



The Mints of Roman Arabia and Mesopotamia

Author(s): G. F. Hill

Source: *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 6 (1916), pp. 135-169

Published by: [Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/296269>

Accessed: 08/05/2014 18:07

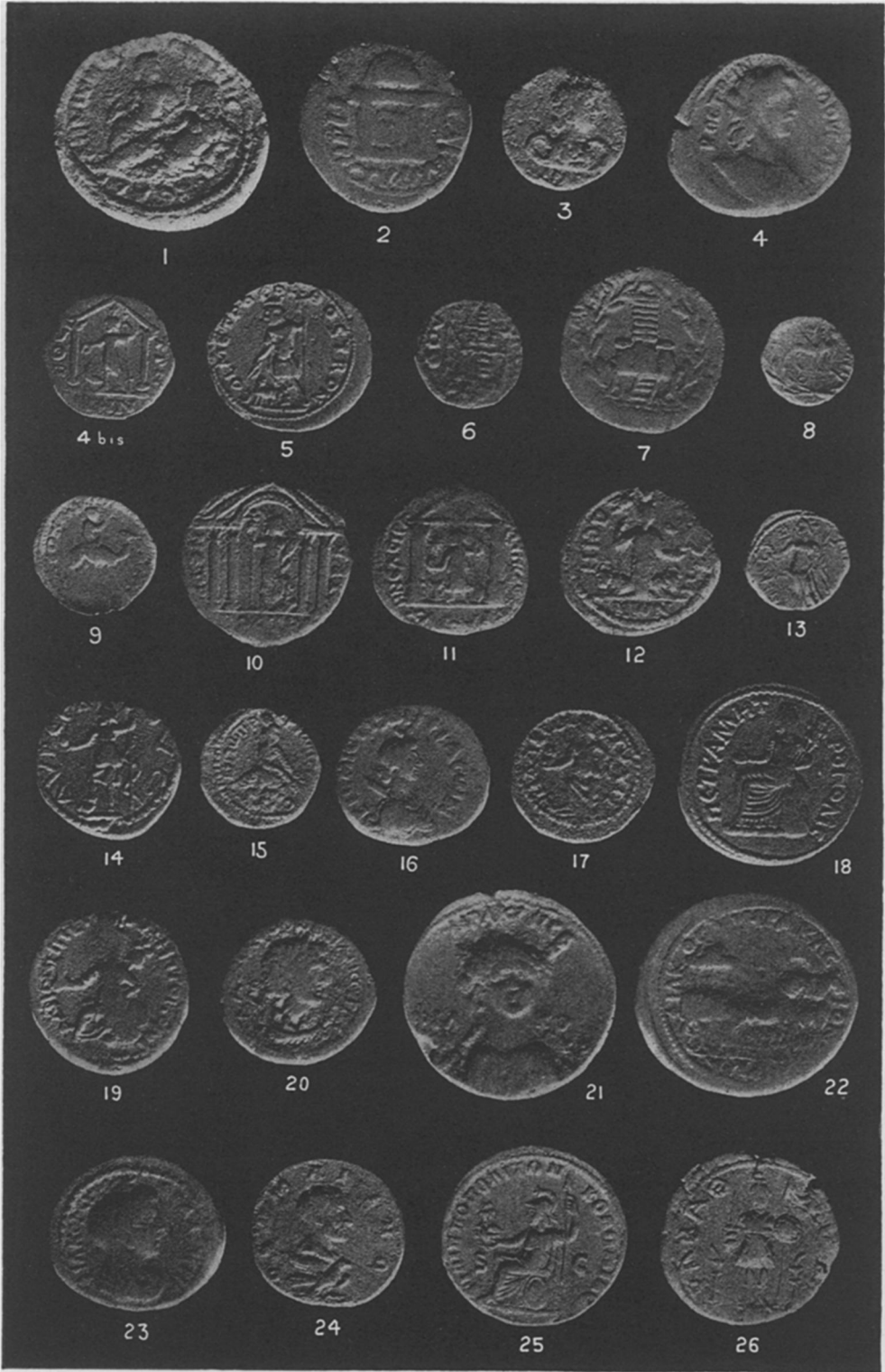
Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at
<http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

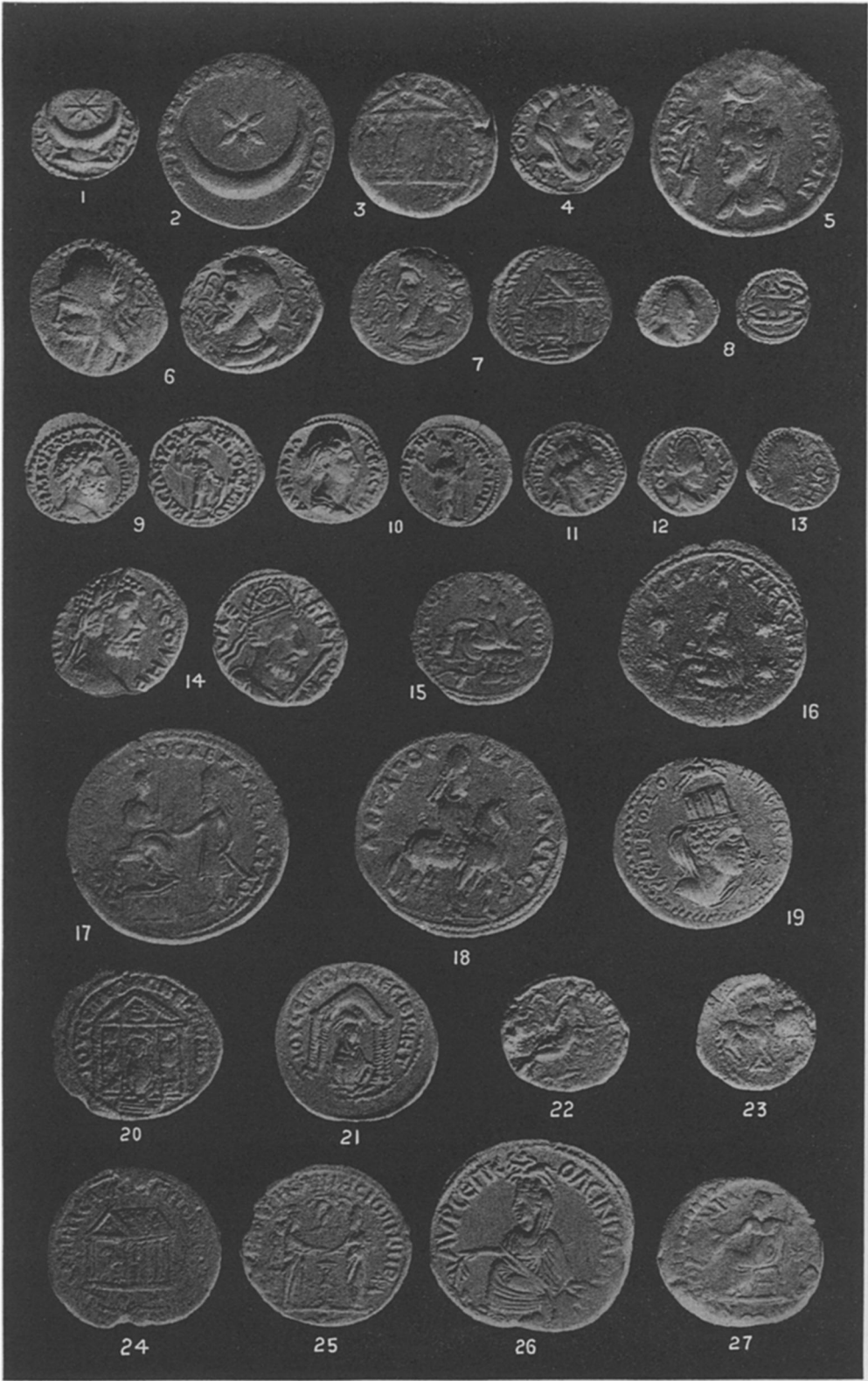


Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *The Journal of Roman Studies*.

<http://www.jstor.org>



COINS OF ROMAN ARABIA



COINS OF ROMAN MESOPOTAMIA.

THE MINTS OF ROMAN ARABIA AND MESOPOTAMIA.

By G. F. HILL.

(Plates XI, XII)

I. THE MINTS OF ARABIA.

The places whose numismatic history is studied in this paper are those which happened to be comprised in the provinces of Arabia and Mesopotamia from the time of the institution of these provinces down to the end of the period of the Greek coinage. Thus, as regards Arabia,¹ which was organised in A.D. 106, the mints of Philadelphia, Gerasa, Dium and Philippopolis are included, although they were originally in the Decapolis,² and were only transferred to Arabia in the reign of Severus at the earliest. But Canatha, which was transferred at the same time, had then ceased to issue coins³; it is therefore omitted from these pages. Eboda, of which a solitary coin of Nero's time is known, might have been omitted on the same grounds, but is included because its coinage does not find a place in the series of any other province. The latest Greek coins issued by any Arabian city are of the time of Valerian and Gallienus.

ADRAA.

Adraa (*Der'a* in the Hauran, the Biblical *Edre'i*) was a minor centre of the cult of Dusares, whose baetyl is represented on the coins.⁴ It was originally in the Nabataean kingdom and was doubtless included in Provincia Arabia at the time of the constitution of the province, whose era is employed on the coinage.⁵

The coinage⁶ begins in the Antonine period (Marcus Aurelius, Lucilla, Commodus) and continues to Valerian and Gallienus. The chief types are :

Baetyl of the god Dusares ($\Delta\text{ΟΥΥ}\text{CΑΡΗ}\text{C ΘΕΟ}\text{C}$) placed (sometimes) between two ornaments (horns of the altar ?)⁷ on a square

¹ On the boundaries at various periods see Brünnow-Domaszewski, *Provincia Arabia*, iii, pp. 264 ff.

² Under which head their coins, so far as represented in the British Museum up to 1899, have been catalogued by Wroth, *B.M.C. Galatia*, etc. (1899).

³ See Wroth, op. cit. p. 302.

⁴ See especially Dussaud, *Notes de Mythologie Syrienne*, p. 167 ff. and below, under Bostra. It is supposed that the panegyriarchs of Adraa whose dedicatory inscriptions appear at Petra (Brünnow, i, p. 220, no. 60, 2-4) represented Adraa at the annual festival of Dusares; and one of the inscrip-

tions accompanies the figure of an omphalos-shaped baetyl like that shown on the coins of Adraa. It is, however, noticeable that the neighbouring dedications of panegyriarchs are to *θεῶν μεγίστην*, presumably Allât, who may be the paredros of Dusares.

⁵ Brünnow-Domaszewski, iii, p. 265; Dussaud, *Notes*, p. 117.

⁶ See especially de Saulcy, *Terre Sainte*, pp. 373 ff, and Dussaud, loc. cit.

⁷ Dalman, *Petra u.s. Felsheiligtümer*, p. 50, thinks they are the remains of pillars supporting an arch over the baetyl.

basis, probably a *ka'bah* or *môtab* (plate XI, 2). This is the type which has usually been described as a wine-press, but has been at last recognised for what it really is by Dussaud.¹

Bust of City-goddess, turreted (TYXH).

City-goddess (TYXH), standing, turreted, resting on spear or sceptre, and holding human head. On a coin in the British Museum this figure appears in a shrine. The head which she holds is that of the emperor; see *B.M.C. Palestine*, p. xix.

Herakles seated on rock, r. resting on club.

Two deities, one lying down, the other seated behind (apparently a river-god, presumably the Wady Zeidy, and Tyche) (plate XI, 1). Inscription ΑΔΡΑΗΝΩΝ.Ο? Μ? ΤΥΧΗC Ε(τους) ΒΟ (Paris). The doubtful letters may point to the title Κομμοδιανῶν, of which there seems to be a trace on another coin of Commodus recorded by Hardouin.²

The inscription ΔΟΥCΑΡΙΑ which is supposed to occur on a coin of Adraa is perhaps really ΔΟΥCΑΡΗC.³ The description: 'Table on which is an urn, between two small figures; under⁴ the table, a press,' suggests that the 'urn' is not a prize-crown or vase, but the baetyl of Dusares.

BOSTRA.

Bostra, the modern *Boşra*,⁵ belonged to the Nabataean kingdom and was included by Trajan under the name Νέα Τραϊανή Βόστρα in the Provincia Arabia. Its era dates from this incorporation, beginning 22nd March, 106.⁶

The earliest coins which can with certainty be assigned to Bostra are of Antoninus Pius; but it is generally supposed that the coins of Hadrian, with the bust of Arabia holding two small figures⁷ in her arms (plate XI, 3), were struck at this mint. There are a few quasi-autonomous coins which seem to bear the date⁸ Ε(τους) ΖΟ i.e. 76, which would place them in the reign of Commodus; and another, apparently not dated, mentioned below.

¹ The coin of Elagabalus representing three baetyls on a platform approached by steps, with ΔΟΥC ΘΕΟC, which Dussaud (*Notes*, p. 170) ascribes to Adraa is more probably of Bostra.

² de Saulcy, p. 374, note on no. 2.

³ See de Saulcy, p. 375, under Caracalla.

⁴ Not upon the table, as de Saulcy says.

⁵ For the remains see especially Brünnow-Domaszewski, iii, pp. 1-84. C. R. Morey has made a useful list of the known coins of Bostra in the appendix to Div. ii, sect. A, part 4 of *Publications of the Princeton Univ. Archaeol. Exped. to Syria in 1904-1905 and 1909*; this appendix is hereafter cited as Morey, *Bostra*. It supersedes

the same author's article in the *Revue Numismatique* for 1911. The article on Bostra by Kubitschek in the *Numismatische Zeitschrift* for 1916 only came into my hands after this article was in type. I have endeavoured to incorporate most of the information which he provides.

⁶ Brünnow-Domaszewski, iii, p. 303.

⁷ Possibly personifying the Auranitis and Arabia Petraea. The type is not included by M. Jatta in his *Rappresentanze figurate delle Province Romane* (1908).

⁸ For the form of Ε for Ε(τους) compare the coins of Olba in Cilicia, *B.M.C. Lycaonia*, etc. pp. 119 ff.

