _o	D _r	d _o /D _o	d _r /D _r	n/d _o	n/d _r	D _r /D _o	e
7	1	4	1.17	9.33	85%	43%	7	1.75	7.97	4

The decrease in output noted under Caracalla seems to have continued under Macrinus and even more so under Elagabalus, with statistics showing that most likely only one obverse die was used for the latter.



Laodicea ad Libanum/Elagabalus			
Specimen	Type	Obverse die	Reverse die
acsearch-CNG 57.879	Elagabalus/Mên	18	32
BNF-204	Elagabalus/Mên	18	32
<i>Lindgren I-2177</i>	Elagabalus/Mên	18	32
PC3	Elagabalus/Mên	18	33
PC3	Elagabalus/Mên	18	34
PC3	Elagabalus/Mên	18	35

Table 51: List of obverse and reverse dies for the coins of Elagabalus minted in Laodicea ad Libanum.

An attempt was made to identify any possible die links between all the reverses depicting Mên under all four emperors, but none were found.

C. Die axes

The vast majority of the coins of Apamea were struck with an axis between 11^h to 1^h, with the most common axis being 12^h. This consistency holds true for all types, including the imperial period issues. The same case has also been noticed for

Larissa, indicating that strict control was enforced in both mints concerning the striking procedure and the angle at which the dies were held.

In Emesa, although the upright die axis (11^h to 1^h) was also generally used, a considerable portion of the coins were struck with the obverse and reverse dies in opposite directions, i.e., 6^h. This variation in the die axes is true for issues of all emperors and types. Noteworthy are issues depicting the bust of Julia Domna and an altar, in which the coins were struck at 12^h and 6^h in nearly equal proportions. Irregular axes such as 4^h and 8^h have also been noted for Emesene issues. This implies that rigid control was not enforced at Emesa, as was the case for Apamea, keeping in mind that Emesa commenced minting an entire century later. This trend of irregular die axes is even more noticeable for Raphanea, where the coins were struck with upright or opposite angles in equal proportions, and with irregular axes, again implying leniency in control. At Laodicea ad Libanum the case is also similar, except for the issues of Septimius Severus, where only the upright axis has been recorded.

It therefore seems that for the mints of the southern Orontes Valley, keeping in mind that these cities issued coins in the second and third centuries, no strict control was observed regarding the minting process, whereas for the mints in the north producing in the first century BC and early first century AD, more uniformity was observed regarding the die axes. To prove this point further, an attempt has been made to correlate the angle of the die axis with the results of the die studies by taking Raphanea as a case study, since more than one workstation is noted for that mint (see Die Studies chapter). It was noticed that within the same die groups, i.e., a group of coins sharing the same obverse dies but using different reverses (seated or standing genius), the die axis were not uniform. This shows that within the same workstation no strict control was used for the position of the dies during the striking process.

Thus, it cannot be stated that one workstation was striking coins by holding the dies in an upright position (12 o'clock), and the other in an inverted position (6 o'clock).

D. Lettering styles

Regarding the legends on Apamene coins, the letters seem to have been engraved using a round-edged punch or drill, resulting in a rounded edge for the letters. This technique, or style, was used for the civic issues and continued to be the case for the later issues with the portraits of the emperors. Larissa also used this technique. The case of Emesa is more interesting because, although the coins of Antoninus Pius also display this round-edged lettering style, the issues of all the following emperors, starting with those of Caracalla, use a wedged-edged style for the letter tips (serifs). There seems to have been a change in the style, or engraving method, of the letters in the late second/early third century AD, keeping in mind the gap in minting of more than half a century between the two emperors. This latter style was also used on the coins of Raphanea. In the case of Laodicea ad Libanum the wedges were less emphasised and shortened. It should be stated that the above mentioned techniques/styles for the mints were not present on every specimen, but rather were the general trend, with some exceptions. For example, in the case of the issues representing Julia Domna and Geta at Laodicea ad Libanum, the edges of the letters are at times rounded and at times wedge-like, with some employing neither style.

The above noted styles/techniques on the coins of the Orontes Valley, and the subsequent changes noted during the late second century AD, are also consistent

with that of northern Syria.³² The absence of ‘centering marks’ on all the coins in this study is also consistent with the issues of the northern mints.³³

E. Imitations

Imitations of coins of the Orontes Valley have not been noted.³⁴ It is only in the case of the issues of Elagabalus at Emesa that blundered and/or retrograde legends have been noticed. This is true for the prize-crown and standing facing eagle types. It is worth noting that the issues of this emperor at Emesa are relatively crude in style, particularly when compared with the issues of his predecessors and successors.³⁵

³² *CRS*, 128.