The date of the erection of Bostra into a colony is in dispute. Eckhel¹ is inclined to refer the statement of Damascius, that it was made a colony (*πολιζεται*) by 'Severus,' to Septimius Severus rather than Severus Alexander. This must have been after A.D. 209-210, as the existence of Greek coins of Septimius Severus and Domna shows. Some of the small coins of Caracalla inscribed **COL·MET·ANTONINIANA·AVR·** (in various forms), and usually classed under Carrhae, have been attributed to Bostra; for they are said to read **B**, and one of them **BOSTRA** in full, after the other titles.² These readings, so far, entirely lack confirmation; and it may be remarked that, if Bostra was already called Metropolis in the reign of Caracalla, it would hardly have dropped the title only to resume it under Philip. Further, while these coins of Caracalla do not resemble in style or fabric those of Bostra either before or after his reign, they are extremely close to those of Carrhae. De Saulcy³ seems therefore to have been justified in rejecting the attribution to Bostra altogether.⁴ Nor is it probable that Elagabalus was responsible for the foundation; for the one coin which seems to show that the place was a colony in his time is equally unverified.⁵ In fact, there is no satisfactory evidence of the foundation of the colony before Severus Alexander.⁶ It then takes the title *Colonia Bostra Nova Traiana Alexandriana*. Under Philip it acquires the title *Metropolis* and the titles acquired from Trajan and Severus Alexander disappear. The coinage comes to an end with Trajan Decius or Trebonianus Gallus.

The types are as interesting as they are puzzling. Of chief importance is the god Dusares.⁷ There is an anthropomorphic representation of this god, on a coin of Commodus:—

Obv. ΛΑΥΡΚΟΜΟΔΟΚΑΙΣΤΟΚΥΙΟΓ (?) ΕΥ.⁸ Bust of Commodus r.

Rev. ΒΟΤΡΗΝ ΩΝΔΟΥΣΑΡΗ. Beardless male bust r. draped, wearing diadem or fillet.

¹ *Doctr.* iii, 500. Kubitschek, *op. cit.* p. 189, argues that the authority of Damascius on such a point is worthless.

² *Mus. Sanclem.* iii, p. 8, 9; Mionnet, *Supp.* viii, p. 385, nos. 9-14; Morey in *Rev. Num.* 1911, pp. 81 f. The reading **BOSTRA** is given in *Mus. Sanclem.* on the authority of Cousinéry. Morey, who had previously (*Rev. Num.* loc. cit.) accepted the attribution of these coins to Bostra, now recognises its improbability.

³ *Terre Sainte*, p. 366.

⁴ Another coin of Caracalla that has probably been misread seems to give the name **ΑΝΤΩΝΙ...** to Bostra (de Saulcy, p. 365, no. 2). As regards an alleged later coin with Greek inscription, see Kubitschek, *op. cit.* p. 186 (Maximinus, Thessalonica).

⁵ Pellerin, *Mél. de Méd.* i (1765), p. 300, no. 6. *Obv.* IMP. M. AVR. ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝ. Bust of Elagabalus laureate. *Rev.* Ν. ΤΡΑ. ΒΟΤΡΑ. Founder ploughing with two oxen. cf. Mionnet,

v, 582, 20 (who gives Ν. ΤΡΑ. ΒΟΤΡΑ). The mixture of Latin and Greek on the obverse is, of course, possible, but does not add to our confidence in the reading. Kubitschek, *op. cit.* p. 187, thinks that Bostra may have been made a colony in the last days of Elagabalus, while Alexander was Caesar.

⁶ P. Meyer, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher f. class. Philol.* xliii, 1897, p. 595, note, cuts the difficulty by saying that Bostra received 'Stadtrecht' under Septimius Severus, and became a colony under Severus Alexander.

⁷ See especially Baethgen, *Beitr. z. semit. Religionsgesch.* pp. 92 ff; Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa, v, 1865 f; Dussaud, *Notes de Mythologie Syr.* pp. 169 ff; C. R. Morey, *Rev. Num.* 1911, pp. 69 ff. = *Bostra*, pp. 1 ff.

⁸ cf. the inscription on the coin of Commodus in the British Museum: ΛΑΥΡΚΟΜ [ΚΑ ?] ΙΣΤΑΥ (?) ΤΥΙΟΙΣΒ. On Γ for Ε and Σ, see Kubitschek, *op. cit.* pp. 190 n. 3.

Æ. 22 mm. Princeton Art Museum. C. R. Morey in *Rev. Num.* 1911, p. 69 = *Bostra*, p. 12, no. 12, fig. 11 (here plate xi, 4).

The bust on the reverse of a coin of Philip, which Morey takes for Philip Junior, probably represents the same god.

Since Dusares was identified with Dionysos,¹ it has been thought that he is to be recognised in the god who appears on a coin of Elagabalus (plate xi, 4 bis), on which the attribute of the god has been taken for a panther. But there is little doubt that that god is the same as the one who appears under Trajan Decius (plate xi, 5),² where the animal accompanying him seems to be more like a ram than a panther; in fact he is no other than Zeus Ammon (see below).

Dussaud has explained the type, usually described as a wine-press, which is found on various coins of Bostra (plate xi, 6, 7), as three baetyls sacred to Dusares. Kubitschek³ dismisses this interpretation as a 'verlorene Sache'; and recently Morey has endeavoured to revive the wine-press theory.⁴ I confess that the arguments against Dussaud's views seem to me to be quite baseless. The fact that an anthropomorphic representation of the god occurs under Commodus is certainly no reason for supposing that an aniconic representation would not occur later; the evidence of coinages, such as those of Perga or Ephesus, where primitive cultus statues existed, proves the precise contrary. Secondly, the object does not, apparently, bear any very close resemblance to any known form of ancient wine-press.⁵ If the central portion is a press, the two objects at the sides are certainly not in the least like vases. It is true that no satisfactory explanation has been given of the flat objects⁶ of which seven are piled on the central baetyl, and one on each of the side ones; but such caps to baetyls are known in other cases, and occur both singly and doubly at Paphos.⁷ The number seven may have some religious significance, as Dussaud remarks.

The platform on which the baetyls rest, and the top of which is approached by steps, is doubtless, as Dussaud has shown, a sort of altar, *môtab* or *ka'bah*. It is true that Suidas or his source (s.v.

¹ See e.g. G. Dalman, *Petra u. s. Felsheiligtümer* (1908), p. 50. In the dedication by Syllaenus at Miletus he is identified with Zeus.

² cf. the coin of Etruscilla, de Saulcy, p. 370, where the type is also described as Dionysos (cf. Morey, *Bostra*, p. 16, no. 51).

³ *Num. Zeit.* 1908, p. 131. He still adheres to his view in *Num. Zeit.* 1916, p. 192.

⁴ He publishes an interesting variation of the type, his fig. 20, on which the base looks rather like a throne (here plate xi, 6). On the left, upwards, is ΔΟΥ; in the exergue ΟC (which is probably for ΘC [OC] as in Dussaud's reading of the Ruvier specimen).

⁵ Since the above was written, the technical objections to the wine-press theory have been put with convincing force in *Rev. Num.* 1916, p. 184. All the constructional parts of a press (the two summers, the two posts) are lacking; so also are all the essential elements of the screw (such as transverse lever, hole therefor in the head of the screw, inclination of the thread, etc.); and the base, instead of being solid, as is essential, is a platform.

⁶ Dussaud's suggestion of shewbread does not seem very probable.

⁷ *B.M.C. Cyprus*, p. cxxxii.

Θεοάρης) says that the baetyl of Dusares had square faces and rested on a golden base; but possibly he confused the omphalos-shaped baetyl itself with the square base on which it rested. The coins of Adraa show the baetyl in a simpler form (see above).

The fact that two camels (or rather the figures thereof) were dedicated by Nabataeans to Dusares, according to an inscription at Puteoli,¹ does not prove, though it does suggest, that the camel was his sacred animal; nor is that necessary to explain the appearance of the camel on the coins of Bostra. A quasi-autonomous coin (here plate xi, 8) in the Paris Cabinet (*obv.* head of City-goddess) is described by Morey (no. 1) as having on the reverse two camels, one with a rider (possibly Dusares). But the animals, and the type as a whole, bear an extraordinarily close resemblance to the type on the coins of Orthosia in Phoenicia²; and the animals, whether they be panthers or griffins, are almost certainly winged. On the other hand a camel-rider appears on a coin of Caracalla or Elagabalus (plate xi, 9) with the half-read and unexplained inscription **OEOKANI** (? ?),³ which seems to contain the element **ΘEO** and may therefore be a god's name.

The games celebrated at the annual festival of Dusares (25th Dec.) were known as the Actia Dusaria, as is proved by the inscriptions on the coins.

If Dussaud is happy in his interpretation of the baetylic type of Dusares, he is less certainly right in his theory of the identification of Zeus Ammon with the Arabian god. Ammon appears as the god of the third legion (Cyrenaica) which was quartered at Bostra.⁴ He is represented on a coin already mentioned (plate xi, 5) in soldier's garb, proving his connexion with the legion. A very interesting Concordia type (cf. *Rev. Num.* 1911, plate iii, 10) shows the god, representing the legion, in concord with the City-goddess.

The City-goddess type (**TYXH**) is manifestly influenced by the Astarte-City-goddess of Phoenicia and Palestine (plate xi, 10). One foot is placed on the back of a small crouching animal; unfortunately this detail is obscure on all specimens known to me, although de Saulcy identifies it as a lion on a good specimen which was in his collection.⁵ She rests her hand on a spear, which is apparently topped by a small trophy, although this detail is seldom in any degree clear.

¹ *C.I.S.* ii (i), p. 183, no. 157.

² *B.M.C. Phoenicia*, p. lxxvii, plates xvi, 1, and xli, 16.

³ De Saulcy, p. 366, no. 3. Cf. Kubitschek, *op. cit.* pp. 191-2. 'One of the gods of the Nabataeans seems to have been called 𐤊𐤍 (Baethgen, *Beitr. z. semit. Religionsgesch.* pp. 107 f.) and this may be represented by the **KANI** of the Greek inscription.'

⁴ Drexler in *Zeit. f. Num.* xiii (1885), p. 281; C. R. Morey, *Bostra*, p. 8. The cuirass worn by the god is best seen on a coin at Paris with his

bust. On the pre-colonial coin of Elagabalus, mentioned above, his garb is not military.

⁵ p. 365. As Kubitschek remarks (p. 193) it is probable that the object on which Tyche rests her foot is always the same, not a lion on one coin, a prow on another, a human figure on a third. He describes (*ibid.*) a coin of Otacilia Severa with *rev.* Bust of Tyche, veiled and turreted, holding a sceptre ending in a flower-shaped or cornucopiae-shaped head. Is not this the ordinary type with the cornucopiae as seen on many earlier coins?

She holds a cornucopiae. On one coin, of Mamaea, two small creatures, which have been taken for centaurs, stand on either side of her; Dussaud is, however, probably right in describing them as bulls.¹ It may be observed that in a dedication at Petra,² by one of the panegyriarchs of Adraa, a goddess is figured; she is described as being seated, wearing modius and veil and holding a cornucopiae, with two oxen recumbent at her feet. We have already seen that another of these dedications, in the same place, is connected with Dusares. We may take it that this goddess, who is also the City-goddess of Adraa and Bostra, is Allât, the consort of Dusares, or possibly the *Χααμοῦ* mentioned by St. Epiphanius as the virgin-mother of that god. Dussaud's attempt to explain away St. Epiphanius' account is based on the doubtful reading *Χααβοῦ*.³

A very interesting type of the City-goddess is the Athena of plate xi, 11. There can be no doubt that she is the City-goddess, since the inscription calls her Tyche. There is abundant evidence that, in the Hauran, Athena was identified with Allât.⁴

The 'god of (the tribe) Qatsiu' was worshipped at Bostra,⁵ but the coins do not help to inform us how he was represented, and whether he was identical with *Zeûs Κάσιος* or Ba'al-Shamin.

The coin-engravers of Bostra seem to have used the genitive of the town name **ΒΟΤΡΩΝ** and the ethnic **ΒΟΤΡΗΝΩΝ** indifferently. Among the Latin inscriptions on the coins is found the transliteration **BOSTRON**.

CHARACHMOBA.

The *Kîr-Môab* of the Old Testament, *el-Kerak* at the present day.⁶ The coins, which are all of Elagabalus, were unknown until Babelon published two of the specimens now in the British Museum. The third was at the time unknown to him. On this coin, unfortunately badly preserved, a figure is seated before an erection on which is a tall object between two small baetyls (?), i.e. probably an altar or cult-stone of Dusares, as on coins of Bostra and Adraa,

¹ *Notes*, p. 180. It is strange, at the same time, that he has mistaken the goddess for a male deity.

² Brünnow-Domaszewski, i, p. 220, fig. 252. Dalman, *Petra u. s. Felsheiligtümer*, p. 145, says the goddess stands between two panthers; he cannot see the cornucopiae, and adds that the modius is conjectural.

³ See Baethgen, *Beitr. z. sem. Religionsgesch.* (1888), p. 107. Littmann (*Princeton Univ. Arch. Exp. div.* iv, sect. A, p. 57) is inclined to regard שרית (*Sbarait*) as the name of the consort of Dusares at Bostra; but his interpretation is admittedly

very uncertain. Another Nabataean goddess at Petra and Bostra is al-'Uzza (ibid. p. 58), but she is only a hypostasis of Allât (Dussaud, *Les Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam*, p. 132).

⁴ Baethgen, *Beitr.* p. 97; Dussaud, *Les Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam* (1907), p. 129.

⁵ Littmann, *Princeton Univ. Arch. Exp. div.* iv, sect. A, p. 13.

⁶ Benzinger in Pauly-Wissowa, iii, 2120; Babelon in *Rev. Num.* 1899, pp. 274 f.; art. *Kîr (of Moab)* in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*; A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, i (1907), pp. 45-62.

rather than a wine-press; but the central object in this case looks more like a column¹ than an omphalos-shaped baetyl.

DIUM.

Dium² of the Decapolis probably belonged to Provincia Arabia in the time of Septimius Severus, when its coins were issued³; certainly that was the case at a later time. Its site is very uncertain: *Kejfr-Abil*, near Pella; *Edûn* and *Kal'at el-Husn*, near *Irbid*; and *Tell-el-Ash'ari*, N. of *el-Muzêrib* have all been suggested.⁴

The era employed on the coins is the Pompeian, since the place received its liberty from Pompeius. In the Decapolis this era seems to have dated from Oct. 63 B.C.⁵ Consequently the dates which appear on the coins of Caracalla and Geta (268, 270, 271 and 275) are all, with the exception of the last, within the reign of Septimius Severus. The coin of Caracalla with **EOC** rests on the authority of Sestini only; that of Geta with apparently the same date has been shown by de Saulcy to be really of year 270 (**OC**). There is, of course, nothing improbable in the issue of a coin by Caracalla in 275 = 212-13 A.D. The type of this piece, according to Sestini, is the City-goddess seated, with a river-god at her feet.

The type of the other coins is the Syrian god Hadad (plate XI, 12), who appears in many slightly varying forms on coins of Syrian cities, notably Hierapolis, Rhosus and Raphanea⁶; the bulls are a constant element in the type. At Rhosus, as at Dium, horns appear on the top of his head. Hadad, being equated by the Greeks with Zeus, was appropriately worshipped at a place called Dium.

EBODA.

The site of *Εβωδα⁷ is at *el-'Abdeh*, in Arabia Petraea, south of Elusa. It is sometimes called Oboda and was the seat of a cult of Zeus Obodas.

Apparently the only known specimen of the coinage is that identified by Imhoof-Blumer:

Obv. [ΝΕΡΩΝ] ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣ. Head of Nero r. laur.

Rev. ΕΒΩ l. [Δ]ΗΣ r. Nike apteros l. semi-nude, holding wreath

¹ Such as the מִשְׁנָה erected to Dusares at Umm-el-Jimâl (*Princeton Univ. Arch. Exped.* div. iv, sect. A, p. 34). For Nabataean pillar-idols generally, see Dalman, *Petra u. s. Felsheiligtümer*, p. 70.

² Benzinger in Pauly-Wissowa, v, 834; de Saulcy, pp. 378 ff.

³ Brünnow-Domaszewski, iii, p. 264 f. The coin discussed at such length by de Saulcy, with ΔΚΣ ΔΙΟΥ, belongs to Seleucia on the Tigris.

⁴ de Saulcy, loc. cit.; Brünnow-Domaszewski,

loc. cit. and p. 361; Bleckmann in *Zeitschr. d. deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, xxxvi, (1913), p. 234.

⁵ Brünnow-Domaszewski, op. cit. iii, p. 304.

⁶ Dussaud in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, vii, 2161.

⁷ See Imhoof-Blumer, *Monn. grecques*, p. 450; Benzinger in Pauly-Wissowa, v, 1896; Brünnow-Domaszewski, iii, p. 268; Anz. Akad. Wiss. Wien, Phil.-hist. Kl. 44 (1907), p. 140. For the site see *Rev. Bibl.* 1904, pp. 403 ff. 1905, pp. 74 ff.; A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, II, ii (1908), pp. 106-151. I have to thank Dr. Imhoof-Blumer for a cast of the coin here illustrated.

in r., palm branch in l. Æ 16 mm. Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Collection, here plate xi, 13): see Mionnet, *Supp.* viii, 387, 21 (under Esbus); de Saulcy, p. 394; Imhoof-Blumer, loc. cit.

The occurrence of a coinage in this district so early as the time of Nero is surprising; but it must be remembered that the relations of Eboda with Gaza (between which and Petra it was about half-way) must have been fairly close; and Gaza had a coinage at this time.

ESBUS.

Ἑσβους, the Biblical *Heshbôn*, is the modern *Heshbân* between Philadelphia and Medaba, 26 km. east of the north end of the Dead Sea.¹

The coins are probably all of the time of Elagabalus, although some of them have been attributed to Caracalla. The types are an ordinary seated Zeus, holding phiale; the city-goddess in her temple, her right foot on a small figure, an obscure object (perhaps the emperor's bust²) in her hand; and the god illustrated on plate xi, 14. This is the second type described by de Saulcy as Astarte holding a small bust; but it is apparently a male god,³ perhaps akin to the so-called Mên who appears on the coins of Gaba.⁴ The conical object which he holds resembles a pine-cone, but it may perhaps be compared with the conical stone, if it be a stone, held by the City-goddess on coins of Sebaste in Samaria.⁵ A serpent twines round the spear or sceptre on which he leans.⁶

The coins show that Esbus was called Aurelia.

GERASA.

Gerasa (*Jerash*) was probably included in the Provincia Arabia at the time of its foundation.⁷ The coins bear no dates, but the so-called Pompeian era was in use on inscriptions there.⁸ The place is not mentioned in history before Josephus, who says that it was taken by Alexander Jannaeus.⁹ But one of the Seleucid kings, probably Antiochus IV who was fond of renaming cities, had previously given it the name of Antiochia ἡ πρὸς τῷ Χρυσορόα. This is proved by various inscriptions of the second century after Christ, which speak of the inhabitants as Ἀντιοχεῖς οἱ πρὸς Χρυσορόα

¹ de Saulcy, p. 393; Benzinger in Pauly-Wissowa, vi, 613; A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, i (1907), pp. 383 ff.

² *B.M.C. Palestine*, p. xix.

³ Eckhel, iii, p. 503.

⁴ Drexler in Roscher, ii, 2728 f. where it is suggested that this is the Semitic god Sin.

⁵ *B.M.C. Palestine*, p. 78.

⁶ This suggests another possibility: the god

may be the Phoenician Eshmun with his sacred serpent, whose worship might well have been considered in place at *Heshbôn*.

⁷ Brünnow-Domaszewski, iii, p. 265.

⁸ *ibid.* p. 303; Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüdischen Volkes*, ii⁴, pp. 182 ff.

⁹ For the history of the place, see G. Schumacher in *Zeitschr. d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, xxv (1902), pp. 119 ff; Schürer, op. cit. pp. 177 ff.

οἱ πρότερον Γερασηνοί¹, and by coins of M. Aurelius and L. Verus which bear the same legend abbreviated. These coins are published by Imhoof-Blumer.² The type of that of M. Aurelius is Tyche, with rudder and cornucopiae, standing, with the emperor (?) togate, standing to front behind her; that of L. Verus bears Tyche seated on a rock, holding ears of corn, with a figure of the river-god Chrysorrhoas swimming at her feet (see plate xi, 15).

The coins of imperial date belong for the most part, if not entirely, to the period of the city's greatest prosperity in the second century, and extend from Hadrian to Commodus, and perhaps to Severus Alexander.³ Under the bust on the obverse of many of the coins of Hadrian are certain unexplained letters, which have been read **ΕΛΙ, ΔΕ, ΑΙ**, etc. It does not seem possible to read them as dates, or as part of the title of the emperor.

The prevailing type is the bust of Artemis as Tyche of the city (plate xi, 16).⁴ Dedications to the goddess are found among the inscriptions from the site; the great temple of Gerasa was dedicated to her, not, as formerly supposed, to the Sun.⁵ The coins throw no light on the other cults of the city which are revealed by the inscriptions (Zeus Olympios with Hera, Zeus Helios Sarapis with Isis and Νεωτέρα, i.e. Nephthys,⁶ the Θεὸς Ἀραβικός, presumably Dusares, etc.).

MEDABA.

Medaba (*Mādaba*), chiefly famous for its geographical mosaic,⁷ was not known to have struck coins until Babelon⁸ published one

¹ Perdrizet, *Lettre au R.P. Séjourné in Rev. Biblique*, p. 441 (pp. 13 ff. of reprint), who shows (1) that Imhoof-Blumer's interpretation of the latter part of the coin-legend as τῶν πρὸς Γεράσιους must be corrected as in the text; (2) that therefore Antiochia ad Chrysorrhoam and Gerasa were identical, not neighbouring places; and (3) that the Chrysorrhoas is not the river of Damascus and Leucas, but another stream on which Jerash lies, called the *Wady Jerash*. The most recently-found inscription is a Latin one of Hadrian mentioning the place under the title 'Antiochia ad Chrysorhoan quae et Gerasa Hiera et Asylo(s) et Autonomos' (Cheesman in *Journ. Rom. Stud.* iv (1914), p. 13).

² *Rev. Suisse*, viii (1898), p. 47 f. I have to thank Dr. Imhoof-Blumer for casts of these coins, and of a third in the Gotha cabinet on which the inscription is incomplete (M. Aurelius, Tyche seated as on the coin of Verus).

³ de Saulcy, *Terre Sainte*, pp. 385 ff. The coin of Severus Alexander, with a figure of Artemis as huntress, depends on Sestini's authority only. The coinage probably began on the occasion of Hadrian's visit to Palestine in 129-30, when a statue of the emperor was erected in the city:

see Bleckmann in *Zeitschr. D.P.V.* xxxvi, p. 231, and cf. *ibid.* pp. 260 f.; or it may have been connected with the wintering of eight troops of the Cavalry of the Guard at Gerasa, which Cheesman (*Journ. Rom. Stud.* iv (1914), p. 16) supposes to have taken place in A.D. 132.

⁴ de Saulcy describes one coin of Hadrian (p. 385, 3, Mionnet, v, p. 329, 57) as having the bust placed on a crescent.

⁵ H. Lucas in *Mitt. u. Nachr. des deutschen Palestina-Vereins*, 1901, pp. 50 ff.: no. 2 Θεῇ Ἀρτέμιδι; nos. 3, 5 Ἀρτέμιδι κυρία; no. 4 Θεῇ Λακα[ίην] ἐπηκόω Ἀρτέμιδι. Schumacher, *Zeitschr. D.P.V.* xxv (1902), p. 130, adheres to the view that the great temple was dedicated to the Sun. For other inscriptions, besides the references given by Schürer, p. 179 note, see *Princeton Univ. Expedition*, div. iii, sect. A, part i, pp. 18 f.

⁶ A. J. Reinach, *Rev. Ét. gr.* 1912, p. 68.

⁷ A. Jacoby, *Das geogr. Mosaik von Madaba* (1905). On the site see A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, i (1907), pp. 113-123.

⁸ *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad.* 1898, p. 387 = *Mél. Num.* iii, pp. 251 ff.

of the Hamburger specimens, now in the British Museum, and another in the Paris Cabinet, which had been described by de Saulcy as possibly a coin of Rabbath-Moba or Gaba.¹ To these coins, which are of Elagabalus, we may now add two dated coins of Caracalla, in the British Museum, and two of Septimius Severus.² De Saulcy read the coin of Elagabalus in the Paris Cabinet... **BHN TYXH**, and Babelon accordingly assumes, for this coin, the ethnic **ΜΗΔΑΒΗΝΩΝ**.

Possibly the **H** is a badly formed **W**. The coins of Septimius Severus, if rightly read, confirm the termination **-ηνῶν**; but in the illustration given the last three letters **ΝΩΝ** are indicated as doubtful, while in the text the letters [**HN**] are bracketed. The draughtsman has read the first two letters as **MA**; he may be right, since the form **Μάδαβα** is one of the many in which the name appears in literature.

All the other coins read **ΜΗΔΑΒΥΝ TYXH**. The City-goddess is represented, on three of the four specimens where she appears, as holding a human bust, which has been shown elsewhere to be that of the reigning emperor³ (plate xi, 17). On the fourth the object in her right hand, which is held close to her body, is not distinguishable.

An interesting coin of Septimius Severus, published by R. P. Decloedt, represents Helios (**ΗΛΙ**) in a quadriga to front, his head to l. and his r. hand raised; the torch which Père Decloedt says that he holds in his left arm is not shown in the illustration. Behind him appears a double arc which may be meant to indicate the heavens.

The coins of Caracalla appear to be dated by the Arabian era, which, as Kubitschek remarks,⁴ was naturally used by Medaba so long as it belonged to the Arabian province. The dates on the two coins in the British Museum appear to me to be **PE** (A.D. 210-11) rather than **PΘ** (A.D. 214-15.)

MOCA.

De Saulcy⁵ is rightly doubtful of the existence of coins of Moca. Coins of Antoninus Pius and Septimius Severus were described by Vaillant⁶ as reading respectively **MOKA IEP. ACY. AYTO** (City-goddess in tetrastyle temple, in r. spear, in l. cornucopiae) and **MOKA IEP. ACYΛ. AY** (female figure standing, holding poppy-head and corn-ears in r., cornucopiae in l.). Mionnet⁷ described similarly a specimen of the former from the Beaucousin cabinet, and a specimen of the latter (with a slight difference in the inscription, **MOKA. IEP.**

¹ de Saulcy, *Terre Sainte*, p. 358.

² R. P. Achille Decloedt, *Rev. Num.* 1910, p. 532. He mentions a second specimen in the collection of the German Benedictines at Jerusalem.

³ *B.M.C. Palestine*. p. xix.

⁴ *Mitth. d. k. k. geog. Gesellsch. in Wien*, 1900, p. 369.

⁵ *Terre Sainte*, p. 402.

⁶ *Num. Imp.* pp. 44 and 84.

⁷ v, p. 586, nos. 40, 41.

A. AYTO) which de Saulcy has shown to be really a coin of Hermocapelia. Yet another autonomous piece attributed to Moca is stated by de Saulcy to belong to Mopsus. The coin of Antoninus Pius has not been verified.¹

PETRA.

Petra,² the capital of the Nabataean kingdom, was presumably the chief mint of the Nabataean regal coinage. Its coinage under the Roman empire is of comparatively small interest, and extends only from Hadrian to Geta. The coins³ show that Hadrian bestowed on the city the titles Hadriana and Metropolis. The coinage under this emperor must have been considerable in extent, since among the twelve coins in the British Museum only two show the use of a common obverse die.

The chief type is the City-goddess (plate xi, 18), who, according to Dalman, is to be identified with Allât-Manâtu.⁴ She carries a trophy, and sometimes holds in her other hand other objects which cannot be easily made out. On one coin, the object has been described⁵ as a human bust; but it differs little from the object which, on another coin,⁶ looks like a small stele, and may perhaps represent a deity (see plate xi, 19).⁷ Usually, however, her right hand is open.⁸ On a coin of Antoninus Pius she is shown sacrificing.⁹ The coins throw no light on the cult of Dusares, the chief god of the Arabians, unless the object held by the city-goddess, as above described, is connected with him.

De Saulcy has described a series of coins of Elagabalus which, if rightly attributed, would show that Petra became a Roman colony in the reign of that emperor. These coins, which are not uncommon,¹⁰ appear always to come from Palestine. The reverse type is a

¹ Mr. E. S. G. Robinson suggests that it may be a coin of Dora, with the inscription ΔΩΠΑ. ΙΕΡ. ΑΥ. ΑΥΤΟ κ.τ.λ. and a type similar to that of *B.M.C Phoenicia*, p. 118, no. 43 (Elagabalus). In the illustration in Gessner, *Num. Ant. Imp. Rom.* pl. cii, fig. 46, the word ΜΟΚΑ occupies the same position in the exergue as the word ΔΩΠΑ on the coin of Elagabalus, and the representation of the temple looks as if the engraver had omitted the gable and one column on each side.

² See especially Brünnow - Domaszewski, i, pp. 125-428; A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, ii (1907), pp. 41 ff.; G. Dalman, *Petra u. s. Felsheiligtümer* (1908), and *Neue Petra-Forschungen* (1912).

³ de Saulcy, pp. 351-3. Perhaps the titles were given on the occasion of a visit by Hadrian in 130. Kubitschek, *Num. Zt.* 1916, p. 185-6.

⁴ *Petra*, p. 52.

⁵ de Saulcy, p. 353.