³³ *CRS*, 129.

³⁴ A coin of Elagabalus of the prize-crown type (Aeqvitas, no number) was noted to be highly irregular in style and therefore proposed to be a contemporary forgery (see Metrology and Denominations chapter).

³⁵ Butcher (*CRS*, 133) has observed that the *tetradrachms* of Elagabalus in Syria were the most frequently imitated, being of lighter weight and often having blundered and retrograde legends.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

The current study has presented a structure of the coinages and a corpus of all the known coin types minted by the cities of the Orontes Valley, including hitherto unknown or unpublished new types. This was primarily achieved by recording as many specimens as possible from both private and public collections (including less visited museums such as that of Homs), in addition to those from publications and the trade. It is hoped that the documentation and subsequent publication of these coins will aid in ‘preserving’ this material and making it available for future researchers who wish to complement the study of the coinages of Roman Syria. Before the preparation of this study, coin catalogues (*BMC Syria*, *SNG Copenhagen*, etc.) were the chief resources available for the classification of the coins of the Orontes Valley, but these remain incomplete, as they are primarily based on private collections. Currently, the RPC project is the best resource for the classification of the coins of Roman Syria, but apart from Apamea, the mints of the remaining cities has not yet been covered.

The current study has continued the work started in *CRS*, and in most cases it has been demonstrated that the results obtained for the coinages of northern Syria hold true for those of the Orontes Valley as well. This observation is particularly true for the various aspects of production and circulation, in addition to the diverse characteristics of denominations and iconography of the coinages.

Regarding production, the mints of the Orontes Valley were studied as a single geographic entity, but the coinage the cities produced should in fact be divided

into two distinct chronological groups. The first group is that of Apamea and Larissa, which minted mainly in the first century BC, and the second group the remaining cities to the south –Raphanea, Emesa and Laodicea ad Libanum– which minted mostly in the Severan period.

Apamea's cessation of the production of coins during the reign of Claudius should not necessarily be seen as an abrupt stop, but rather a gradual one. Die studies have shown that in the imperial period output was decreased significantly. This was in direct contrast to the abundant production of the civic coinages of the first century BC, as attested by the considerable number of surviving specimens and types. After the scarce issues of Augustus and Tiberius, no coins were produced during the reign of Gaius. Minting seems to have resumed temporarily during the reign of Claudius, including the rare tetradrachm issue, but this might have been the result of celebrating Apamea's new title bestowed by this emperor and not necessarily related to fiscal requirements. These were the very last coins minted by Apamea.

The cities of the southern Orontes Valley were late in producing coins when compared to most of the mints of northern Syria and Phoenicia to the south. By the time of Trajan most of the northern Syrian mints were operational, with the inland cities –Chalcis, Beroea, Cyrrhus and Hierapolis– also participating for the first time.¹ Butcher relates this activity to Trajan's campaigns and the fact that the above mentioned four inland cities would likely have been mustering points for the Emperor's armies. This seems very probable considering that the southern inland cities, in this case Raphanea, Emesa and Laodicea ad Libanum, did not mint during Trajan's rule, but only in the Severan period (in the case of Emesa starting with

¹ *CRS*, 11, 37.

Antoninus Pius), perhaps due to their remoteness from the above mentioned military activity. Issues of Septimius Severus are non-existent in the southern Orontes Valley, with the exception of Laodicea ad Libanum.² This aspect has its parallels with northern Syria, where Butcher has noted that minting activity under this emperor was low (particularly for inland northern Syria) despite his military campaigns in the region.³ However, it is a well known fact that mints in the eastern Roman provinces proliferated under Septimius Severus.⁴ Despite this augmentation the mints under study remained dormant (with the exception of Laodicea ad Libanum as mentioned above). It was only during the reign of Caracalla, and later Elagabalus, that these mints became more active. It seems that the cities in the region were initiating and ceasing minting on an ad hoc basis to accommodate for their particular needs.

Although, it is remarkable that all three mints of the southern Orontes Valley ceased production after Elagabalus (excluding the extraordinary issues of the usurper Uranius Antoninus at Emesa). A number of mints in Phoenicia and Palestine also stop minting in the reign of this Emperor, but it is difficult to establish a collective reason for this with the insufficient information at hand.