⁶ In the market in 1906; *obv.* ΑΥΚ - - - ΥΗ ΡΟΕΤΤΕ - bust of Severus r. laureate; in counter-

mark on neck, Δ; *rev.* ΑΔΡΙΑΝΗΤΕΤ ΠΑΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ. City-goddess seated l. as described in text. Mionnet (v, p. 588, 49) describes a coin of Geta bearing on the obverse Ε in counter-mark.

⁷ cf. the pillar-idols so frequent at Petra: Dalman, *Petra*, p. 70.

⁸ Her fingers have apparently been taken for ears of corn by de Saulcy (p. 351, no. 1); and the cornucopiae and palm-branch which have been described as carried by her on some specimens seem to be equally doubtful.

⁹ Probably also on a joint coin of two Antonine emperors, where de Saulcy describes the reverse type as a pontifex.

¹⁰ de Saulcy mentions three in the Paris Cabinet, two in his own collection (acquired at Jerusalem,) and one (under Pella, p. 292, 'Caracalla') from the Clermont-Ganneau collection; this last is now in the British Museum, which also acquired three others with the Hamburger collection.

founder (who is only partly visible) ploughing to r. with two oxen. The inscription in the exergue is **COΛOY** or **COLONI** (with **A** sometimes in front of the oxen's forefeet); above is **ΠΕΤΑΛ**, **ΠΕΤΑ** or **ΠΕΙΑ**. The fabric is usually thick and dumpy, entirely unlike anything found at Petra, but resembling that of the smaller coins of places like Caesarea Samariae and Ascalon. Under the circumstances the series cannot yet be accepted as belonging to Petra.

De Saulcy has pointed out that the letters read as **ΠΑΔ** by Pellerin on a coin of Septimius Severus are really **MHT**. No dated coins of Petra are known.

PHILADELPHIA.

Philadelphia,¹ the Biblical *Rabbah* or *Rabbath-benê-'Ammôn*, is represented by extensive ruins at *'Ammân*. It acquired its Greek name from Ptolemy Philadelphus, who rebuilt it. Stephanus (s.v. *Φιλαδέλφεια*) says that it was called *Ἀστάρτη*, which may be a confusion with *Ἀστερία*, since a goddess of this name is proved by the coins to have been worshipped there, and since Eustathius² actually mentions a city called Asteria in Syria. The coins,³ which are inscribed **ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΝ ΚΟΙΝΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΑΣ**, show that the place was included in Coele-Syria, and it is mentioned by Pliny under Decapolis; but it belonged to the province of Arabia as early as A.D. 138, and doubtless from the constitution of the province.⁴ It continued, however, to employ the Pompeian era of 63 B.C. at least as late as A.D. 164-5.

The Ammonites in Rabbah as elsewhere worshipped the god Milkom,⁵ and this worship evidently survived into the Roman period, since the Herakles, whose figure⁶ or head (often assimilated to the portrait of Caesar of the time) and sacred chariot appear on the coins, is clearly the 'Tyrian Herakles,'⁷ Molech-Melqarth-Milkom (plate xi, 20). According to one version,⁸ the mother of the Tyrian Herakles was Asteria, who also is represented and named on the coins, as a veiled goddess with a star surmounting her head (plate xi, 23).⁹

The sacred chariot of Herakles (**ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΝ ΑΡΜΑ**)¹⁰ which

¹ de Saulcy, pp. 386 ff.; Wroth, *B.M.C. Galatia*, etc. pp. lxxxix, 306; Schürer, ii⁴, pp. 189 ff.; *Princeton Univ. Arch. Exped.* div. ii, sect. A, part 1, pp. 34 ff.; div. iii, sect. A, pp. 8 ff.

² *Comm. ad Hom. Iliad.* 332, 19.

³ Müller's attribution of Alexandrine coins with **ΦΙ** (nos. 1473 ff.) to this mint cannot be accepted.

⁴ Brünnow-Domaszewski, iii, p. 265; Schürer, ii⁴, p. 192.

⁵ According to the LXX, 2 Sam. 12, 30.

⁶ de Saulcy, p. 391 (Caracalla, or rather Ela-

galus); Herakles standing, resting on club, holding lion-skin.

⁷ cf. the bust on the coin illustrated with the coins of Tyre, *B.M.C. Phoenicia*, pl. xxxvi.

⁸ Cicero, *de nat. deor.* iii, xvi, 42; Athenaeus, ix, 392 d.

⁹ On the other hand, the veiled goddess on certain quasi-autonomous coins, without a star above her head, is Demeter; for the reverse types associated with her bust are a wicker basket containing two ears of corn between two serpents (British Museum) and five ears of corn (Mionnet, v, p. 330, no. 61).

¹⁰ Various misread by older authorities.

is represented on some coins (plate XI, 22) is evidently one of those shrines, whether wheeled or provided with carrying poles, used for carrying an idol or cult-objects in procession, of which Phoenicia provides various examples.¹

The helmeted bust which appears both as an independent type and as an adjunct to the portrait of Antoninus Pius is usually described as Athena, but appears rather to be male.

Of the other types of Philadelphia, we may mention the City-goddess (**ΤΥΧΗ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΙΑC**), who is depicted in the usual Astarte-like form. The Dioscuri also occur; the type is probably only an allusion to the name of the city, and does not prove the existence of a cult there. The head of 'Bacchus,' described by Vaillant on coins of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, seems to require verification.² The Herakles types have already been mentioned, but attention should be called to the remarkable coin at Paris of M. Aurelius and L. Verus, with the facing bust of the god **ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ** holding a club over his shoulder.³ (Here plate XI, 21).

Of the quasi-autonomous coins described by de Saulcy, his first is a misread coin of Philadelphia in Cilicia,⁴ and his second appears to be badly preserved and of doubtful attribution. His coin of Agrippina Junior belongs to the Lydian Philadelphia.⁵ Thus there remain no coins earlier than the reign of Titus. From henceforward until the reign of Elagabalus the coinage is fairly continuous. The coins of Severus Alexander cited by de Saulcy rest on the authority of Sestini only.

PHILIPPOLIS.

Philippopolis was founded as a Roman Colony by Philip the Arabian. The site is at *esh-Shubba* (or *Shebba*), about 7 kil. north of *el-Kanawât* (Canatha?).⁶ A building which bears inscriptions in honour of members of Philip's family, including his father Julius Marinus, was probably a temple in which the deified Marinus was worshipped.⁷ Coins struck by Philip commemorate the apotheosis

¹ *Journ. Hellen. Stud.* xxxi, pp. 61 ff, pl. iii, 17-19; iv, 25, 34: cf. also the well-known car of the sun-god of Emesa. A temple of Herakles, and possibly also a procession in his honour, at Philadelphia are mentioned in an inscription: Clermont-Ganneau, *Rev. Arch.* vi (1905), pp. 209 ff.

² Perhaps they are coins of the Lydian Philadelphia. Lydian also may be the coin of M. Aurelius and L. Verus with a figure with extended arms in a distyle temple (Mionnet, v, p. 333, 79): possibly Helios, cf. *B.M.C. Lydia*, p. 199, no. 73.

³ de Saulcy, pl. xxii, 7. To judge from a cast, it would seem that the surface of the coin has been worked on.

⁴ A similar specimen from the Hamburger

collection shows that the letters on the reverse are **ΚΙΗ ΤΩΝ**.

⁵ Imhoof-Blumer, *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, p. 121, no. 29.

⁶ Brunnow-Domaszewski, iii, pp. 145 ff; *Publications of an Amer. Archaeol. Exped. to Syria in 1899-1900*, part ii (1904), pp. 376 ff; iii, pp. 307 ff; Kubitschek, *Sbr. Akad. Wien.* Bd. 177, Abh. 4 (1916), pp. 40 ff. Kubitschek's suggestion that the ancient name may have been Chababa is, he says, rejected by philologists, so far as equation with the modern name is concerned. It is to be presumed that Philip was born in the place where he founded the city (Dessau, *Prosopogr.* ii, p. 205).

⁷ Brunnow-Domaszewski, *ibid.* p. 167.

of his father, whose bust is borne by an eagle, and surrounded by the inscription **ΘΕΩ ΜΑΡΙΝΩ** (plate XI, 24).¹ But the statue of Roma on the coins with the portraits of the two Philips and Otacilia bears in her hand an eagle supporting not one but two small figures (plate XI, 25). These are possibly intended for Marinus and his wife, the mother of Philip, although there is no evidence that she was divinised.²

The coins of Philippopolis are not dated (though the city used a local era, about A.D. 244, commemorating its foundation).³ Philip gave it the status of a Roman colony, but the lack of Latin among the colonists is proved by the use of Greek inscriptions. The letters **SC** in the field are an attempt to repair the omission, on the analogy of the coins of Syrian Antioch, which likewise used the title **ΚΟΛΩΝΙΑ** in Greek.

The only reverse types of Philippopolis represent Roma, either standing or seated; when standing she holds a phiale, when seated the two figures. All the coins were evidently struck at the same time.

RABBATHMOBA.

The ruins of Rabbathmoba, which the Greeks called Areopolis, are at *er-Rabbah*.⁴ The difficult question of the relations of the ancient places Ar and Kerioth with Rabbathmoba cannot be discussed here.⁵ The following points are, however, to be noted:

Kerioth (Keriyōth) was apparently the chief cultus-place of the Moabite god Kemosh (Moabite Stone, G. A. Cooke, *N. Sem. Inscr.* p. 3).

The old name of Areopolis was Ariel (Ἀριήλ): Theodore, *Comm. in Is.* c. 16 and 29 (Migne, *Gr.* 81, 275 and 302); cf. Hieron. *de situ et nomin. locorum Hebr.* (Migne, *Gr.* 23, 162): some consider Ariel (*Is.* 29, 1) to be Areopolis, eo quod ibi usque nunc Ariel idolum colunt, vocatum ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄρεως, id est a Marte, unde et civitatem dictam suspicantur⁶; but St. Jerome takes Ariel here to refer to Jerusalem. Elsewhere (*Comm. in Is.* c. 15, 1) identifying Areopolis with the ancient Ar, he denies the derivation from Ares.

¹ See especially Waddington, *Mél. de Num.* ii, 61 f.

² de Saulcy takes the two figures to be the two Philips; but the eagle shows that the figures are divinised. Mowat (*Rev. Num.* 1912, p. 200) is certainly wrong in calling them the Dioscuri.

³ Brünnow-Domaszewski, iii, p. 305, give 248 (or, more exactly, between 247 and aut. 249). But Kubitschek, loc. cit. shows that Philip founded the colony before he went to Rome, where he arrived about summer 244.

⁴ Brünnow-Domaszewski, i, pp. 54–59. A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, i (1907), pp. 370–372, 381.

⁵ See especially F. Dietrich in Merx, *Archiv. f. wiss. Erforsch. des A. T.* i (1869), pp. 320 ff. and further references in articles *Ar* and *Kerioth* in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*.

⁶ Euseb. *Onom.* p. 58, 13 (ed. Larsow et Parthey): ἐπειδὴ καλοῦσιν εἰς ἔτι καὶ νῦν Ἀριήλ τὸ εἰδωλὸν αὐτῶν οἱ τὴν Ἀρεόπολιν οἰκοῦντες, ἀπὸ τοῦ σέβειν τὸν Ἄρεα, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὠνόμασαν.

The god who is represented on the coins of Rabbathmoba is, in the first place, a war-god (plate xi, 25). But the torch-like altars which flank his figure (they are not ordinary incense altars, since they evidently burn with a large flame) suggest a connexion with fire; and this is significant in view of the most favoured interpretation of the word *מִזְבֵּחַ* as 'altar-hearth.'¹

But for the statement of Eusebius it would be natural to call the deity represented on the coins of Rabbathmoba Kemosh; and indeed it is possible that Eusebius misunderstood his authority, and applied to the god the name that really belonged to his fire-altars; or there may have existed between the god and his altars the same intimate union as seems to be indicated in the case of the Arabian god Dusares and his *môtab*,² the two being mentioned on an equality. Baethgen³ has already pointed out that Kemosh was probably a war-god.

The coins of Rabbathmoba belong chiefly to Septimius Severus and his family. It may be doubted whether those which are attributed to Antoninus Pius and Gordian III (see de Saulcy) are rightly read; there is, however, no reason to doubt de Saulcy's coin of Elagabalus, whose head seems also to occur in countermarks on coins of the city.⁴

Besides the type of the war-god, we find on the coins the City-goddess, her left foot on a river-god, resting with her r. on a spear (?) and holding in her left the emperor's bust.⁵ The type of Poseidon used on coins of Caracalla is interesting in connexion with the fact that the city seems to have been subject to earthquakes.⁶

Readings by Vaillant suggest that the place-name was sometimes written *Rabbathmoma*, and this form is also attested by one of the manuscripts of Stephanus.

The era used on the coins is that of the province.

II. THE MINTS OF MESOPOTAMIA.

The cities considered under this heading were all included in the Roman province of Mesopotamia.⁷ The region was conquered by Trajan at the same time as Armenia and Assyria, as a result of his campaigns of A.D. 114-116; but it was given up by Hadrian, and only partly recovered by the campaigns of L. Verus (A.D. 162-165).

¹ See G. A. Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 11, quoting Robertson Smith's suggestion that the *מִזְבֵּחַ* was a pillar surmounted by a cresset, which exactly describes the objects on the coins.

² Cooke, op. cit. no. 80, note on l. 4.

³ *Beiträge zur semit. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 14.

⁴ As on a coin of Septimius Severus in the British Museum; cf. F. de Saulcy, etc. *Mélanges de Numism.* i (1875), p. 338.

⁵ de Saulcy, pp. 355 f. nos. 4-6.

⁶ St. Jerome, *Comm. in Jos.* c. 15.

⁷ Kiepert, *Formae Orbis Antiqui*. Mommsen, *Provinces*, ii, 68 ff. The details in Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.* i², 435 ff. are for the most part worthless, owing to his uncritical use of the numismatic evidence.

It was first properly organised by Septimius Severus. The Romans held it with varying completeness until Jovian in 363 ceded all east of the Chaboras to the Persians. It is bounded on the north by Armenia, on the west by the Euphrates, on the east by the Tigris; southwards it may for a time have extended to the sea; but the coinage of the southern portion was issued from Babylon and Seleucia,¹ and none of it comes into the period of the Roman Province.

ANTHEMUSIAS.

Anthemusias (also called Anthemusias or Anthemus) is identified by Regling² with Batnai and the modern *Eski-Seruj*. It was a Macedonian foundation and took its name from the Macedonian Anthemus. All the coins that can be verified are of the reign of Caracalla, who, as Regling suggests, may have visited the place on his eastern campaign.³ The reverse type is a head of the City-goddess. On some specimens she wears a crescent on her turreted crown, as at Carrhae.

CARRHAE.

Carrhae, *Crassi clade nobiles*, or *Harran*, lay at the junction of the rivers Skirtos and Karrha.⁴ It is described by Dion Cassius (37, 5) as a Macedonian colony. It was famous in antiquity for its cult of the Moon-god, the Babylono-Assyrian Sin, here called Ba'al-Harran.⁵ The coinage extends from Marcus Aurelius⁶ to Gordian and Tranquillina. Most, if not all, of the quasi-autonomous coins attributed to Carrhae belong to other mints. Thus the piece described by Dumersan⁷ and Millingen⁸ (*obv.* bearded head *r. rev.*, **XAPP** three ears of corn) is a common coin of Tingis in Mauretania⁹ with a Punic inscription; and Arigoni's piece (*obv.* head of Helios, with torch in front, *rev.* bucranium surmounted by a crescent and two stars with the inscription **ETCKAP PHNΩN**) is of Stectorium in Phrygia.¹⁰

¹ Seleucia is usually included by numismatists under Mesopotamia; but its nearness to Babylon and the unlikeness of its coinage to the otherwise homogeneous Roman coinages of Mesopotamian cities make it desirable to transfer it to Babylonian.

² In Lehmann's *Beiträge zur alten Gesch.* i, pp. 450-456.

³ Sestini (*Mus. Hed.* iii, p. 123, n. 1, Taf. 32-3) gives a coin of Maximinus. One of Domitian which has often been published is of Anemurium in Cilicia (see *B.M.C. Lycania*, etc. p. xli, note 2). Sestini also describes two coins which he reads **ANΘEΜΟΥΣΙΑ** instead of **ANΘEΜΟΥΣΙΩΝ**.

⁴ Regling in Lehmann's *Beitr.* z. *alt. Gesch.* i, map at p. 445; E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien u.*

Mesopotamien, 1883, pp. 217 ff.; D. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus* (1856), i, 303 ff.

⁵ cf. Chwolsohn, op. cit. i, pp. 399 ff. and the article *Sin* by Jeremias in Roscher's *Lexicon*, 890 f.

⁶ Unless *Invent. Waddington*, 7287, is rightly read, in which case the coinage begins with Antoninus Pius.

⁷ *Cabinet Allier de Hauteroche*, 1829, p. 114.

⁸ *Sylloge*, p. 82 pl. iv, 63.

⁹ L. Müller, *Numism. de l'Afrique anc.* iii, p. 146.

¹⁰ Sestini, *Catal. Num. vet. Mus. Arig.* (1805), p. 89. The type is common in Phrygia; see the coins of Eucarpeia, Hieropolis and Peltae, *B.M.C. Phrygia*, pl. xxvi, 7; xxxii. 5; xli, 5.

Here may be mentioned a curious bronze coin in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge :

Obv. Figure of armed goddess on basis, facing, with round shield on l. arm, wielding axe (?) in r. ; inscription **KAIKOΛΩ NEIAC** Border of dots.

Rev. On a basis, a baetyl, decorated with an eagle displayed, and with a crescent (?) ; inscription **ΛΛC**  **ΛΛ**. Border of dots.

Æ 19 mm.

Dr. Imhoof-Blumer kindly informs me that a specimen formerly in his collection read **ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩC** on the reverse, on the right side, where the Fitzwilliam coin is deficient ; on the other hand his specimen failed altogether where that in the Fitzwilliam Museum shows considerable though obscure remains of lettering.

I had been inclined to read these remains as **ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑC** and to attribute the coin to Carrhae, regarding **KAI** on the obverse as a miswriting of **KAP**. The type of the reverse would be quite appropriate to Carrhae. Further examination, however, inclines me strongly to read **ΛΑΟΔΙΚΙΑC**. If I am right, the coin must belong to Laodicea ad Mare. The type of the obverse would then be the Artemis Brauronia, who appears on the coins of that city, with axe and shield, accompanied by deer.¹ The baetyl of the reverse, on the other hand, must be the stone of Elagabal, which on the coins of the neighbouring Emisa is represented adorned with an eagle.²

Sestini³ has published the following coin from the Munich Cabinet :—

Obv. Crescent with star, resting on globe.

Rev. **KAPPHNΩN** Crab.

Æ. size 4.

If this is correctly described, the crab presumably stands for the constellation Cancer.

The ethnic of Carrhae is given as *Kappaîos* by Dion Cassius, as *Kappaîos* or *Kappaηνός* by Stephanus. Only the latter form (sometimes written with one ρ) is found on the coins. Where the name of the city appears instead of the ethnic, it takes the form **KAPPA**.⁴

The books of the older writers on Carrhae swarm with misreadings.⁵ On the authenticated coins the following titles appear, usually abbreviated :

ΦΙΛΟΡΩΜΑΙΟΙ. M. Aurelius and L. Verus ; possibly also Commodus. See Eckhel, iii, p. 509.

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΑ, **ΑΥΡΗΛ** (*αυροί*). From Commodus onwards.

¹ Wroth, *B.M.C. Galatia*, etc. p. 263, no. 113, pl. xxxi, 5.

² Wroth, *op. cit.* pl. xxvii, 12 ; cf. *B.M.C. Palestine*, p. xxxii.

³ *Classes generales*, 1821, p. 156.

⁴ Macdonald, *Hunter. Catal.* iii, p. 301, 3-5.

⁵ Grave doubt attaches to Sestini's description of a word in oriental script on a coin of Elagabalus (*Mus. Hederv.* iii, p. 124, 8 ; cf. Chwolson, *die Ssabier*, p. 413).

ΛΟΥΚΙΑ. Septimius Severus. See Macdonald, *Hunter. Catal.* iii, p. 301, 2.

ΚΟΛΩΝΕΙΑ. From Septimius Severus onwards.

ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ. From Caracalla onwards.

ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΜΕΣΟΠ(οταμίας). Severus Alexander; sometimes with **A** added in the field (for **ΠΡΩΤΗ**). See Eckhel, iii, p. 509. Vaillant's coin of 'Marcus Aurelius' with this title is doubtless really of Severus Alexander.

On the Latin coins of Caracalla the titles are *Col(onia) Met(ropolis) Antoniniana Aur(elia) Alex(andriana)* or *Col. Aur. Metropoli's Antoniniana*. According to Eckhel one coin with the latter legend adds **CA**, and indeed this affords the reason for the attribution of these Latin coins to Carrhae.

Numerous coins of M. Aurelius, L. Verus and Commodus¹ have been published by Arigoni, Vaillant, Sestini and others, which would seem to show that Carrhae was a colony before the time of Septimius Severus; and Eckhel and other good authorities have not questioned the readings. In no case, however, have I been able to verify them. Some of them combine the colonial title with the epithet **ΦΙΛΟΡΩΜΑΙΟΙ**, but how should Roman colonists be described as 'Friends of Rome'?² Yet, if **ΚΟΛΩΝΕΙΑ** really appears on coins of Commodus, the latter portion of the word may have been the source of the readings **ΚΟΛΩΝ. Ε. ΙΓ.** given by Arigoni and **ΚΟΛΩΝ. ΘΕΙΩΝ.** quoted by Rasche from Odericius. The titles Lucia Aurelia were, as Macdonald has remarked, derived from Verus, who effected the Roman conquest of Mesopotamia. Whether, however, either of them appears before the time of Commodus seems to be doubtful; and of **ΛΟΥΚΙΑ** the only occurrence seems to be on a coin of Severus.

Imhoof³ has suggested the attribution to Carrhae of two silver tetradrachms, the style of which, and the form of oxide with which they are encrusted, point to a Mesopotamian origin. He describes them as follows:—

1. **ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥ [CE ANTΩ]NINOC CE.** Bust of young Caracalla l. laureate; on his back scale-cuirass, on his l. arm shield.

Rev. **ΦΟΥΛΟΥΙΑ ΠΛΑΥΤΙΑΛΛ ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΑ.** Bust of Plautilla r.

AR. 25 mm. wt. 11 gr. 60.

2. **ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥ CE ANTΩNINO.** Bust of Caracalla l. with slight beard, radiate crown and scale-cuirass; spear in r., shield on l. shoulder.

¹ I observe that, as at Edessa, it is easy to confuse the portrait of Septimius Severus on these poor coins with those of some of the Antonines.

² Chwolson, *die Ssabier*, i, p. 394, sees the difficulty and attempts to explain it away. Prof. Reid also suggests to me that the title may have been taken by the Carrhenes, to declare their

loyalty to Rome, before the foundation of the colony, and retained afterwards. But the title remains otiose in the case of colonists, however unreal their Roman character may have been.

³ *Rev. Suisse*, 1908, p. 131, taf. v (ix), 3 and 4. They were obtained from Aleppo.

Rev. ΘΕΩ CEΟΥ[HPΩ] ΠΑΤΠΩ. Bust of Severus r. wearing cuirass and paludamentum.

AR. 25 mm. wt. 10 gr. 35.

These could not have been struck at Edessa, since until the death of Abgar IX (X) (216–217) the Edessene coins bear the portrait of that king, whereas one of the above coins was issued before the banishment of Plautilla in 205. The other is not earlier than 211. The only likely mint, other than Edessa, is Carrhae, on the bronze coins of which the bust of Caracalla is sometimes represented in the same way, with shield on shoulder.¹ Πάππος, as Imhoof points out, must be used in the sense of *pater*.

The great outburst of coinage under Caracalla is to be connected with his use of this district as a base for his eastern campaigns. It was in setting out in 214 for his first expedition that εὐθὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ἦν,² and accordingly we find that the colony received the title *Alexandriana*. He was murdered on the road from Edessa to Carrhae.

The conquest of Carrhae by the Persians accounts for the absence of coins of that mint in the reign of Maximinus. The issue was restored during the brief period of re-conquest by Gordian III.

The types are for the most part illustrative of the cult of the local moon-god. The crescent (plate XII, 1, 2) is usually represented with a single star, and is frequently placed on a globe or cushion-like object, but occasionally there are two stars, which must be the sun and Venus, so that we have the trinity: Sin, Shamash and Ishtar.³ From the crescent sometimes descend streamers on either side. The moon-god or goddess is sometimes represented by a conical or obelisk-like object, possibly a baetylion, surmounted by a crescent.⁴ The coins of Septimius Severus show this type in the central space of a temple (plate XII, 3). In the intercolumniations on either side are two objects which have been taken for cultus-figures.⁵ It seems probable, however, that Mionnet, Chwolsohn and others were right⁶ in calling them military standards. A single standard in a shrine is also found at the Syrian Hieropolis, where again it has been taken to be the representation of a deity.⁷ That the Roman standard was placed in a shrine and worshipped⁸ is well known.

¹ Mionnet, *Suppl.* viii, 394, 26.

² Herodian, iv, 8, 1.

³ Jeremias in Roscher, art. *Schamasch*, col. 535, and *Sin*, col. 921: cf. the types at Phrygian cities mentioned above.

⁴ This is the origin of Pellerin's 'fly with spread wings' on his coin reading ΑΥΦΗΛΙΟ·ΚΑΡΗΝΩ; the streamers have suggested the wings. See Hirsch, *Katal.* xxi, 4332.

⁵ Macdonald, *Hunter. Catal.* iii, p. 301, 2.

⁶ Mionnet, v, 520, 24 (he attributed the coin

to Aelia Capitolina, following Lajard); Chwolsohn, *die Ssabier*, i, p. 401.

⁷ H. A. Strong and J. Garstang, *The Syrian Goddess*, frontispiece, no. 1, and p. 70; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, p. 586. Six and Imhoof-Blumer, *Gr. Münzen*, p. 759, recognise the legionary standard.

⁸ See Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict.* s.v. *Signa*, p. 1324. A. L. Frothingham, on the other hand, writes (*Amer. Journ. Arch.* xx, 1916, p. 208): 'Numismatics (*sic*) have more or less half-heartedly accepted the opinion of Six that this is a Roman

In ordinary camps the aedicula was doubtless placed near the praetorium; but in a colony the standards of the legions quartered there would naturally be placed in one of the chief temples. At Carrhae then we see two standards, each in an aedicula in the chief temple. Each aedicula is surmounted by a crescent¹; it was the easier thus to connect the worship of the standard with the local cult because a crescent often formed part of the symbolic decoration of the military standard. To say, with Mr. A. B. Cook, that the objects in these aediculae were originally pillar-altars, later conventionalised into Roman standards, is surely to exhibit a desperate ingenuity.

Vaillant² describes a coin of Marcus Aurelius on the reverse of which the crescent supports a bust of the Moon-goddess; but the engraving and description are so untrustworthy that all details must be regarded as suspect until confirmed.

The figure of the City-goddess is, as usual, derived from that of Antioch on the Orontes; the river-god at her feet is either the Skirtos or the Karrha. On a few of the Latin coins of Caracalla a cornucopiae or a small serpent appears in front of her bust (plate XII, 4). The crescent-moon is placed above her head on the coins of Gordian III, and at the same time a small figure is represented on a pedestal before the bust (plate XII, 5). This has been explained by Macdonald³ as the sign Aquarius. He points out that it seems to correspond to other astronomical signs, such as Aries and Sagittarius, on Mesopotamian coins. But the correspondence is not exact, since this figure alone of the three is represented on a pedestal, which seems to indicate that it is a monument; also the figure seems to hold a skin and not a jar, which would indicate the 'Marsyas' of the forum, a frequent type on colonial coins, even if it be not the ordinary symbol of colonial right. On the other hand, the attitude is not that of the 'Marsyas,' and on some specimens liquid appears to be issuing from the skin; so that the probabilities as between the 'Marsyas' and Aquarius seem to be about evenly balanced. For the present we may continue to use the latter name.

It may be suggested that the zodiacal signs which play so important a part on the coins of Mesopotamian cities are, so to speak, genethliac, marking in each case the sign under which the colony

standard or legionary eagle. No archaeologist can agree to this after reflecting for a moment on the absolute impossibility of supposing a Roman standard to have been substituted for a god in the *sanctum sanctorum* of so holy and ancient a city as Hierapolis. Besides, there is in this image not the least resemblance to Roman standards or to their commonly known coin types. The fact of the matter is that the circles are not the solid medallions of Roman standards but are serpent coils. The shadows and lines show that

there is a continuity and not a solution of the curved lines.' Mr. Frothingham is too positive. Certain details, which he considers have been added by the draftsman responsible for the drawing in Strong and Garstang, are confirmed by the half-tone illustration in the same book made directly from a cast of the coin.

¹ At Hierapolis, similarly, by a dove, for the Syrian goddess.

² *Num. Col.* i, p. 179.