Regarding coin circulation in the Orontes Valley, with the data collected and presented in the Circulation chapter (including new site finds evidence), it has been shown that coinages of the individual cities did not circulate in the territory of others. Of foreign coins, it has been observed that Antiochene SC coins are present in the Orontes Valley, with all other regional mints scarcely represented in the site finds evidence. With regards to the understanding of circulation on a regional scale, it may be surmised that the coins of the mints under study did not circulate beyond the

² Parallels between this city and Heliopolis were discussed in the Production chapter.

³ *CRS*, 42.

⁴ *CRS*, 42-43.

Valley. This pattern is in line with the trend for mints of northern Syria. Butcher has pointed out that one of the main difficulties faced in his research of northern Syria was the lack of site finds data. This difficulty was also present for southern Syria, although it is fair to say that more published site finds have since become available, though they are still insufficient to compose a concrete understanding of circulation patterns. Regarding the tetradrachms of Emesa, hoard evidence has shown that these coins did indeed enjoy a wide geographical distribution, though this aspect is not an unusual occurrence for silver issues of this region and time period.

Regarding denominations, Butcher has remarked that no universal pattern emerged for northern Syria and that “it would be interesting to see whether similar features can be discerned in neighbouring regions.”⁵ Indeed, for the Orontes Valley the same conclusion has been reached, thus expanding Butcher’s findings further south. The current study does not claim to have determined the face values of the coins used in the cities under study; however, it has presented the denominational structure of the coinages through tabulating the types and modules. One of the main goals of the chapter on metrology and denominations was to determine whether or not a uniform currency system was used throughout the Orontes Valley. The statistics have clearly shown that there was no similarity between the denominational structures of the various cities. Furthermore, within the same city the modules changed from one reign to the next. Weight standards too were often altered, in addition to denominations being added or removed on what seems to have been an ad hoc basis. The reign of Elagabalus was taken as a case study, where it became evident that there was no attempt by the Roman state to standardize the currency in the mints of the

⁵ *CRS*, 265.

southern Orontes Valley, by which each city utilised different denominational structures of varying modules. There also does not seem to have been any attempt by the cities themselves to coordinate production and produce compatible coinages. In this respect, no cases of obverse die sharing were found among the cities of the southern Orontes Valley, highlighting the lack of any coordination between the cities regarding their currency. A comparison was conducted between the denominations of the cities of the Orontes Valley with a number of regional mints, but once again no direct correlation was found between the metrology and denominational structures of the coinages produced.

The statement of diversity is particularly apparent regarding the civic identity of these cities as presented on their coins, by which each city emphasised its local religious identity and its civic pride as a *polis*. For Apamea, the types were dominated by deities, a characteristic in line with the general trend of Hellenistic period coinages of the region. Apamea's military significance was also emphasised (with the portrayal of an elephant), in addition to its fertility (represented by cornucopias and corn ears). The iconography used on the reverses of the coins of the southern Orontes Valley also had a local significance. In most cases, the iconography presented was religious in nature, showing a direct connection between the local cult and civic identity and pride. The second most common feature on these coinages related to the aspect of the *polis* represented by depictions of the city-goddess Tyche. On the coinage of Emesa the local cult of Elagabal dominated the iconography, whether in the form of the baetyl or the great temple itself. In the case of Laodicea ad Libanum the deity is specifically labelled 'Mên', who was certainly an uncommon god for the Syro-Phoenician territories. Regarding Raphanea, the iconography depicted on the coins

was an expression of the city's civic pride and its special connection with the army garrison there.

Future metallurgical analyses will no doubt provide a more refined insight into these coinages, particularly regarding the bronzes. Despite the lack of such analyses, the die studies have added greatly to this research, especially regarding the output of the coinage, the classification of the types, and their denominational structure. With the aid of die studies it was argued that conventional approaches of using types for the classification of a particular coinage may not necessarily reveal the actual structure of that coinage. In the case of Raphanea it was shown that the use of the two different reverse types (seated/standing genius), in addition to the manner in which the emperor was depicted on the obverse (laureate/radiate), did not represent the denominational or chronological structure for that coinage.