³ *Hunter. Catal.* iii, p. 303 note.

was founded. They cannot, as Eckhel has shown,¹ mark the month in which the local era begins.

EDESSA.

Edessa² in Osrhoene, or more correctly Orrhoene, is represented by the modern *Urfa*. It is first heard of in Macedonian times, when its earlier name Orrhoe was changed by Seleucus I to Edessa, after the Macedonian city. For a time (perhaps only under Antiochus IV) it bore the name of Antiochia ἡ ἐπὶ τῇ Καλλιρόῃ, from a lake of that name, and the coins struck there by Antiochus IV are inscribed Ἀντιοχέων τῶν ἐπὶ Καλλιρόῃ. The river Skirtos, on which the city was situated, and which is represented below the feet of the city-goddess on the coins (e.g. plate XII 15) is now called the *Daisân*³; both names mean the same thing, the 'leaper,' and refer to the serious inundations to which it subjected the city. The rock on which the City-goddess sits more probably represents the *Nimrūd Dāgh* than, as Babelon supposes, the far distant range of Masios. The Kallirhoe is now called *Birket Ibrāhīm*,⁴ and its fish are still regarded as sacred. This fish-worship was doubtless connected with the cult of Atargatis, which is otherwise known to have prevailed at Edessa. Christian authorities also mention the cults of Bel and Nebo. We know also from Julian⁵ that the Sun-god was worshipped at Edessa with two attendant deities Azizos and Monimos, probably the morning and the evening stars. Helios and Bel are probably to be identified.⁶

The thorough study which has been made of the coinage by Babelon⁷ makes it unnecessary to go into many numismatic details here. The examination of the material available confirms his attributions and dates in all essentials; a few minor points of difference are noticed as they occur.

Although the kingdom of Edessa began in the second century B.C., the founder of the dynasty being Aryu, 132-127 B.C. there is no coinage before the time of Marcus Aurelius. The generally accepted chronology from the reign of Ma'nu VII onwards (which is that of A. von Gutschmid, based on Dionysius of Tellmahre) has

¹ *Doctr.* iii, p. 517.

² E. Sachau, *Reise*, pp. 189-210; Ed. Meyer in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* v, 1933 ff.; A. von Gutschmid, *Untersuch. über die Gesch. des Königreichs Osroene*, in *Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, vii^e sér. t. xxxv, no. 1 (1887); Rubens-Duval, *Hist. d'Édesse*, in *Journal Asiatique*, 18, 1891; 19, 1892.

³ The modern name is also given as *Nabr el Kūt* and *Kara Koyun*.

⁴ J. S. Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia* (1827), i, p. 111; Rubens-Duval, p. 92; Sachau, pp. 196 f.

⁵ *Orat.* iv, p. 150 and 154; cf. Dussaud, *Notes de Mythologie Syrienne* (1903), p. 10.

⁶ Dussaud, *op. cit.* p. 75.

⁷ *Mélanges Numismatiques*, ii, 1893, pp. 209-296.

been corrected by Babelon with the help of the coins, as will be seen from the following comparative table¹:

A.D.	Gutschmid.	Babelon.
163-165	Waël son of Sahru (2 years).	
165-167	Abgar VIII (2 years).	Interregnum.
167-179	Ma'nu VIII restored (12 years).	
179-214	Abgar IX the Great, son of Ma'nu (35 years).	Abgar VIII the Great, son of Ma'nu, alone, afterwards with his son Ma'nu (35 years).
214-216	Abgar IX and Severus Abgar, his son (1 year 7 months).	Abgar IX Severus.
216-242	Ma'nu IX son of Abgar, titular king only (26 years).	
242-244	Abgar XI Phrahates, son of Ma'nu (2 years).	Abgar X Phrahates, son of Ma'nu (2 years).

The coinage begins with the expulsion of Ma'nu VIII from the throne of Edessa by the Parthian king Volagases III. Three classes of bronze coins appear now to have been struck at Edessa: (1) Coins with the bust of Volagases on the obverse, and the symbol ♀ as reverse type. These bear the name of 'Volagases Arsaces king of kings' in the local script (Wroth, *B.M.C. Parthia*, p. 236). (2) Coins with the bust of Volagases on the obverse, and the bust of Waël (with inscription *Waël Malka*²) on the reverse (plate XII, 6). (3) Coins with the bust of Waël (*Waël Malka*) on the obverse and a temple containing a cult object on the reverse (plate XII, 7). The inscription accompanying the reverse type has been read by Babelon as אלה אלול, and the remains of the inscription on the British Museum specimens do not contradict this reading, and certainly support it more than any other that has been suggested. The star which appears in the pediment of the temple indicates the god's celestial character, and the object by which the deity was represented was

¹ In the following discussion, I retain Babelon's notation, adding the number according to that of A. von Gutschmid in brackets. Thus by Abgar VIII (IX) I mean the son of Ma'nu who reigned from 179 to 214 A.D. Babelon gives no number

to the Ma'nu whom he assumes to have reigned only with Abgar VIII (IX), and, to avoid confusion, I have followed his example.

² On the name, see G. A. Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, pp. 106-7.

a cubic stone or something of that kind. It is tempting, in view of the celestial character of the god in question, to connect the name 𐤠𐤤𐤋 with *Allul*, the Babylonian name for the constellation Cancer.¹ At the neighbouring city of Carrhae, a crab appears as one of the types, if Sestini's description of a coin at Munich is to be trusted.²

Waël, the creature of Volagases, reigned but two years. On or after the conclusion of the Parthian war by L. Verus about the middle of 166,³ Ma'nu VIII was restored to his throne. There may have been some interval between the expulsion of Waël by the Romans and the restoration of Ma'nu, but, as Babelon has shown, there is no reason to fill the gap with an otherwise unknown Abgar.⁴ Dionysius of Tellmahre mentions no king, nor indeed any interval, between Waël and Ma'nu. Waël doubtless disappeared from Edessa soon after the beginning of the campaign of 165.⁵ I do not see any reason for dating the restoration of Ma'nu in 167 rather than 166.

During the second reign of this king, Edessa was the mint of certain silver denarii with the portraits of Marcus Aurelius, Faustina II, Lucius Verus and Lucilla. They all bear on the reverse the name of Mannus with the titles ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ and ΦΙΛΟΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ. As regards types, those of the denarii of M. Aurelius, Faustina Junior, and Lucilla are purely Roman in character. The resting Mars of plate XII, 9, alludes to the conclusion of the war.⁶ The reverse of the denarius of L. Verus bears merely the king's name and title in four lines across the field.⁷

Edessa, rather than Carrhae, was probably also the mint of certain other silver denarii of Marcus Aurelius, Faustina II, L. Verus and Lucilla (plate XII, 10), and small bronze of Commodus (plate XII, 11), which commemorate a Roman victory in the words ΥΠΕΡ ΝΙΚΗΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ or the like. Eckhel⁸ attributes the bronze of Commodus to Carrhae, but leaves the mint of the silver coins uncertain. Babelon⁹ gives them all to Carrhae, on the ground that the silver must go with the bronze, and that the bronze cannot have been struck at Edessa under Commodus, because its 'republican' type of Tyche is unsuitable to Edessa at a time when a dynast was striking coins there in his own name. There is, however, no reason against supposing that coins with the complimentary inscriptions ΥΠΕΡ ΝΙΚΗΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ Κ.Τ.Λ. may have been struck at more than one mint in

¹ Prof. L. W. King, to whom I owe this suggestion, remarks that *Allul* probably represents the pronunciation of the name in Semitic as well as in Sumerian, being taken over in the same way as *Enlil* (the chief god of the Babylonian Pantheon), whose name in the later form is *Ellil*, written 𐤠𐤤𐤋 in Aramaic dockets of the Achaemenian period (cf. Clay, *Amer. Journ. of Semit. Lang. and Lit.* xxiii, pp. 269 ff.).

² See above, p. 151.

³ C. H. Dodd, *Num. Chron.* 1911, pp. 253, 259.

⁴ The coins supposed to associate an Abgar with M. Aurelius and L. Verus are really of Septimius Severus. As Babelon remarks, some of the heads which are intended for Severus are more like Verus and other emperors.

⁵ This campaign had come to a successful end in the early autumn: Dodd, *op. cit.* p. 235.

⁶ cf. C. H. Dodd, *Num. Chron.* 1911, p. 225.

⁷ Babelon, p. 234, plate iii, 7; Macdonald, *Hunter. Catal.* iii, p. 305, no. 3, plate lxxviii, 32.

⁸ iii, 508 and 520.

⁹ *Mél. Num.* ii, p. 233.

Mesopotamia ; so that even if the bronze coin was struck at Carrhae, the denarii might belong to Edessa. But indeed the occurrence of the head of Tyche on the bronze does not forbid the attribution of it to Edessa during the reign of a dynast, unless we are prepared at the same time to deny the existence of coins of Tigranes with the Tyche of Antioch, or of Philopator of Cilicia with the Tyche of Hieropolis. The head of Tyche, moreover, does not, so far as I know, occur on coins bearing the name of Carrhae in the time of Commodus¹ ; so that we are free to attribute the bronze as well as the silver to Edessa, where we know that a silver coinage of exactly similar style was being issued at the time. A further reason, though not a strong one, for attributing these coins to Edessa is the fact that the denarii of Ma'nu, which were struck there, bear the portraits of exactly the same four imperial personages. It must, however, be admitted that the attribution to Edessa does not amount to a certainty.

Wherever they may have been struck, the silver coins bear Roman types, although it is difficult to give names to some of the personifications, as nothing exactly like them occurs on contemporary Roman coins. The figure of Armenia seated on the ground, on the coin of Marcus, is, however, an exact reproduction of that inspired by the Armenian campaign of L. Verus, which first appeared on the coins at the end of A.D. 163.²

Other types that occur in this series are :—

Victory, carrying long palm-branch and circlet with pendent fillets, standing on a globe (Br. Mus.).

Female figure, with sceptre and cornucopiae (Br. Mus.).

Female figure, with globe or apple and cornucopiae (Br. Mus.).

Female figure with patera and sceptre (Br. Mus.).

Venus with apple and sceptre (Br. Mus.).

Fecunditas, with four children. Mionnet, v, 638, 229.

Jupiter seated, holding Victory. *ibid.* 639, 231.

Lectisternium. *ibid.* 232 (the Saeculi Felicitas type of Faustina II).

Minerva standing, with javelin and shield. *ibid.* 233.

Fortuna standing, with rudder on globe, and cornucopiae. *ibid.* 234.

Female figure, holding sceptre in l., small branch in r. over altar. (L. Verus). Hirsch, *Katal.* xxv (Philipsen), 3076.

The inscriptions are **Η ΝΕΙΚΗ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ, ΥΠΕΡ ΝΙΚΗΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ, ΥΠΕΡ ΝΙΚΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΚΥΡΙΩΝ**, sometimes with **ΣΕΒ** added, **ΥΠΕΡ ΝΙΚΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣ**. The Armenian type is identified by **ΑΡΜΕΝ**. in the exergue.

To return to Ma'nu : Babelon also assigns to him the coins

¹ A specimen, with this type, on which the reverse inscription is entirely illegible, is in the British Museum trays under Carrhae ; but it may

well be one of the coins with **ΥΠΕΡ ΝΙΚΗΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ** which we are discussing.

² C. H. Dodd in *Num. Chron.* 1911, p. 218.

which bear his name in Estranghelo on the reverse (*Ma'nu Malka*). Most of these have the king's portrait in a tiara on the obverse (plate XII, 8); but one variety¹ has a bearded portrait, without tiara, which so strongly resembles Lucius Verus that I take it to represent that emperor rather than the king. That in itself would be sufficient to fix the date of all these coins to the time of Verus, i.e. to the second reign of Ma'nu. This bronze coin, with the portrait of Verus on the obverse and the name of the king without type on the reverse, is exactly parallel to the silver denarii, except that, doubtless for reasons of space, the bronze coin does not give the king the epithet corresponding to *Φιλορόμαιος*.

Ma'nu VIII, dying in A.D. 179, was followed by his son Abgar the Great (VIII according to Babelon, IX according to von Gutschmid), who reigned 35 years (A.D. 179-214). His coins (all of bronze) fall into the following groups:

(1) *Obv.* Bust of Abgar r. wearing tiara.

Rev. מלכא אבגר in two lines in Estranghelo; no type.

Æ. 12 mm. Collection of the Marquis de Vogüé. (*Rev. Num.* 1892, p. 210; Babelon, *Mélanges*, ii, p. 246, no. 14, plate iv, 1).

(2) Coins with the heads and names of Commodus and Abgar (Babelon, p. 248, nos. 15, 16).

(3) Coins with the heads and names of Septimius Severus and Abgar (plate XII, 14, Babelon, pp. 251 ff.). These are often very badly blundered. The obverse inscription seems to be usually intended for **ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ**, and the portrait of Severus is often assimilated to those of other emperors, such as L. Verus. On one the inscription seems to be a mixture of the names of Trajan or Hadrian and Severus. None of the coins in the British Museum gives Abgar any additional name; but Babelon publishes specimens (his nos. 22-24) on which he reads **ΒΑΣ·Λ·ΑΙΑ·ΣΕΠ·ΑΒΓΑΡΟΣ**² and **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΙΑ·ΑΥΡΗΛ·ΣΕΠ·ΑΒΓΑΡΟΣ**. The names *Lucius Aelius Aurelius* are derived from Commodus, and *Septimius* from Severus.

(4) A coin with the portraits and names of Caracalla and Abgar, **ΑΒΓΑΡΟΣ [ΒΑΣΙ]ΛΕΥΣ** (Babelon, no. 33, plate v, 7).

(5) There are also some coins (Babelon, pp. 258 ff.) which bear on the obverse the bearded portrait of king Abgar, and on the reverse a portrait of Ma'nu (**MANNOC** with beardless bust (plate XII, 12), or **MANNOC ΠΑΙΣ** with bearded bust). Both persons wear the tiara. It is clear that this Ma'nu was associated in youth with his father Abgar. The question arises: are these two persons Abgar VIII and an otherwise unknown son Ma'nu who was associated in the kingship, but did not succeed his father, and is not known except

¹ Babelon, p. 240, no. 10, pl. iii, 10. Babelon says that the portrait is similar to that on the coins with the tiara; but in his engraving the greater

resemblance to Verus is manifest. Note particularly the treatment of the beard.