The die studies, a novel for this area and period, were also useful for the understanding of the numeral letters on the Emesene bronzes of Antoninus Pius. It was shown that these numeral letters were based on an alpha-numeric system of enumeration having a chronological significance. Regarding the tetradrachms of Emesa the die study was a tentative step in understanding the nature of the various symbols inscribed on them, with preliminary results indicating that they represent control marks of issuing authorities. In the case of Laodicea ad Libanum, it was only with the help of a die study that a comprehensive structure for the coinage was achieved (this was particularly true for the issues under Septimius Severus and Caracalla).

The study of the coinages of the Orontes Valley has also provided an insight into the social and cultural life of the various cities discussed. The above listed differences in the coinages have hinted at the diverse nature of these societies. In

conclusion, the main theme that has emerged from this study is one of diversity in the currencies of the Orontes Valley, and not unity.

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KEY TO PLATES

APAMEA

Civic issues

- 1) Zeus/elephant. AE 8.63 gr, 22 mm, CNG-729552
- 2) Tyche/Nike. AE 5.73 gr, 17 mm, Wildwinds-27.62309
- 3) Demeter/corn ear. AE 5.03 gr, 18 mm, Wildwinds-27.62306
- 4) Dionysus/Grapes. AE 2.29 gr, 14 mm, *Lindgren III*-1175
- 5) Dionysus/thyrsus. AE 8.93 gr, - mm, MA-Münzhandlung Ritter 29280
- 6) Athena/Nike. AE 7.74 gr, 21 mm, CNG-162074
- 7) Demeter/three corn ears. AE 7.16 gr, 20 mm, CNG-750609
- 8) Tyche/Athena standing. AE 4.77 gr, 17 mm, Wildwinds-27.62310
- 9) Dionysus/thyrsus. AE 7.51 gr, - mm, MA-Münzhandlung Ritter 29374
- 10) Dionysus/Demeter. AE 6.88 gr, - mm, MA-M&M 5584
- 11) Dionysus/cornucopia. AE 8.45 gr, 22 mm, BNF-Luynes 3458
- 12) Zeus/Tyche seated. AE 6.0 gr, 17 mm, Vcoins-Incitus Coins

Augustus

- 13) Augustus/Nike. AE 10.49 gr, - mm, *SNG Glasgow*-3150
- 14) Augustus/Tyche. AE 6.91 gr, 21.5 mm, BNF-1968.115

Tiberius

- 15a) Tiberius/Nike left. AE 10.21 gr, 23.5 mm, BM-1986.4.34.16
- 15b) Tiberius/Nike right. AE 10.63 gr, 23 mm, Belgium-896
- 16) Tyche/Athena advancing. AE 7.68 gr, 21.5 mm, *Lindgren III*-1178

Claudius

- 17) Claudius/seated Tyche. AR tetradrachm 13.69 gr, 26.5 mm, BNF-1973.1.352
- 18) Zeus/Nike. AE 5.37 gr, 18 mm, Wildwinds-27.62350
- 19) Zeus/seated Tyche. AE 6.11 gr, 19 mm, BNF-965

LARISSA

Civic issues

- 20) Zeus/throne. AE 9.77 gr, 20 mm, CNG-201.130
- 21) Tyche/horse. AE 3.59 gr, 16 mm, Elsen-Dec. 2007, 860

RAPHANEA

Elagabalus

- 22) Elagabalus/seated genius. AE - gr, 23 mm, Aeqvitas
- 23) Elagabalus/standing genius. AE 8.66 gr, 23.5 mm, private collection
- 24) Severus Alexander/standing genius. AE 7.06 gr, 23 mm, *BMC Syria* no. 4
- 25) Elagabalus/bull. AE 2.5 gr, 14 mm, *NC* 2011, p. 78

EMESA

Antoninus Pius

- 26a) Perched eagle right. AE 10.66 gr, 22.5 mm, BNF-Vogue 251
- 26b) Perched eagle left. AE 11.79 gr, 23 mm, *BMC Syria* no. 5
- 27) Sun god. AE 9.04 gr, 22 mm, ANS-1974.276.10
- 28a) Tyche seated front. AE 10.73 gr, 24.5 mm, Berlin-C. R. Fox 1873
- 28b) Tyche seated right. AE 10.23 gr, 21.5 mm, BNF-Y28359 1960
- 28c) Tyche seated left. AE 9.02 gr, 22 mm, Berlin-Löbbecke 1906

Caracalla

- 29) Caracalla. AR tetradrachm 13.99 gr, - mm, CNG-Triton V.1766
- 30) Julia Domna. AR tetradrachm 11.98 gr, - mm, CNG-60.1367
- 31) Temple façade. AE 25.22 gr, 30.5 mm, *BMC Syria* no. 15
- 32a) Temple right. AE 22.3 gr, 30 mm, CNG-73.740
- 32b) Temple left. AE 22.77 gr, - mm, *SNG Munich*-818
- 33) Julia Domna/altar. AE 14 gr, 24.5 mm, BNF-Y23879.245
- 34) Caracalla/Julia Domna. AE 10.12 gr, 24 mm, M&M 20.628
- 35) Perched eagle. AE 5.97 gr, 18 mm, CNG-271.350
- 36a) Tyche seated front. AE 7.82 gr, 21 mm, Wildwinds-64784
- 36b) Tyche seated left. AE 8.07 gr, - mm, M&M 14.666

Macrinus

- 37) Macrinus. AR tetradrachm 12.83 gr, 25 mm, CNG-238.274
- 38) Diadumenian. AR tetradrachm 14.39 gr, 27 mm, CNG-139.203
- 39) Temple façade. AE 24.98 gr, 30.2 mm, Yale-2009.110.152
- 40) Temple right. AE 26.08 gr, 29 mm, CNG-79.652

Elagabalus

- 41) Temple façade. AE 13.73 gr, 24 mm, CNG-262.241
- 42) Wreath. AE 12.64 gr, 26.5 mm, private collection
- 43) Prize-crown. AE 6.36 gr, 23 mm, CNG-174.151
- 44) Tyche seated left. AE 8.14 gr, 24 mm, *Lindgren I*-2049
- 45) Altar. AE - gr, 20 mm, Aeqvitas
- 46) Eagle standing facing. AE 5.37 gr, 17.5 mm, private collection
- 47a) Perched eagle facing. AE 2.42 gr, 19 mm, private collection
- 47b) Perched eagle left. AE 4.04 gr, 17.5 mm, *BMC Syria* no. 20
- 48) Sun god. AE 3.44 gr, - mm, Helios-5.1122

Uranus Antoninus

- 49) Eagle standing facing. AR tetradrachm 11.83 gr, 26 mm, CNG-87.882
- 50) Radiate deity. AR 8.4 gr, 30 mm, BM-1975.9.30.1
- 51) Fortuna standing. AR 7.91 gr, 28 mm, Numismatica Ars Classica 42.168
- 52) Victory. AR 8.97 gr, - mm, Baldus 1975, Plate 45, no. 4
- 53) Moneta standing. AR 8.07 gr, 27.5 mm, BNF-1973.1.457
- 54) Fortuna seated. AR 8.25 gr, 27 mm, BNF-1973.1.456
- 55) Minerva seated. AR 8.51 gr, 28 mm, *SNG Copenhagen Supplement* no. 1191
- 56) Dromedary. AR 8.29 gr, 27 mm, BNF-1973.1.454
- 57) Temple façade. AE 21.42 gr, 32 mm, CNG-Triton V.1767
- 58) Temple left. AE 20.09 gr, 32 mm, BM-1946.10.4.625

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Septimius Severus

- 59) Septimius Severus/Mên. AE 11.8 gr, 27 mm, M&M 20.698
- 60) Caracalla/Seated Tyche. AE 8.39 gr, 23.6 mm, Forum-09258
- 61) Julia Domna/Tyche. AE 5.54 gr, 21 mm, CNG-194.193
- 62) Geta/Tyche. AE 6.68 gr, 22 mm, BNF-Y28464

Caracalla

- 63) Caracalla/Mên. AE 10.56 gr, 25 mm, VCoins-Jencek N1248
- 64) Julia Domna/Tyche. AE 5.97 gr, 21 mm, CNG-162.267

Macrinus

- 65) Macrinus/Mên. AE 15.14 gr, 28.5 mm, Berlin-Morel 5/1908

Elagabalus

- 66) Elagabalus/Mên. AE 16.38 gr, 28 mm, *Lindgren III-1290*

PLATES

APAMEA



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4



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10



11



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14



15a



15b



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17



18



19

LARISSA



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21

RAPHANEA



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25

EMESA



26a

26b

27



28a

28b

28c



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32a



32b

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36a



36b

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LAODICEA AD LIBANUM



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