² cf. Hirsch, *Katal.* xxi, 4336 (E. F. Weber).

from the coins? Or are they Abgar IX Severus and his son, who, according to Dionysius of Tellmahre, reigned together for one year and seven months, beginning A. Abr. 2203 (A.D. 214): 'and after Abgar, there reigned his son Ma'nu, for 26 years.'? The Abgar whose portrait is associated with the boy Ma'nu is bearded, and resembles Abgar VIII, whereas all the portraits which can with any probability be identified with Abgar IX (see below) are beardless. We are therefore constrained, in spite of the undesirability of inventing an otherwise unknown Ma'nu son of Abgar VIII, to follow Babelon and adopt the former alternative. It is curious that the beardless portraits are entitled simply **MANNOC**, and the bearded one **MANNOC TAIC**; possibly, when the son had grown a beard, it was thought necessary to indicate his juniority in the inscription.

Von Gutschmid, by an arbitrary alteration of the text of Dionysius, makes Abgar VIII (IX) continue to reign after A.D. 214 for one year and seven months with his son Severus Abgar. Now we know¹ that Caracalla deposed 'Abgar king of the Osroenes' who, as soon as he had established his power over his people, began to treat them with great cruelty. Therefore this Abgar, who is Severus Abgar, must have been reigning for some little time before his deposition; in other words, Abgar VIII (IX) must have ceased to reign; and there is no reason to emend Dionysius or extend the reign of Abgar VIII (IX) beyond A.D. 214. It was, as Babelon maintains, Severus Abgar who reigned for one year and seven months from 214 to 216, not with his father Abgar VIII (IX) but with a son, possibly the Ma'nu who was afterwards titular king of Edessa for 26 years.

An epitaph at Rome² tells us that Abgar, son of the former king Abgar, died there aged 26 years; the epitaph was put up by his brother Antoninus. According to von Gutschmid and von Rohden³ this young Abgar was the Abgar IX (X) Severus who was deposed by Caracalla, and Antoninus was the Ma'nu who appears on the coins with Abgar the Great. But we should, in that case, expect to find Abgar called by his Roman name Severus (especially since his brother calls himself Antoninus); and, also, the fact that he had actually reigned for a time would hardly be ignored. It is much more probable that *ὁ πρὶν βασιλεὺς Ἀβγαρος* of the epitaph was Abgar IX (X) Severus. Whether the Abgar buried at Rome was the son who, according to Dionysius, was associated with his father on the throne, may be doubted, since such a fact, again, would hardly have been ignored in the epitaph. Probably he was a younger brother of Antoninus; for Abgar IX being named after Septimius Severus would appropriately name his elder son after Caracalla. It is accordingly not unreasonable to assume that Antoninus was

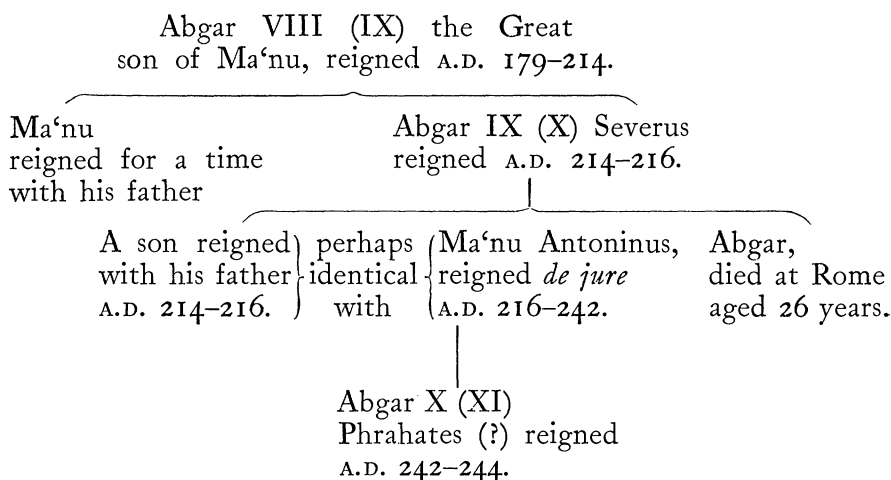
¹ Dion. Cassius, 77, 12.

² *C.I.G.* 6196.

³ In Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.* i, col. 95.

the name of that Ma'nu who, according to Dionysius, reigned for twenty-six years after his father Abgar IX (X) had been deposed by Caracalla. This reign was of course merely *de jure*. Was he also the son who had also previously been associated with his father on the throne? If so, would he not have mentioned the fact in the epitaph which he put up to his brother's memory? Or would he perhaps have considered it politic not to allude more definitely to his claim to a kingdom which had been suppressed?

We may therefore, provisionally, accept the following table as representing the relations of the family at this period:



The coins attributable to Abgar IX Severus bear on the obverse the bust of Caracalla, on the reverse the bust of the king, wearing the tiara. He is beardless, or at the most has a very slight beard. The coins¹ clearly give him the name Severus Abgar (plate XII, 13).

From 216 until 242 the kingdom was in abeyance, but coins were issued at Edessa in the names of Caracalla, Macrinus, Diadumenian, Elagabalus, Severus Alexander, Julia Mamaea, Gordian III and Tranquillina. The distinction between the coins of Caracalla and Elagabalus, always a matter of difficulty, is here so doubtful that Babelon gives up the attempt to draw it, and describes all these coins under the later emperor. It is generally assumed² that Caracalla gave Edessa the status of a Roman colony; but this assumption is

¹ Here Babelon's descriptions (p. 261, nos. 36 ff. pl. v, 10-12) must be supplemented by von Gutschmid's (pp. 40-1). The obverses of the two Leake specimens read ANTΩN... (retrograde), the reverses CEOYH ABΓAPOC, in one case retrograde. Babelon's no. 36, which he reads CYI·IABΓ, is, judging from his engraving, to be read [C] CEOYH ABΓ, i.e. Σέουηρος Ἀβγαρος.

² As by Eckhel and by Zumpt, *Comm. Epigr.* 433. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, i² (1881), p. 437, n. 12, accepting the reading of Mionnet, *Suppl.* viii, 399, 1 (which is a quotation from Sestini), would attribute the foundation of the colony to M. Aurelius!

based only on the attribution to Caracalla of coins reading **ΚΟΛ**. It is, however, to be noted that no coins of Macrinus or Diadumenian give the city that title; and we may therefore argue that the colony was founded by Elagabalus. If so, no coins with the title **ΚΟΛ** can belong to Caracalla. The safest course is perhaps to credit Caracalla with only a small group of coins reading **ΑΥ**(ρηλία) **ΑΝ**(τωνεινιανή) **ΕΔΕCCA**.¹

On the coins of Macrinus and Diadumenian the city is called **Ο**(πελλία) **Μ**(ακρεινιανή) **ΕΔΕCCA**. On those which are attributable to Elagabalus we find the following titles: **ΕΔΕCCE**....; **ΚΟΛΩ**(νία) **ΜΑΡ**(κία) **ΕΔΕCCA** · **ΜΑΡ**(κία) **ΑΥ**(ρηλία) **ΑΝΤ**(ωνεινιανή) **ΚΟΛ**. **ΕΔΕCCA** or **ΕΔΕCCHNΩΝ**; **ΚΟΛ**. **ΑΝΤ**. **ΑΥΡ** **ΕΔΕCCA**; **ΜΑΚ**(οεινιανή) **ΑΥΡ**. **ΚΟ**. **ΕΔΕCCA**; **ΜΑΚ**. **ΑΥΡ**. **ΕΔΕC**.; **ΜΗΤ**(ρόπολις) **ΚΟΛ**(ωνία) **ΕΔΕCCHNΩΝ**; and **ΕΔΕC**. **ΚΟΛ**.

The title **ΜΑΚ**. occurs on at least one coin in the British Museum, and on the Paris coin, Babelon, no. 55, plate vi, 11. Babelon reads **Μ·Α·Κ**, but his engraving shows no stops; and the **K** on the British Museum coin cannot stand for **Κολωνία**, since **ΚΟ** comes later in the same inscription. The title **ΜΑΚ**. also persists into the next reign. If the interpretation above given is right, it is clear that no coins on which the city is called **ΜΑΚ**. can be as early as Caracalla.

Babelon disputes the reading of all coins earlier than the reign of Severus Alexander which give the title **Μητρόπολις** to Edessa; but there can be no doubt about the reading of such a coin as that of Elagabalus figured in plate xii, 15. The title was not, however, firmly established until later; for under Severus Alexander we find, on his coins as Caesar: **ΜΑΡ**. **ΑΥΡ**. **ΑΝΤ**. **ΕΔΕCCA** and **ΜΑΚ**. **ΑΥΡ**. **ΕΔΕCCA**, in which also the absence of the colonial title is remarkable; on his coins as Augustus: **ΜΑΚ**. **ΑΥΡ**. **ΕΔΕC**. and **ΜΗΤ**. **ΚΟΛ**. **ΕΔΕCCHNΩΝ**.

The Persian occupation of Mesopotamia during the reign of Maximinus doubtless, as Babelon remarks, included Edessa, so that no coins of that emperor were struck there.

Under Gordian III (who reconquered Mesopotamia) and Tranquillina the inscription **ΜΗΤ**. **ΚΟΛ**. **ΕΔΕCCHNΩΝ** is found, apparently without exception.

Gordian III re-established the kingdom of Edessa; this is proved by the coins which were struck there in the joint names of the emperor and king Abgar, commemorating the restoration of the kingdom. This event doubtless dates from Gordian's arrival in Mesopotamia, in 242. With the murder of the emperor in 244 it is probable that the reign of Abgar X came to an end. Babelon's statement that Philip closed the mint of Edessa and deprived the

¹ A certain number of coins which give the emperor the name **CEY**. **ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC** would naturally have been assigned to Caracalla. But

there is clear evidence that Elagabalus bore the name Severus; e.g. the coin of Perinthus **ΔΙC** **ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ**, *Num. Zeit.* xvi, 234.

city of its colonial title is not disproved, as it might be thought, by the coin in the Leake collection,¹ described as bearing Philip's name and bust r. on the obverse, and on the reverse a goddess seated to front in a tetrastyle temple, with the inscription **ΚΟΛ. ΕΔΕCCHΝΩΝ**; since that piece appears in reality to be a coin of Nesibi, reading **ΚΟΛΩΝΕCΙΒΙΜΗΤ**.

Abgar X (XI) is usually identified with the Abgar Phrahates who is mentioned in a puzzling inscription at Rome²: **D.M. ABGAR PRAHATES FILIVS REX PRINCIPIS ORRHENORV · HODDA CONIVGI BENE MERENTI FEC.** Von Gutschmid supposes that this epitaph was set up by Abgar to his wife Hodda; and that king Abgar Phrahates was the son of Ma'nu, who is called *princeps*, because he was only co-regent with his father, or successor designate, but never really became king. Mommsen, on the other hand, thinks that the curious language of the inscription is to be explained by a confusion between two drafts, the first having read *Dis manibus Abgari Prabatis filii principis Orrhenorum*, etc. and the word *principis* having been accidentally retained when the construction was altered, and *rex* substituted for *princeps*. It may be suggested that we should read: *Dis manibus; Abgar Prabates rex, filius principis Orrhenorum; Hodda coniugi bene merenti fecit.* There is little to be said for the identification of this Abgar with the one who died at Rome aged 26, and of whom we have a Greek epitaph, or with the Abgar who was deposed by Caracalla; as we have seen, the latter was the son of Abgar VIII (IX) and his surname was Severus. Mommsen does not explain whether he regards Phrahates as a surname of Abgar, or as the name of his father who was ruler of Osrhoene. On the whole the probabilities seem to be in favour of von Gutschmid's identification.

The latest coinage of Edessa is an insignificant series issued by Trajan Decius. The coinage of Rhesaena ceases at the same time, and there is no later Greek coinage of Mesopotamian cities, although it is clear that some of them held out against the Persians until the time of Valerian.

The types of the earlier regal coins of Edessa have already been discussed above. Besides the ordinary bust-portraits of the kings, we have, under Gordian III, an interesting representation of the emperor standing, or seated on a platform, receiving the new king whom he has installed, and another of the king riding to the ceremony (plate XII, 17, 18). The city-types are (1) the bust of the City-goddess (occasionally with the inscription **ΤΥXH** or **ΤΥXHC**). A small figure, which occurs also at Carrhae, and which may be meant for the sign of Aquarius, is sometimes on a pedestal in front of the bust (see above, p. 154). Two busts confronted, with a small temple below

¹ *Num. Hellen. As. Gr.* p. 54.

² *C.I.L.* vi, 1797.

them, are found on some coins; the meaning of this duplication is obscure. On a coin of Severus Alexander and Mamaea (plate XII, 16), the little figure of Aquarius appears above the head of the goddess, as on coins where the bust alone is represented.

(2) Figure of the City-goddess, seated on a rock with the River Skirtos at her feet (plate XII, 15). She holds an object which is often obscure: sometimes it resembles a branch; at others, a bunch of fruit or corn-ears; or incense which she drops on an altar; or a small temple (Babelon, plate vii, 6). Besides the altar which occurs frequently in the field, and is sometimes duplicated, we occasionally find a cornucopie, and once a serpent rearing and a small turreted bust¹; or the goddess is crowned by a flying Victory. In the time of Severus Alexander the field usually holds two or four stars (plate XII, 16).²

(3) A less common type represents Roma seated with the City-goddess (?) crowning her (B. M.).

(4) A temple façade of a somewhat unusual kind is seen on the reverse of a coin of Severus Alexander³: it has the appearance of a hexastyle shrine *in antis* with a pediment, within a larger building of which two columns supporting a gable are shown. The Leake coin of Philip Senior also shows a goddess to front in a tetrastyle temple.

MAIOZOMALCHA.

The coin attributed to this place by Sestini⁴ is of the colony of Mallus in Cilicia.⁵

NESIBI.

Nesibi, as it is almost invariably called on its coins,⁶ while the usual literary form is *Nisibis*, was situated on the Mygdonius, a tributary of the Chaboras.⁷

Strabo (xvi, 747) records the fact that the name of Mygdones was given by the Macedonians to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and Nesibi was called Ἀντιόχεια ἡ ἐν τῇ Μυγδονίᾳ. Under Antiochus IV accordingly coins were issued thence with the inscription **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΜΥΓΔΟΝΙΑΙ**.⁸ The place was taken

¹ Eckhel, *Cat. Mus. Caes. Vind.* i, p. 259. no. 10.

² They also occur beside the bust of Tyche on some coins of Gordian III (Babelon, pl. viii, 2).

³ Babelon, pl. vii, 7.

⁴ See Mionnet, *Suppl.* viii, 414.

⁵ *B.M.C. Cilicia*, p. 101, nos. 30, 31.

⁶ Macdonald, *Hunter. Catal.* iii, p. 315, no. 1 (plate lxxix, 3), gives the only known coin which

agrees with the literary form. Stephanus, *s.v.* Νίσιβις, quotes Uranius for the spelling Νέσιβις; cf. also Plin. *N.H.* vi, 13 (42).

⁷ The modern name is *Neşibin*. See J. S. Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia* (1827), i, pp. 442-446; Max von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf* (1900), ii, pp. 29-36.

⁸ *B.M.C. Seleucid Kings*, p. 42, nos. 86-88.

by Lucullus in 68 B.C., ceded to Tigranes, and reconquered by Trajan in A.D. 115; under Septimius Severus it became a Roman colony¹: witness the title *Septimia* which it bears on the coins, and the statement of Dion Cassius (75, 3) that Severus increased the dignity of the place and handed it over to the Roman knights. The Roman coinage does not, however, begin before the time of Macrinus, unless the coin published by Macdonald (loc. cit.) is really of Caracalla, and not rather of some later emperor. The bust on this coin is supported by an eagle. The titles borne by the city in the Roman period are: **ΚΟΛ. ΝΕCΙΒΙ** under Macrinus; **CET(τιμία) ΚΟΛΟ(νία sic) ΝΕCΙΒΙ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛ(ις)** under Severus Alexander and Gordian III; and **ΙΟΥ(λία)² CET(τιμία) ΚΟΛΩ(νία) ΝΕCΙΒΙ ΜΗΤ(ρόπολις)** under Philip Senior. The title Julia was doubtless taken in honour of Philip.

Mionnet (v, 628, 183) cites a coin which he attributes to Trajan Decius, but his description suggests that it may be of Macrinus.³

The astronomical sign under which the city seems to have been placed was the Ram, just as at Edessa we find the sign of Aquarius and at Singara that of Sagittarius governing the destiny of the city. At Nesibi the sign usually occurs over the head of the city-goddess (plate XII, 19), but it also forms a type by itself. The river-god⁴ who appears at the feet of the city-goddess is the Mygdonius. On coins of Philip and his family (plate XII, 20, 21) the seated figure of the goddess is represented to front, so rudely that when the preservation of the specimen is not good she has the appearance of a Canopic figure. The temple in which she sits has, as a rule, nothing unusual except its twisted columns; but on one specimen (plate XII, 20), instead of the inner columns a panelled wall, perhaps the front wall of the cella, appears to be represented.

NICEPHORIUM.

Vaillant⁵ has attributed to this place, the modern *Rakka*,⁶ coins of Gordian (*rev.* Zeus seated holding Nike and sceptre) and Gallienus (*rev.* Female figure holding phiale and cornucopiae) on which he reads the inscription **ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΙΩΝ**. His attributions have not been confirmed.

¹ Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, i² (1881), p. 437, n. 13.

² **ΙΟΛ**, on certain specimens (cf. Macdonald, *Hunter. Catal.* iii, p. 316, no. 8) seems to be a mere mistake for **ΙΟΥ**.

³ It must be admitted that Mionnet's reading is confirmed by Chaix, no. 967.

⁴ In *Hirsch Katal.* xxv (Philipsen), 3079, apparently mistaken for an eagle.

⁵ *Num. Gr.* pp. 154 and 182.

⁶ Regling in Lehmann's *Beiträge*, i, p. 467.

RHESAENA.

Rhesaena, later called Theodosiupolis, lay near the upper waters of the Chaboras, about half way between Carrhae and Nesibi at *Rās el 'Ain*. The spelling on the coins is uniformly *Ῥήσαινα*, whereas most of the literary authorities write the first syllable with *ε*.¹

The inscriptions on the coins show that it was colonised by Septimius Severus,² and that a detachment of the Legio Tertia P(arthica)³ was quartered there.

The coinage appears to begin with Caracalla, although some of the coins attributed to him may belong to Elagabalus.⁴ After Severus Alexander the coinage ceased, to be revived in great plenty in the time of Trajan Decius; but after this revival it came to an end altogether.

The Roman eagle is a frequent accompaniment of the main type; on some coins it is apparently held by the city-goddess in her hand, or it is placed above her head,⁵ but more frequently it appears as a separate adjunct. Under Trajan Decius it is represented in a temple (plate XII, 24).

The river-god Chaboras is figured in the usual way below the feet of the city-goddess, or in the exergue under other types. The very rude representation on plate XII, 22, if rightly made out,⁶ may be meant for a fountain nymph. If so, we may perhaps identify her as the Fons Cavorae (Scabore, i.e. Chaborae) of the Anonymus Ravennas and the Tabula Peutingeriana, a fountain which was quite close to Rhesaena.

The Founder ploughing the sulcus primigenius is represented with a vexillum inscribed with the name of the legion in the background, under Severus Alexander, according to Vaillant; but on the later coins the vexillum is absent. It appears, on the other hand, both as a main type and accompanied by a centaur (plate XII, 23).

The centaur Sagittarius⁷ is the type of a coin of Elagabalus, and

¹ Stephanus has *Ῥέσινα*, πόλις περὶ τὸν Ἀβὸρον (Ἀβόρραν) ποταμὸν. He is evidently unaware of the true ethnic *Ῥησανήσιος*, and guesses either *Ῥεσινάτης* or *Ῥεσινάιος*. Ptolemy (v, 17, 7) mentions the place thrice as *Ῥέσινα* and *Ῥέσαινα*.

² The titles **CETT. KOA** do not, however, occur with certainty before the time of Severus Alexander; and even later the title **KOA** is not infrequently omitted.

³ The reading **L. III. GAL** on certain coins is discredited; on the other hand, **L. III. PIA** is supported by several writers. On all coins that I have been able to verify, the name of the legion is **III. P**; once, **III. PZ** whatever that may mean. M. Dieudonné's examination of the coins in the Paris cabinet confirms my results. Since we know from Dion Cassius (lv, 24) that the *Tertia Parthica* was established by Severus in Mesopotamia, we must interpret **P** accordingly as Parthica.

⁴ The reading (in *Num. Zeit.* xxxiii, p. 48, no. 101) of Scholz's coin of Elagabalus (*obv.* **AYTKAIMAYPANTONINOC**, *rev.* **CEY. RESAIN -- COLO**, priest ploughing, with labarum inscribed **LE** behind) is to be regarded with the utmost suspicion.

⁵ Macdonald, *Hunter. Catal.* iii, pl. lxxix, 19.

⁶ cf. Mionnet, v, 629, 184.

⁷ Sestini (*Mus. Hederv.* iii, p. 24, no. 4, tab. xxxii, 4), has published a coin of Caracalla which he gives to Carrhae, and describes as reading **COL CAR** on the rev. The type: Centaur r. with vexillum in background, is suspiciously appropriate to Rhesaena; and its *obv.* (head of emperor supported on eagle) should be compared with a coin of Rhesaena in the British Museum, on which the bust of Caracalla or Elagabalus has a similar support.

appears as an accompaniment to one of the two figures of the city-goddess in the Concordia type (plate XII, 25), the other goddess being accompanied by a figure of Aquarius on a pedestal, just as at Carrhae and Edessa. Sagittarius is less probably the sign of the legion, or an allusion to a local force of mounted archers, than the zodiacal sign proper to Rhesaena.¹ Singara seems also to have been founded under the same constellation. Macdonald² has suggested that in the Concordia type the city-goddess on the left represents Carrhae or Edessa, and that on the right Rhesaena or Singara. Since Carrhae seems to have been of small importance at the time and Rhesaena is not likely to have been omitted altogether from a type of its own coinage, the two figures probably represent Edessa and Rhesaena.

The letters Γ (?) and Δ which appear in the field of some of the coins (cf. Mionnet v, 629, 184) are unexplained. There are remarkable blunders in the writing of the name of Herennia Etruscilla (ΩΤΡΑΚΑΛΛΑ, ΑΙΤΡΩΚΙΛΛΑ),³ the former of which suggests a confused reminiscence of Otacilia Severa.

SINGARA.

Singara (τὰ Σίγγαρα, but occasionally as a fem. sing.) lay at the modern *Sinjār*, on the south slope of the Σιγγάρας mountain, at the head of the *W. Tartar*, the stream of which is doubtless represented by the river-god at the feet of the City-goddess on the coins.

The titles Αἰρηλία Σεπτιμία indicate that benefits were conferred on the place by M. Aurelius or L. Verus and Septimius Severus, though which of them made it a colony we cannot tell.

Vaillant⁴ describes a coin of Severus Alexander (*rev.* bust of City-goddess l.); but otherwise the only known coins belong to the reign of Gordian III,⁵ and presumably to the years 242–244, when Gordian after the battle of Rhesaena recovered Mesopotamia from the Persians.

The City-goddess (figure or bust, plate XII, 26) provides all the types for the coinage. The sign of Sagittarius above her head has already been noticed (p. 165).

ZÄÜTHA.

Zäütha was situated on the left bank of the Euphrates, about 30 km. below the point where the river Chaboras enters the main

¹ See Eckhel, *Doctrina*, iii, pp. 518–519, for a discussion of the question.

² *Hunter. Catal.* iii, p. 319, no. 19.

³ cf. Mionnet, v, 633, f. 205–211.

⁴ *Num. Col.* p. 124.


⁵ I cannot verify the statements which I allowed to survive in the second edition of Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 816, that there are coins of Philip with the inscription ΙΟΥ. ΣΕΠ. ΚΟΛΩΝ. ΚΙΝΓΑΡΑ, and that the inscr. ΜΗΤ. ΚΟ. ΑΥ. C. ΣΕ. ΚΙΝΓΑΡΑ occurs on coins of Gordian's time.

stream. It is mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiii, 5, 7 : *Zaitha locus, qui olea arbor interpretatur*) as a place at which the tomb of Gordian III was conspicuous. Zosimus (iii, 14) calls it *Zavθα*, and places the tomb of Gordian at Dura, the next stage. Ptolemy (v, 17) gives the name as *Zeitha*. The place is otherwise quite unknown, and was evidently of very small importance.

Two coins have been described, purporting to be issued from this obscure town. The one¹ is a bronze coin of Trajan (**AY. NEPYAN TPAIANON CE.**, head r. laureate); *rev.* Nike l. with wreath and palm-branch, and an inscription alleged to be **ZAYΘHC NIAC**. It is highly improbable that Trajan should have struck coins at this alone of the Mesopotamian cities; and, so far as it is possible to judge from the engraving published (the two publications are evidently from the same plate), the coin looks as if it belonged to some Lydian mint.²

The second coin³ has more appearance of a Mesopotamian origin. I describe it from the cast which I owe to the kindness of M. Dieudonné.

Obv. **CETTIMIOCC EOYHPOC**. Undraped bust r. laureate.

Rev. **KOΩNIAC**  **ΙΩΝ**. Dionysos seated l., l. resting on thyrsos, in r. grapes and ear of corn; behind globe on crescent with pendent fillets.

Æ. 26 mm. (1.05 in.). Here plate XII, 27.

The symbol in the field of the reverse is to be compared with the type of the coins of Carrhae. M. Dieudonné remarks that apart from the word **KOΩNIAC** and the last three letters, which he reads **ΤΩΝ**, the only certainty is the circular letter (**Θ** or **Θ**) in the middle of the word.

It is quite clear that *Zaütha* may for the present be expunged from the list of Mesopotamian mints.

KEY TO THE PLATES.

When not otherwise stated, the coins are of bronze, and are in the British Museum.

PLATE XI.

- | | |
|--------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Adraa. | Commodus. Paris. p. 136. |
| 2. do. | Gallienus. p. 136. |
| 3. 'Arabia.' | Hadrian. p. 136. |
| 4. Bostra. | Commodus. Princeton. p. 137-8. |
| 4. bis. do. | Elagabalus. p. 138. |
| 5. do. | Trajan Decius. p. 138, 139. |

¹ Pellerin, *Rec.* iii, p. 252, pl. cxxxvi, no. 1; Caylus, *Rec.* vi, pp. 207-208, pl. lxxv, iii.

² Since the above was written, M. Dieudonné kindly informs me that the coin is indeed of

Stratonicea in Lydia. **PATONE INΔE**, having been misread as **ZAYΘHC NIAC**!

³ Sestini, *Mus. Hedervar.* iii, p. 132, tab. xxxii, 6.

6. Bostra. Elagabalus. Princeton. p. 138.
7. do. Trajan Decius and Herennius Etruscus. p. 138.
8. do. Quasi-autonomous. Paris. p. 139.
9. do. Caracalla. Paris. p. 139.
10. do. Septimius Severus. p. 139.
11. do. Antoninus Pius. p. 140.
12. Dium. Geta. p. 141.
13. Eboda. Nero. Berlin. p. 141-2.
14. Esbus. Elagabalus. p. 142.
15. Gerasa. L. Verus. Formerly in the market. p. 143.
16. do. Hadrian. p. 143.
17. Medaba. Elagabalus. p. 144.
18. Petra. Hadrian. p. 145.
19. do. Septimius Severus. Formerly in the market. p. 145.
20. Philadelphia. Hadrian. p. 146.
21. do. M. Aurelius and L. Verus. Paris. p. 147.
22. do. M. Aurelius. p. 147.
23. do. M. Aurelius. p. 146.
24. Philippopolis. Marinus. p. 148.
25. do. Philip Sen. p. 148.
26. Rabbathmoba. Septimius Severus. p. 149.

PLATE XII.

1. Carrhae. Caracalla. p. 153.
2. do. Gordian III. p. 153.
3. do. Septimius Severus. p. 153.
4. do. Caracalla. p. 154.
5. do. Gordian III. p. 154.
6. Edessa. Volagases III and Waël. p. 156.
7. do. Waël. p. 156.
8. do. Ma'nu VIII. p. 159.
9. do. Silver. M. Aurelius and Ma'nu VIII. p. 157.
10. Edessa ? Silver. Lucilla. p. 157.
11. Edessa ? Commodus. p. 157.
12. Edessa. Abgar VIII (IX) and his son Ma'nu. p. 159.
13. do. Caracalla and Abgar IX Severus. p. 161.
14. do. Septimius Severus and Abgar VIII (IX). p. 159.
15. do. Elagabalus. p. 155, 162, 164.
16. do. Severus Alexander and Julia Mamaea. p. 164.
17. do. Gordian III and Abgar. p. 163.
18. do. do. p. 163.
19. Nesibi. Severus Alexander and Julia Mamaea. p. 165.
20. do. Philip Sen. p. 165.
21. do. Otacilia Severa. p. 165.
22. Rhesaena. Caracalla. p. 166.
23. do. Severus Alexander. p. 166.
24. do. Trajan Decius. p. 166.
25. do. Herennia Etruscilla. Hunterian Museum. p. 167.
26. Singara. Gordian III and Tranquillina. p. 167.
27. Uncertain Mint. Septimius Severus. Paris. p. 168.